This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

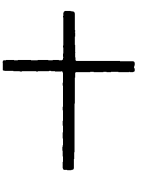
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Memoirs

of the

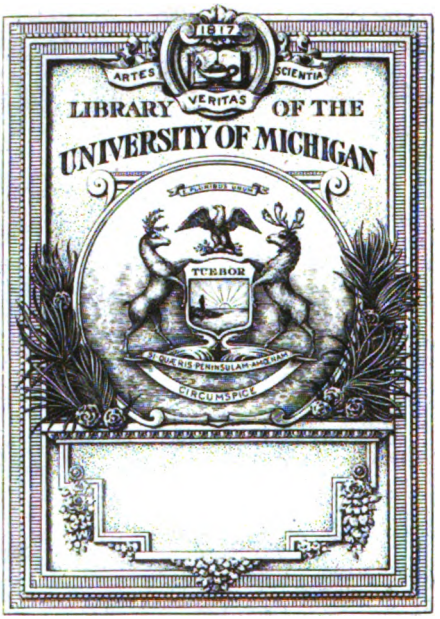
Lutheran Liturgical Association



Volumes I-VII.

Memoirs ...
Lutheran liturgical association

Digitized by Google



RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE
FROM
Lutheran Theological
Seminary Library

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Memoirs

of the

Lutheran Liturgical Association

Volumes I-VII.

PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION

PITTSBURGH, PA., 1906

Digitized by Google

Copyright, 1906,

by

The Lutheran Liturgical Association.

Digitized by Google

Luther Theological Seminary

PREFACE.

THE study of our historical antecedents and the attainments of doctrinal definiteness by our Church in this country have emphasized the great points which Lutherans of every land and language hold in common and which show us to be more truly united and to stand more firmly within the unbroken historical development of the Church Universal than any other Christian Communion. Our wide dispersion, the various national and linguistic factors and especially the un-Lutheran and sectarian influences to which various parts of the Church were subjected have naturally resulted in a very decided lack of uniformity in our external life. The recognition of our essential doctrinal unity, the growing appreciation of the meaning and value of the liturgical, musical and other art treasures of our fathers, the adoption of common liturgical forms upon the basis of a concensus of historic usage, the general advancement in intelligence and culture as well as the rapid Anglicization of our vast numbers in this country,—these are the potent factors in the present powerful movement that seeks to secure beauty, correctness and desirable uniformity in the department of Liturgiology and Ecclesiastical Art—our Public Worship, Church Architecture and Ornament, Church Music, Hymnology, Ministerial Acts and every other element of a churchly life. Such consistent, historical and distinctive practice with all its evident advantages can be established only upon a discriminating knowledge of liturgical

Digitized by Google

history in general and of the historical development of Church Art, as well as upon a thorough understanding of the particular liturgical and artistic principles, usages and traditions of our own distinctive Church-life. To encourage and promote such study the Lutheran Liturgical Association was organized. Its consistent purpose and effort have been to assist clergymen and laymen in developing an intelligent and deeply spiritual devotional life, and in rightly interpreting our beautiful Services, to guard against the hasty adoption of innovations and practices foreign to Lutheran principles or usages, and to meet and solve the many important and practical questions constantly arising in the individual parish.

The organization of the Association was suggested by the President in a conversation with the future Vice President and Secretary during the annual meeting of the Pittsburgh Synod of the General Council at East Liverpool, Ohio. A preliminary meeting was held during this session of the Synod, September 3rd, 1898, which was attended by twenty or more clergymen. A permanent organization was effected at a meeting held in the First English Lutheran Church, Pittsburgh, Pa., the Rev. Dr. D. H. Geissinger, Pastor, October 3rd, 1898, by the adoption of a constitution and the election of the following officers:

President, The Rev. Luther D. Reed.

Vice President, The Rev. Prof. Elmer F. Krauss, D. D.

Secretary and Treasurer, The Rev. R. Morris Smith.

Archivarius, The Rev. George J. Gongaware.

These officers have been re-elected every succeeding year. Together they constitute the Executive Committee. The practical direction of the interests of the Association has thus been uninterruptedly in the hands of those most active in its organization seven years ago.

The regular monthly meetings have, without exception, been held in the First Church, Pittsburgh, Pa., the Revs. D. H. Geis-

Digitized by Google

singer, D. D., and George J. Gongaware, Pastors. Fifty-one such regular Conventions have been held, at which many valuable papers, prepared by many of the best-informed men in all parts of the Church, have been presented. During the first few years of the Association's history, in addition to the afternoon sessions in the First Church, an evening session was held each month in one of the various churches of Pittsburgh or vicinity, to which the congregations of the city were especially invited. At these sessions Vespers were read and various liturgical subjects of a more generally popular nature were discussed.

From the very beginning the Association endeavored to give the results of its studies permanent form and thus to make them useful to a far larger number than could possibly attend the meetings. The income received from subscriptions permitted the publication of the most valuable papers in the MEMOIRS. Subscribers receive every single publication as it is issued, as well as copies of all programs, etc., and are also entitled to club reduction upon publications controlled by American publishers and importers.

The work and membership of the Association soon expanded beyond all anticipation and demonstrated that the Association had found a sphere of real usefulness in almost every portion of the English-speaking Lutheran Church in America. Synodical boundaries and distinctions have never limited its work.

The first year the membership comprised seventy-five subscribers in seven different States. Last year (1905) there were enrolled nearly four hundred members, most widely distributed throughout twenty-two States of the Union, four Provinces of Canada, the District of Columbia, and India, and representing five General Bodies of the Church. Members of nearly all the Synods of the General Council, the General Synod, the United Synod of the South, the Joint Synod of Ohio, the Icelandic Synod and the United Norwegian Synod have prepared papers

Digitized by Google

for the MEMOIRS and the surprisingly extensive correspondence which from the beginning has devolved upon the President and the Secretary of the Association, is unmistakable evidence of a widespread and genuine interest in all parts of the Church and in all parts of the country on subjects within the liturgical field.

In the publication and dissemination of its printed literature the Association finds its most important work—the work that is of permanent value to the Church. The first publication issued was a sixteen page "Bibliography and Outline of Study" which soon was out of print. Four papers were also published the first year and comprised Volume I of the MEMOIRS, issued at a cost of $64.75. The growth of the work is indicated by the fact that the mere printing of last year's MEMOIRS (Volume VII, 187 pages) cost the Association $319.25. The total receipts from membership dues, sale of publications and other sources since the organization has been $2,249.60; total expenditures $2,243.28.

The papers collected and issued in the various volumes of the MEMOIRS are undoubtedly of very unequal merit. Some are quite brief; others are exhaustive treatises which embody the fruits of years of earnest and patient investigation. Altogether they unquestionably comprise the most extensive and most valuable collection of Lutheran liturgical literature in the English language. Gathered from innumerable sources and adapted to the conditions of our Church in this country by special students of acknowledged standing, many of these papers present information that is invaluable. The MEMOIRS are regularly used as supplementary text books in some of our Theological Seminaries and they have certainly proved of inestimable service to pastors and laymen in many parishes.

At a meeting of the Association held December 4th, 1905, the Association declined to accept the resignation of the President, but by resolution acceded to his urgent request to be relieved of the duties of his office for the present. It was also re-

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

VOLUME I.

PAGE

1. THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP - - - - - - - - 1
THE REV. J. C. F. RUPP

2. OUR DISTINCTIVE WORSHIP—THE COMMON SERVICE AND OTHER LITURGIES, ANCIENT AND MODERN 9
THE REV. LUTHER D. REED

3. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LITURGICAL REFORM - - 19
THE REV. EDWARD T. HORN, D. D.

4. THE SOURCES OF THE MORNING SERVICE OF THE COMMON SERVICE - - - - - - 41
THE REV. R. MORRIS SMITH

VOLUME II.

1. THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHANCEL - - 1
THE REV. PROF. ELMER F. KRAUSS, D. D.

2. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ALTAR - - - 7
THE REV. W. E. SCHRAMM

3. THE SWEDISH LITURGIES - - - - - 15
THE REV. PROF. N. FORSANDER, D. D.

4. ALTAR LINEN - - - - - - - - 29
THE REV. LUTHER D. REED

5. THE SOURCES OF THE MINOR SERVICES - - 35
THE REV. R. MORRIS SMITH

6. THE HISTORY OF THE LITURGY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN DENMARK - - - - - 57
THE REV. E. BELFOUR, D. D.

Digitized by Google

PAGE

7. THEMATIC HARMONY OF INTROIT, COLLECT, EPISTLE AND GOSPEL - - - - - - 75
THE REV. D. H. GEISSINGER, D. D.

8. ART IN WORSHIP - - - - - - 83
THE REV. J. F. OHL, MUS. DOC.

VOLUME III.

1. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER IN DIFFERENT AGES OF THE CHURCH - - - - 1
THE REV. G. S. SHAMAN

2. THE LITURGICAL HISTORY OF CONFIRMATION - 9
THE REV. C. THEODORE BENZE, B. D.

3. THE CHURCH AND THE LITURGY - - - - 19
THE REV. CHARLES M. JACOBS

4. THE CHURCH PRAYER - - - - - - 35
THE REV. C. ARMAND MILLER

5. THE VALUE OF LITURGICAL STUDY FOR ORGANISTS - 47
THE REV. GOMER C. REES

6. A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER 59
THE REV. SAMUEL A. BRIDGES STOPP

7. MEANS OF LITURGICAL REFORM - - - - 75
THE REV. T. W. KRETSCHMANN, PH. D.

8. LITURGICAL EDUCATION OF THE CHURCH'S YOUTH - 81
THE REV. R. E. MCDANIEL, PH. D.

9. THE SACRIFICIAL IDEA IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP - 89
THE REV. PROF. G. F. SPIEKER, D. D.

10. THE PLACE OF LITURGY IN THE CHURCH'S THOUGHT, LIFE AND ART - - - - - - 101
THE REV. JOHN A. W. HAAS, D. D.

11. THE LITURGICAL HISTORY OF BAPTISM - - 113
THE REV. H. S. GILBERT

VOLUME IV.

1. THE LITURGICAL INFLUENCE OF THE LESSER REFORMERS - - - - - - - 1
THE REV. C. THEODORE BENZE, B. D.

Digitized by Google

PAGE

2. THE ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR - - - 17
THE REV. N. R. MELHORN

3. LUTHER'S LITURGICAL WRITINGS - - - 29
THE REV. EARNEST ANTON TRABERT

4. THE PERICOPES - - - - - - 47
THE REV. PROF. A. SPAETH, D. D., LL. D.

5. LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION - - - - - 63
THE REV. EDWARD T. HORN, D. D.

6. THE LITURGICAL DETERIORATION OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES - - 67
THE REV. J. F. OHL, MUS. DOC.

7. LITURGY AND DOCTRINE - - - - 79
THE REV. D. H. GEISSINGER, D. D.

8. EARLY AMERICAN LUTHERAN LITURGIES - - 85
THE REV. D. M. KEMERER

9. THE LITURGY OF THE ICELANDIC CHURCH - - 95
THE REV. PROF. F. J. BERGMANN

VOLUME V.

1. THE LITURGICAL INFLUENCE OF GREGORY THE GREAT 1
THE REV. A. L. RAMER, PH. D.

2. THE FUNCTION OF THE MINISTER IN DIVINE WORSHIP 9
THE REV. PROF. ELMER F. KRAUSS, D. D.

3. A LAITY LITURGICALLY WELL-INFORMED - - 21
THE REV. A. B. MARKLEY

4. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SYMBOLISM AND ITS EMPLOYMENT IN THE SERVICE OF THE CHURCH - - 31
THE REV. PROF. GEORGE J. GONGAWARE

5. THE COLLECTS - - - - - - 41
THE REV. SAMUEL A. BRIDGES STOPP

6. THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF DIVINE SERVICE 53
THE REV. G. W. MECHLING, D. D.

7. REGULATIONS AND CUSTOMS PERTAINING TO THE USE OF THE SACRAMENTS - - - - - 69
THE REV. IRA M. WALLACE, PH. D.

8. LITURGICAL ACCURACY AND SPIRITUALITY - - 85
THE REV. H. DOUGLAS SPAETH

Digitized by Google

VOLUME VI.

PAGE

1. CONTRIBUTIVE INFLUENCES NOTED IN THE HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF THE LITURGY - - 1
THE REV. W. A. LAMBERT

2. REMARKS ON SOME OF OUR LITURGICAL CLASSICS - 17
THE REV. EDWARD T. HORN, D. D.

3. PREACHING AND THE DAY - - - - - 23
THE REV. PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

4. CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE - 41
THE REV. CHARLES M. JACOBS

5. THE LITURGICAL HISTORY OF CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION - - - - - - - 65
THE REV. JAMES F. LAMBERT

6. THE SACRAMENTAL IDEA IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP - 77
THE REV. PROF. A. SPAETH, D. D., LL. D.

7. PARAMENTS OF THE LORD'S HOUSE - - - 89
THE REV. G. U. WENNER, D. D.

VOLUME VII.

1. LITURGICAL COLORS - - - - - - 1
THE REV. PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

2. CONSECRATION - - - - - - - 19
THE REV. GEORGE U. WENNER, D. D.

3. THE LITURGICAL USE OF THE CREEDS - - 27
THE REV. PROF. JOHN W. HORINE

4. THE LITURGY OF THE NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH 35
THE REV. PROF. E. KR. JOHNSEN

5. CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN THE FIRST POST-APOSTOLIC AGE - - - - - - - - 49
THE REV. CHARLES M. JACOBS

6. THE APPLICATION OF LUTHERAN PRINCIPLES TO THE CHURCH BUILDING - - - - - - 75
THE REV. EDWARD T. HORN, D. D.

7. THE BIDDING PRAYER, LITANY, AND SUFFRAGES - 121
THE REV. CHARLES KRAUTH FEGLEY

8. THE USE OF STAINED GLASS IN ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE - - - - - - 159
THE REV. PROF. ELMER F. KRAUSS, D. D.

9. SACRED MONOGRAMS—THE CHRISMA AND THE HOLY NAME - - - - - - - 169
THE REV. EDWIN F. KEEVER

Digitized by Google

VOL. I.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

We are exploring the foundation upon which the glorious temple of worship is built. This foundation is an eternal rock; the Tabernacle revealed on Sinai is based upon it; the glorious Temple in the vision of Ezekiel and St. John's Tabernacle with men in the New Jerusalem rest upon the same foundation. There "they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb." It is the worship of the redeemed in the Holy City, wherein no temple is seen; "for the Lord God the Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple thereof." Thus the principles of worship are eternal, though it is adapted to the changeful spiritual conditions of mankind.

Underlying worship is a divine purpose, just as the mountains are the visible outlines of the hidden framework of the earth, upon which the upper and outer world of life and beauty is built. We come to this Paradise of the Lord to find the seed-germs of divine grace and power which luxuriate so richly into the flowers and fruit of worship. The manner of Christian worship, how it becomes an avenue of grace to the worshipper, is in wondrous harmony with the appropriation of God's gracious purpose of salvation to man's spiritual wants. The essence of worship has the flavor of the divine means employed as the vehicle of this grace.

The divine purpose underlying is worked out in the Providence of history and illustrated in the development of the human conception of worship. God's purpose is the instruction of men unto edification in life. In all things man learns slowly and no-

Digitized by Google

where is this fact better illustrated than by the evolution of the idea of worship, as recorded in its several stages in written language. True, the essence of worship is not derived from etymology, but from religion; equally certain it is, however, that the meaning of the word *worship*, revealed in the history of its slow growth, is a search-light upon the unrevealed purposes of God; it is a development from the rudimentary thought of human personal worthiness up to its present exclusively religious meaning. The essence of the religion determines the essence of the consequent worship, but, at the same time, the worship is a fair index of the religious character of a people. The life of religion, pure and undefiled, is set forth in warm and glowing forms of living faith. Its worship is a robe of rich but modest coloring. WORSHIP is a fine old word, handed down in its original Saxon purity with striking significance in the now archaic form used in olden times to denote the outward recognition of personal worth. Our Saviour says, when one is promoted through the lower degrees of preparation to the highest emoluments of honor, "then thou shalt have worship (δοξα) in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee."

This divine purpose outcrops in the several and respective strata of human life. It is not to be forgotten that the social bond, involved in the organic unity of the race, is a principal factor in worship; in the same way, sin became universally powerful throughout the race. Some one says, that the secret of the great power of the Christian Church is discovered in the habit of associated worship. It is undoubtedly true that the social feature is one of the normal conditions of religion, but it is possible to give it too great prominence and hence strike the source whence some of the secret dangers come that constantly threaten religious life. To linger upon the social beauties of our worship is to forget the divine in worship, to reduce religion to mere naturalism, and stripping it of its heavenly habiliments to make the pure fellowship of the saints only the baldest anarchistic socialism . Even the agnostic finds in the primal idea of worship the moral tendencies arising from the culture and refinement of civilized life and consequently he limits the power of religion to the effect of art cultivation by the social instinct and impulse of the congregation.

The geologist explains the principles underlying the effects produced by the cooling mass of the earth in the convolutions of the enfolding crust. But back of these smiling valleys, back of the principles of art, of socialistic theories, and the religious idea, —back of these there is somewhere a divine purpose. It is the living power which set in operation the laws that sometimes har-

Digitized by Google

monize with and sometimes contradict our philosophy and theories of natural science. There is no elevating power, no spiritual uplift in the cultus of social instinct *per se*. God's persistent purpose breaks through human contradictions as a divinely upward impulse and marks the unfathomable abyss between natural cultus and divine worship.

Worship is a communion of saints. It makes the race feel its spiritual destitution. Certain it is, the history of the word is abundant evidence of this recognized human need for a divine stimulus to loftier motives and purer emotions. Christian worship supplies this want. Realizing this only in religious experience, the social consciousness gradually restricted the meaning of worship to denote chiefly the part of religion and to direct the ascription of honor and dignity to the Supreme Being alone. In this way worship becomes an act, or the acts collectively, of homage at a given time and place, "such as adoration, thanksgiving, prayer, praise, and offering."

Therefore, worship in spirit and truth has a positive power. For example, the soul in which the feeling of gratitude is quickened by divine gifts is susceptible to the power of worship, and grace reveals to it the character of our God as worthy "to be had in reverence of all them that are about Him."

So grace provides a fulcrum sufficient to make worship a mighty lever for the spiritual and moral uplift of humanity. Christian worship is a divine moral uplift, but its divine possibilities are not evolved from the merely human aspirations for the beautiful, the true, and the good. This motive in itself is only a noble humanitarianism, not worth cultivating simply for its own sake, but of great value in its proper auxiliary relation to nobler fruits, and very different in style and effect from the divine element in worship, whose chief and only end is to glorify God and magnify Him forever. This human motive may have great moral force in the development of literature, art, and science, as the mental activity, the artistic spirit, or refining influence of the age. But all such moral achievements through human resources alone are like the laurel chaplets that wither upon the victor's brow. It has no eternal principle, no controlling purpose, no persistent divinity, to implant new motives, to transform character, and to beautify human life.

All this is a part of Christian worship, its human element, the sacrifice which humanity offers; but this is its lesser half, in itself

> "As idle as a painted ship
> Upon a painted ocean."

Digitized by Google

Along with the human there is a divine element; the two are inseparably wedded. The divine is a sacrament which brings imperishable grace to the worshipper in spirit and truth. Christian worship is the channel for the incoming grace, rather perhaps the flood-gate, shut and opened at human will, joining the reservoir of the fulness of divine love to the appointed means of grace in word and sacrament. Therefore, in its essence, worship is pre-eminently sacramental; it makes man the recipient of good and reaches its climax and *summum bonum* in the Holy Supper.

This divine element of worship always makes a man receive more than he can give. It has this sacramental character, because it revolves around Christ as its center, and has its fulness of blessing in Him who is the Saviour of the world. Christ is the one chief stone in the corner, the true foundation of our temple of worship. This sacramental character makes it the purpose of every act of worship first to exalt and magnify Him forever. It is a truly Christian worship, though a nominally Christian worship may be lacking in every essential principle of Christian worship, and be only a kind of nominalism with no objective reality in the faith and life of Christ. He is the heart, the magnet that draws all unto Himself. He is the divine cause that calls forth the act of worship. He appeals to the heart and conscience of the worshipper and comes through the enlightening power of the Holy Ghost who confers His gifts upon believers and creates the insatiable thirst for the water of eternal life. Thus the intellect is sharpened, the sense of esthetic beauty refined, and the ethical judgments of conscience confirmed; so fully does Christ enter the life, absorb every faculty of the soul, and make every act of worship begin and end in Him.

But one may fully understand the general truth and state the theory of worship in harmony with the general proposition without possessing this vital principle of worship. For the essence of worship is the essence of religion. At their root religion and worship coincide "so far, that no man can fully perform all that is involved in worship without doing all that is involved in religion."

The Word of God declares the divine purpose in worship. It is a pure worship so far as it contains the pure Word of God. The fruits and effects of grace are bestowed through God's Word. Worship has its best expression in the language of Scripture. Worship in spirit and truth is not simply a spiritual act or mental abstraction apart from the spoken word or spiritual condition. It is rather the spirit of devotion

Digitized by Google

quickened by the truth—Thy Word is truth—and comforted by the Spirit who dwelleth in the Word of truth. We find in the words of Scripture the forms in which every act of worship may find expression. Long usage crystallizes the thought of Scripture into forms which preserve the odor of sanctity. For there can be no worship apart from the Church which is the assembly of saints, in which the Gospel is truly preached and the sacraments in due form administered. The instruction of God's Word, the formal preaching of the Gospel, is the centre of Christian worship. Its truly sacramental character is set forth in the absolution promised in the Gospel and received by the truly penitent and believing. So worship in the use of the fixed forms of Collect, Word, Creed, Sermon, and Sacrament preserves the doctrinal purity of the faith.

The human element in worship is of minor importance only in a comparative degree; but as the whole consists of all its parts there is superlative necessity for it to round out the act of perfect worship. The neglect of the human in worship chills it and tends to make it a lifeless formality. According to the law of liberty this is the place of the variable and free. It leaves room for so wide an adaptation to circumstances as to meet all emergencies. It is the pre-eminently sacrificial, not in the sense of making propitiation for sin, but as being the avenue through which are brought the offerings of confession, praise, and adoration, prayer, supplication and thanksgiving. Worship is both sacramental and sacrificial, for it brings to the worshipper the gift of grace, and offers to God honor, reverence, and glory. Worship is refreshing because in it men receive mercy and peace, and inexpressible joy in the Holy Ghost; at the same time, it is decorous in action and dignified in confession of sin and eucharistic offerings.

The true worshipper is devout; he comes in the spirit of devotion; when edified he departs with the fragrance of a devout spirit. Devoutness makes the heart and mind receptive to sacramental grace. The worshipper sings devoutly, prays devoutly, and listens devoutly. The act of worship is established as a habitude by observing regularly appointed seasons, by using fixed forms, especially the divinely given words in Gospel and Sacrament as the voice of highest service. Of course, the simple act of worship is not unattended by danger. In the many common duties of life many things are done in a perfunctory way. It is possible even in worship for the mind to wander and allow the formal act, apart from the spirit of true devotion, to crystallize into the mere, cold formality, like an icicle sparkling with all the outward richness and wealth of beauty stored up in the cold but brilliant jewel.

Digitized by Google

However, this danger threatens every form of worship and is never quite so chilling as in the threadbare formality that knows no forms; it is obviated in all only by a living sacrifice of prayer, praise and thanksgiving; by the faithful and intelligent cultivation of the sacrificial in the variable parts of worship which allow ample freedom and spontaneity. In the fixed centres of worship, like the Word and Sacrament, we have divinely appointed foci to quicken spiritual activity and put within reach the great wealth of divine mercy and grace; they are the "golden candlestick," "the lamp unto our feet and the light on our path," and also the table of "shew-bread," for "man lives not by bread alone but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Likewise in the free and variable forms of worship we have our sacrificial altars whereupon the flame of our devotion burns; the golden altar of incense from which our prayers arise like clouds of incense to the skies. It is little that we give in return for the boundless treasures that we receive; but in our destitution our offering, at best but a scanty gift, is still our all: our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, our reasonable service.

An important corollary to this proposition of the fundamental principles of worship is the fitting time and place. In our worship we ought to enjoy the benefits of redemption. Its great facts are to be emphasized. Beginning with the weekly cycle of the resurrection in the Lord's Day, the contemplation of the year of grace includes every feature and doctrine of the redemptive work.

It is true that

> "The groves were God's first temples. Ere man learned
> To hew the shaft, and lay the architrave,
> And spread the roof above them—ere he framed
> The lofty vault, to gather and roll back
> The sound of anthems; in the darkling wood
> Amid the cool and silence, he knelt down,
> And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks and supplication."

But it is equally true that God has always chosen a place for His local habitation with men. The place where His people meet with Him should be suitable for such an occasion, neither in barn nor opera-house, Jewish Temple nor Mohammedan Mosque, factory nor theatre, but in a Christian Church. On such an occasion the church should harmonize with the divine purpose in worship.

Art is a handmaid to worship. In architecture it makes the stones speak the story of redemption through the eye, in sculptured wall and painted arch. Architecture, sculpture and painting tell the pictured story, while the other arts

Digitized by Google

poetry, music, and eloquence tell the same story to other sense-perceptions and fill the storied temple with the words and spirit of worship.

In studying the Fundamental Principles of Worship the following outline was pursued:

I. There is a divine purpose for instruction and edification in worship.

II. It appears in the association and fellowship of worship.

III. It is accomplished by the means of grace employed in worship.

1. The Sacramental character, or the divine elements of worship:

(1) It is Christo-centric;
(2) It uses the Word of Scripture;
(3) It is the Means of Grace;
(4) It conserves doctrinal purity.

2. The Sacrificial character, or the human elements of worship:

(1) Eucharistic offerings;
(2) Variable forms;
(3) The Times and Places;
(4) The use of Art.

J. C. F. RUPP.

Scottdale, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

OUR DISTINCTIVE WORSHIP— THE COMMON SERVICE AND OTHER LITURGIES, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

PRINCIPLE and Form are related as Soul and Body. The latter is the medium through which the former is able to express itself. The intellect, the will, the emotions, in fact the SOUL LIFE of the human personality is only able to reveal itself, and indeed only possesses objective existence, in the physical life. So abstract principles may have some quasi existence within the realm of the metaphysical, but in order to our real apprehension of them in time and space they must have a concrete, formal expression. The animating principles of Christian faith constantly appear in the several spheres of Christian life, and nowhere more clearly than in the department of Christian Worship. The distinctive differences in doctrine held by different Churches may not be evident in the private lives of their members, but they will inevitably appear in the public worship of their congregations. Doctrines and principles of worship are proclaimed not only from the pulpit, but from the altar, from the pew, from the organ bench and choir room; in Liturgy as truly as in Confessional Symbol; in rubric often more clearly than in text; in manner, gesture, posture as surely as in spoken or printed word. Everything is pregnant with meaning when one learns to read it aright. We understand not the mannerisms of strangers, but the simple tone of voice, the glance of an eye, or the most trivial

Digitized by Google

gesture of a dear friend conveys deep significance. So greater intimacy with the forms of devotion may reveal to us many qualities hitherto unperceived.

It is a very superficial opinion, oft expressed, that there is little difference between Churches. "We all are going to the same place," it is said; as if it were immaterial in undertaking a journey to a distant city whether we kept in the King's highway with its signboards and places of refreshment, or stumbled in danger and discomfort through the woods and swam swollen streams. Or as if because we all live upon what we eat, there were no difference in foods! A Lutheran is not a Romanist, a Quaker or a Methodist. We have a distinctive doctrine, a distinctive apprehension of God's revelation, as have they; and our cultus, or form of worship, as expressing our belief, is just as distinctive in character. It is our purpose, therefore, by a study of our Service and a comparison of it with others to see wherein this distinctiveness lies.

We may look first at the Service as a whole. The first impression we gather is that it is not only in the language of the people, but that the latter actively participate in every portion of it. There is no suggestion of a vicarious performance, but of a personal participation. Pastor and people together enter the Holy of Holies and commune with God. Here is the living embodiment of a cardinal principle of the Reformation, and indeed of the New Testament,—the Universal Priesthood of All Believers. Hear what Dr. Rock, a most eminent Roman Catholic divine, says with reference to the celebration of the Roman Mass. "In the performance of this sacred service no office is assigned to the people. The sacrifice is offered up by the priest in their name and on their behalf. The whole action is between God and the priest. So far is it from being necessary that the people shall understand the language of the sacrifice, that they are not allowed even to hear the most important and solemn part of it.... They do not act, they do not say the prayers of the priest, they have nothing to do with the actual performance of the Holy Sacrifice." (Hierurgia I: 314.)

Hear again the words of Dr. Boardman, one of the most prominent Baptist divines in this country, as he laments the vicarious character of worship in his own and other non-liturgical Churches. He says, "No voice but the preacher's is heard in adoration, thanksgiving, confession, supplication, intercession, aspiration, communion. So far as the vocal act of homage goes, the preacher alone worships....Alas! this individual privilege of each member of the congregation we

Digitized by Google

allow the minister to appropriate to himself. He alone lifts the veil, and enters the Holy of Holies, and communes before the mercy-seat; while the congregation stands mute in the outer court. The New Testament doctrine of the rent veil and the priesthood of all Christians gives way to the Old Testament doctrine of a sacerdotal order; or what is worse, to the Roman heresy of a priestly caste and a priestly worship. Even the pulpit has been removed from the side to the centre; so that the preacher is perpetually in the foreground, while the worship of Almighty God is consigned to a comparatively subordinate niche. How painfully true this is, may be seen in the fact that while it is not considered rude to enter the sanctuary during the earlier part of the service, such as the singing or the Bible reading,—that is to say, be it observed, during that part of the service which is distinctively liturgical or worshipful,—it is considered rude to come in or go out while the minister is preaching, as though, forsooth, the main thing in worship were ignorant, feeble, sinful man, instead of Jehovah of Hosts." (Christian Worship, p. 291 sq.) Out of their own mouths they stand convicted, the Romanist asserting the doctrine of the vicarious work of a priestly order, and the Baptist admitting its virtual practice. Take the Common Service and see pastor and people unite in common confession, and appropriation of God's forgiveness; see them direct to the throne of grace common praise and petition in the Gloria Patri, the Kyrie, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Collect, the General Prayer, the Preface, Sanctus, Agnus and Nunc Dimittis; hear their common confession of belief in the Creed as well as many other parts of the service; see them together honor and reverence and use the Word and the Sacrament, uniting in all that pertains to the administration and the reception of both. In its every line our Service is vocal with the principle of a Universal Priesthood engaging in a Common Ministry.

Worship is a transaction between God and Man; in it therefore are two active elements, the divine and the human. Theories of worship fundamentally differ as the emphasis is placed upon either of these elements. The Roman, and perhaps to a less degree the Greek Liturgy, reeks with the human, the sacrificial element. God is still to be appeased, His wrath averted by the work which the Church, through its priesthood, must do every day. All service centres about the work, the sacrifice of the Mass. It is not what God brings to man in worship, but what man does for God. The Reformed, by which we understand the other Protestant Churches except the Lutheran, also emphasize the human or sacrificial side.

Digitized by Google

Not indeed the propitiary sacrificial theory of the Romanists, but the eucharist-sacrificial idea. God is appeased, Christians gather to thank and praise Him, and to offer Him their prayer and grateful service, provoking one another's devotion and sacrifice by mutual fellowship. But again it is not what God brings, but what man does. The Lutheran lays stress upon the Divine element in worship. The propitiary sacrifice has been made once for all by the death of Jesus; this, and this only, is the basis for our every approach to God in worship. God desires all men to receive most fully the benefits of Christ's work. He conveys these benefits and blessings, pardon, peace, spiritual strength, GRACE in fact, through certain means. These are His Word and Sacraments. He says, "Thou art redeemed, O Man; Christ died for thee. Come, commune with Me; I will give thee My Word and Will; will assure thee of pardon; will give thee My Strength to help thy weakness; will give thee in My Sacrament a seal and pledge of thy acceptance, and will make and confirm with thee an everlasting covenant." The sinner, though assured of God's mercy, is ever conscious of his own sin; and his every experience but impresses him with his own weakness. He comes to receive again what God offers him through the means entrusted to His Church. Hence our distinctive teaching is that we gather in Divine Service primarily to receive the gifts of God, and then secondarily to give Him our praise and prayer. We receive far more than we can ever give. The Divine element predominates; the human is governed by it. It is not what man does, but what God brings. Examine the Service in the light of this distinctive principle; see the importance accorded the Divine element, the Means of God's coming to us, the Word and the Sacrament. Luther in his very first liturgical writing said, "One thing is needful, namely, that Mary should sit at Christ's feet and hear His Word daily, which is that best part which she has chosen, and which shall never be taken from her. There is one eternal Word. Everything else must pass away, no matter how much concern it may cause Martha." See how he labored to give the Word to the people in their own language; how the Sermon as the exposition of it was restored; how the legends of the saints, the work of the priests; the penances of men, the figment of the Virgin's powers, were all swept aside. Like another John the Baptist he came crying, "Make straight the way of the Lord."

We, as his heirs in doctrine as in name, have entered into his works. The Greek and Roman Liturgies today are filled with works and ceremonies, with elaborate dramatic

Digitized by Google

symbolism, with invocation of the saints and adoration of the Virgin; but of the pure Word of God, His message to human hearts, there is little. We put them down in sorrow and turn to Orders and Directories of Worship used by many Protestant Communions. Here is abundant provision of Hymns and Prayers and Anthems; even the Apostles' Creed may be said and the Gloria Patri sung, and if the Lord's Prayer be added yet it is regarded as a remarkably rich liturgical service. And yet that is all man's work, his offering to God. All that God brings to man must come through perhaps a single short portion of His Word, for it is to be feared that the Sermon frequently is so filled with the social, political, or at best moral opinions of the preacher that there is scant opportunity for a morsel of Divine truth, an assurance, a promise, or a pledge, to trickle through. In sorrow again we place these down. Let us examine our Service. At the very beginning pastor and people encourage each other to approach the throne of grace by the messages of God delivered to His people thousands of years ago, and so we say, "Our help is in the Name of the Lord,....For Thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin." and after united confession we receive the assurance of His Gospel again that "Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, hath had mercy upon us, and given His Only Son to die for us, and for His sake forgiveth us all our sins. To them that believe on His Name, He also giveth power to become the Sons of God, and bestoweth upon them His Holy Spirit. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Then the Introit gives us in the language of the Psalms again the special message of the day, which we are to receive more fully later in Lessons and Sermon, and about which all our response is to cluster. The very words of the Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis and Collect bring before us, chiefly in the very language of Scripture, the Person and Work of our Saviour, and the assurance of His love, His intercession, His benediction. And then we have directly His particular message in the Epistle and Gospel; that portion of His Life, His Work, His Teaching that is to be His especial assurance, promise, warning or exhortation,—the particular Gift of His love for the time to those who gather in His courts below.

And now about this message, this Divine Gift, which is further explained and applied in the Sermon, based directly upon it and not determined by some passing whim or caprice of the preacher;—about this Divine Gift, gathers our grateful response in acceptance and affirmation in the Creed, and our further appropriation and thankful praise in the Hymns. And so it is the WORD that rules, that is the centre, that is the life of

Digitized by Google

the Service. The Church in its Pericopes, or selection of Lessons, as related to the general plan of the Christian Year, has rightly divided this Word of Truth, and given us a proper portion for every service in the year. "Worship," says the President of Union Theological Seminary, and he voices the conception of all the Reformed Churches on this point, "worship has for its characteristic idea, its main object, not impression, but expression." "Its two chief elements are praise and prayer." (p. 312 & 306 in Christian Worship.) "Not so!" says the Lutheran, with the Common Service in his hand. "The chief thing is God's Gift to us, His Message in His Word, His pledge in His Sacrament." About these have grown up that rich devotional literature, as well as that wonderful body of Church Song,—the Hymns, the Graduals, the Chorale, the Chants and part compositions—that show most clearly that the Lutheran Church does not underestimate the subjective or human element in worship, but that she bases it upon the Divine element. God speaks first; we hear and answer.

It is hardly necessary to indicate the manner in which our Service emphasizes the Divine element in the Sacrament. The Eastern Liturgy of S. James says "Remembering, therefore, His life-giving sufferings,....we, sinful men, offer unto Thee, O Lord, this dread and bloodless sacrifice, praying that Thou wilt not deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities." The Roman Liturgy says "Accept, O Holy Father, Almighty, Eternal God, this immaculate Host, which I, Thy unworthy servant, offer unto Thee, my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offences and negligences, and for all here present, as also for all faithful Christians, both living and dead, that it may be profitable for my own and for their salvation unto eternal life . Amen." Here everything is human offering work and action. Let us glance at some Protestant Liturgies. Here the Holy Communion is a service of commemoration, of Christian union and fellowship, a sign of faith and a promise of consecration on the part of men. In Zwingli's Liturgy, as indeed in Knox's and in many of Reformed services today the people remain in their seats, the bread and wine are distributed by the deacons or even passed from hand to hand while a Psalm or Hymn is sung or words of Scripture read. The fundamental idea appears in a sentence of the recent Liturgy proposed for use in the Presbyterian Church by Dr. Shields,—"And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto Thee; humbly beseeching Thee, that all

Digitized by Google

we, who are partakers of this holy Communion, may be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction." (p. 245). The Liturgy of the Reformed Church in the U. S. says (p. 96), "Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, sanctify, we beseech Thee, by Thy Word and Spirit, these elements of bread and wine, that, being set apart now from a common to a sacred and mystical use, they may exhibit and represent to us with true effect the Body and Blood of Thy Son, Jesus Christ," and in the Distribution the formula is "The bread which we break is the Communion of the body of Christ" and "The cup of blessing which we bless is the Communion of the blood of Christ." The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England in the formula for distribution says, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." Examples might be multiplied, but this will suffice to show us that here again is human work, human commemoration, human consecration, human fellowship, but not the Divine Gift for which we long,—the real Divine Presence in the transaction and the personal, individualized assurance of Divine forgiveness, for which we hunger and thirst. Take the Common Service and see its simple but soul-satisfying words. The communicants come to the altar and reverently kneel before the Lord Who has chosen this way in which to impart Himself to them. Their sin sees the pledge of its pardon in the Holy Elements; with holy reverence and deepest gratitude they receive the Divine Gift, as they hear the very words of the Giver, "Take and eat, this is the Body of Christ, given for thee." "Take and drink, this is the Blood of the New Testament, shed for thy sins." Devoutly, we appropriate to ourselves the message of pardon, peace, imputation, impartation; reverently we receive CHRIST, with all His Work, in all His plenitude of Power. No, in this solemn moment, not human works as offering, but Divine Gift and assurance.

There are many other distinctive traits in our beautiful Service, but time permits us to mention but one particularly. It presents Christ our Saviour as the object and center of all our worship; it is a living embodiment of the spirit of the First and Second Commandments, which declare that "thou shalt have no other gods beside Me;" and "thou shalt not take My Name in vain". We have already seen how the Roman Service centres, not in the propitiatory sacrifice which Christ once offered on the cross, but in that which the Church now from day to day continually offers. Its Liturgy is further crowded with references to the Virgin, the Archangel

Digitized by Google

Michael, the Apostles, Martyrs and Saints, some forty of whom are mentioned by name; not simply references to them, but we should have said confession made to them, and prayers offered to them for their intercession with God And while the clergy are hastily mumbling or chanting this service in a foreign tongue the laity are busy in the pew "working out their salvation", as with marvelous celerity they cover the decades of the rosary, reeling off the "vain repetitions" of Ave Marias, Pater Nosters, and Gloria Patris. Work! Work! Work! Christ's work ignored; man's work exalted! The Church, Mary, the Martyrs, the Saints, traditions and legends, but little of Christ and His Word. Now take up a Monday morning's paper in any great city and read the reports of a majority of the sermons there given. Political situations, industrial conditions, sociological problems, criticisms of the national policy, reviews of recent publications, discussion of athletics or Art, disquisitions, philosophical, geographical, historical, ethnological, biographical,—but what of "Christ and Him crucified" than Whom Paul declared that he would know nothing? Take up again the Common Service. Its very beginning is in the Name of the Triune God; His assurance of pardon meets our confession of sin; our cry of need ascends to Christ in our Kyrie, and Agnus Dei; our praise is given Him in the Gloria, the Hallelujah, the Response to His Gospel, the Sanctus, the Thanksgiving, the Benedicamus; we confess our faith in Him in Creed, in Canticle and in every part of the Service; our petitions ascend to Him in Collect, General Prayer and Agnus; we lift our hearts to Him in Preface and Nunc Dimittis; from Him we receive sacramental grace in Lessons, Sermon, Absolution, Communion and Benediction. His Life, His Work, His Teaching, His Intercession, His Exhortation, His Promise. We are on the Mount of Transfiguration,—Christ is with us in all His Divine Glory, Majesty and Power. All else is down in the valley, far beneath. Jesus is all in all.

Not only, however, does our Service reflect in its form our distinctive views of Divine Worship, but it is a living embodiment of our whole doctrinal system, from which, indeed, our conceptions of Worship naturally emerge. We believe that in the very words of the service not only every fundamental, but every distinctive doctrine of our Church finds expression. The doctrine of the Trinity is proclaimed constantly in Invocation, Declaration of Grace, Gloria Patri, Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, Collects, Creeds, General Prayer, Proper Preface, Sanctus, and Benediction. The doctrine of Creation and Providence in the very first Versicle, as well as

Digitized by Google

in Collects, Creeds and General Prayer; human sin and God's mercy and forgiveness appear in the Confession and Declaration, Gloria in Excelsis, Collects, Creeds, Offertory, General Prayer, Proper Prefaces, Verba, Agnus and Distribution. Concerning the Person of Christ, the doctrine of His two Natures is shown in Collects, Creeds, Proper Prefaces; the doctrine of His Offices *passim*,—as Prophet in Collect and Sanctus; as Priest making intercession and satisfaction in Declaration, Gloria in Excelsis, Collects, Creeds, Proper Preface; as King reigning in His kingdoms of Power, Grace and Glory in Gloria in Excelsis, Collects, Creeds, General Prayer and Gloria Patri everywhere. Likewise the doctrine of His States. The Humiliation appears in Confession, Collects, Gradual, Creeds, General Prayer, and Proper Prefaces: the Exaltation in Gloria in Excelsis, Collects, Creeds and Proper Prefaces. Of the teaching concerning the Holy Spirit, we see faith, justification, calling, illumination, regeneration, conversion, sanctification proclaimed in Confession, Declaration, Collects, and Creeds.

The doctrine of the Means of Grace not only underlies the whole conception of the Service, but appears specifically as well in individual portions of it. The power and efficacy of the Word is not only emphasized by the dominating position accorded it as controlling every variable part of the Service, but the very words of the Liturgy itself are in great measure Scriptural, and if not literally so, entirely so in spirit. The whole second part of the Service enshrines in forms of living beauty the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. We have already spoken of at least one of the individual parts which shows that he who engages in this holy service in the spirit and words of this Liturgy cannot regard the Sacrament either as a sacrificial offering, or a mere commemorative or consecratory form, but as in very truth the way chosen by our Lord Himself to impart Himself in all His plenitude of saving grace and power to us personally and individually. And so we may mention every vital, fundamental doctrine of Christian faith, and every distinctive principle and tenet of Lutheranism and we find it not only dimly reflected but generally most clearly stated in our incomparable Service.

It had been our intention to give a concise summary or characterization of the different families of liturgies, and indicate the place of the Common Service among them;—in other words, to treat of the somewhat complicated questions of liturgical consanguinity and affinity, to present a few pages, at least, of the ledger in which History has recorded the debt and credit account of these near relatives in their

Digitized by Google

dealings with one another,—but this manifestly lies beyond the limits of this paper. We trust that sufficient has been presented to show that not only in its general outline and spirit, but in its individual parts, our Service is at once a living embodiment and a luminous and lovely exposition of the Holy Christian Faith as apprehended by the Lutheran Church, and that as such it deserves to stand as a worthy contribution of American Lutheranism to the number of Confessional Symbols of our Church; not as a dry, dogmatic formula of belief to be taken down from dusty shelves in time of controversy and argument, but as a living thing of surpassing beauty, which our hands, lips and heart may together use whenever we enter the sanctuary of God to commune with Him.

LUTHER D. REED.

Allegheny, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LITURGICAL REFORM.

FEW delights are comparable with that of a scholar who thinks he has lighted on a fact which other students have not known, or recognized, or taken into account. As when a chemist, who has put certain substances together a hundred times without being able to make them unite, suddenly hits upon the right proportions, and in the right temperature fails of no necessary condition, and sees them make the combination which exactly imitates and therefore explains nature, so the ardent student glows over the possibility that in Occam he will find the germs of Luther's theory of the Sacraments, recognizes in Augustine the beginning or reflection of the Collects, or constructs from the "faithful sayings" of the New Testament Epistles a theory of the daily life of the Apostolic Church. But how common is it to find that he is only repeating a discovery made many times before; to have men say in the face of his prophetic voice, *O, I knew that; that is an old story.* The critics are fond of showing that every poet is a plagiarist. The commentator discovers in earlier seers the material of later prophecy. The plots of our novels and dramas are tracked to prehistoric story-tellers. And we are almost compelled to believe that all possible knowledge is made up of a few score original elements, whose combinations only are variable, as in a Chinese puzzle.

It is very curious again how often a great discovery has been made simultaneously by several investigators. Astronomers differ over the right to name a planet; physicians challenge the title to the discovery of anæsthetics; steam and electrical appliances are ascribed to different inventors. It seems as if when the time had come for the evolution of some new contrivance, when all the

Digitized by Google

conditions had at last been perfected by patient work in many lands, and further progress waited on its emergence, it waited on no man's wit to discover it, but forced its way through the brains and hands of many, wherever there were thoughtful and unselfish men fitted to be the conductors of the gifts of God.

Let me congratulate this Association formed for liturgical study and research, upon your program and the zeal with which you have begun to follow it. I may not be wrong in the surmise that the Association owes its being and the direction and thoroughness of its studies to the impulse given by a teacher in our theological Alma Mater and the delightful fruits of labour in these fields under his guidance. And he was called into these special studies by the opportunity which occurred (now twenty years ago) to review, extend and defend our liturgical forms. And this opportunity came out of the growth and refinement of our Church, as it cast the chrysalis of its ancestral tongue and began to think and speak and pray in English. But it would be a mistake for this Association to conceive itself to be a pioneer; or as it puts its hand to the axe to hew itself a way and to build itself a home in what seems still a wilderness, to think there are no other workmen, that there are no other clearings, and that stately cities have not risen where a forest was. I propose that we consider the *Origin of Liturgical Reform;* that we analyze the work in which we are interested, and ask whence came the impulse to it, as worthy of those who are consecrated to the service of God in the world.

No one will deny that there are strong practical reasons in the present for liturgical reform. All of us can remember bald and tiresome religious services, which repeated and multiplied the iteration of hymn and long prayer and targumed Scripture lesson and lengthy sermon and doxology and benediction, as if no other way of worshipping God ever had been known or was possible; and there are around us extravagances enough to show us how overwearied men are trying to escape from it. Wonderful things have been accomplished within the memory of living man. But much remains to do. There are churches of hopeless ugliness; in many congregations an historical service is mangled and misshapen; there are ministers who seem to think of themselves only in the Church, who do and say things revolting to delicate taste and to the reverent mind, and who are unable to explain to their flocks any of the parts of worship or even to discern any reason in it. Eccentric mistakes, the idiosyncrasies of a man or a congregation, are repeated over a wide country in lesser churches. And many a change, which for a while is applauded, is after all but a heartless following of a fashion.

Digitized by Google

But our Church has awakened to the *necessity* of liturgical reform. Our people share in the general culture of the community. They wish to have fine churches, and ecclesiastical architecture and an historical service answer to each other. They read; and as they read the best English books they imbibe the spirit of the Anglican Church, and demand the same tone in their own, or that pure and better spirit which fanned the worship of the English Church. They are unwilling to be abandoned to the ignorance or impertinence or vagaries or narrowness of any preacher, and yearn to breathe the communion of saints, the native air of the Universal Church, in the house of God. Then we have grown in appreciation of the doctrinal belief of the Church. The Holy Sacrament is the centre of our worship and asserts its place. The Word of God will no longer be dealt out as the utterance of a man, but must have its sacramental dignity. Nor should we leave out of view, on the other hand, that liturgical reform is demanded by just such a time of decaying faith as this. It is noteworthy that what are called Broad Churchmen in the Protestant Episcopal Church make much of ritual. As beliefs become cloudy, when men are holding their faith in abeyance, they want a standard, a beacon; and they value a worship whose forms stand, and which goes on undisturbed, even when the worshippers are cold and faith is weak. These are some of the reasons which make liturgical reform a necessity in the present time merely as a practical measure, and would justify earnest men in studying the measures to adopt, the principles to be observed, and the aim to keep in view. But I wish to remind you that liturgical reform is a larger thing than this. It is a part of a wide, deep and venerable movement. It is a world-tendency upon which we are borne. It is rooted in the life of the Church.

At the beginning of this Century in many of the churches of Germany the *Gottesdienst* had given place to *Gottesverehrung*. In some of the churches the service of the 16th Century still was said, the ministers wore the alb, there were many services on a Sunday and during the week, and every regulation of the reformers was unchanged;—to such an extent, indeed, that in some places on high days the main parts of the Service, except the pericopes and the Words of Institution, were sung in Latin, and, I fear, on other days, when they were not sung in Latin, were not said at all. It is not hard to see that if the Liturgy in such a case was faultless in form, it was an *opus operatum*: the people had no part in it; they were spectators only. Such a liturgy was only a survival. The life of the Church was not in it, and was not nourished by it. It was not altogether a false motive which led men to substitute a new order and new formularies for the

Digitized by Google

old that seemed to have no meaning; just as in this country the simpler and emptier Service of 1786 no doubt seemed to answer the mind of the Church better than the full Lutheran Order of 1748. But the change went very far. The new formularies were pompous, and were intended to move the people to worship. The Holy Supper no longer was regarded as the centre and focus of worship. The Sacramental idea was forgotten. With alb and Latin song went the whole structure of the Service. Not much was left to the congregation but to be preached to and prayed at. But at the beginning of this Century the whole face of Europe was changed. The conquests of Napoleon broke down the old order. He demonstrated the worthlessness of the structure. And when he had been overcome, it was impossible to set it up again. The French Revolution with the horrors that attended and followed it had made men feel how far they had drifted from patriotism, purity, homely affection and religious faith, and brought about a great revival, a conversion of the nations. It was natural there should be a reaction after the excesses of skepticism and political liberty. With renewed assertion of the rights of kings, renewed submission to the authority of the Church, a painful endeavour to restore what was venerable, there was an honest abasement before God,—the hearts of the earnest cried out for more than rationalistic forms could give them. To this era belongs what is called the Romantic movement in literature—of which Walter Scott was a product and a force, to which the Schlegels belonged in Germany, and from which come the Pre-raphaelite School in Art and the revival of Gothic architecture . The Tercentenary of the Reformation occurred in 1817 and directed the thoughtful to the principles and achievements of the reformers. Frederick William III. of Prussia sought the union of the Evangelical Church in Germany—the ancestral dream of his house. He and his successor hoped for a closer relation to the Church of England. He discerned the real causes of the disunion, weakness and overthrow of Germany. The Liturgy for the Garrison Church at Berlin, of which the king was the compiler, Bunsen's Capitoline Liturgy intended for the use of the Evangelical Church in the Embassy at Rome, and finally the new Liturgy for the Prussian Church, all followed one line, namely, a return to the historical order of service which had been in use in the Western Church from early times, and a return to the order and forms of that Service as "Father Luther" had purified and arranged them. Different views may be taken of the liturgies which the king and his friends published and he tried to force on the Church. But it is evident that they rested on a study of the original and characteristic Service of Worship of our reformers, which deserved to

Digitized by Google

be recalled to mind. In the controversy that ensued men were compelled to study the old Church Orders, to admire the wealth of liturgical material so strangely forgotten, to recognize that such a liturgical service at every point answered to the structure of the old faith, which had been forgotten too, so that in every part the one demanded the other, and to seek and regard the essential principle of the worship of the Christian Church. The past century seemed to have been lost time. The Church awoke with a sigh to the faith of the fathers and to their mode of worship. The contest in Prussia spread to the other states. And so the work of liturgical reform has steadily proceeded in Germany. Probably no German state has been content with the Order and constituents of worship which were in use at the beginning of the century. At present the liturgy of the Lutheran Church in Russia is under revision. And everywhere—while in some places there is incompleteness, and in some a conscious and obdurate aversion to Lutheran forms, based on an aversion to the Lutheran faith,—wherever there has been intelligent guidance, liturgical reform has returned to the principles and liturgy of "Father Luther."

In this country our churches owe so much to the influence of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the maintenance of liturgical taste, that we are apt to think that the Anglican Church has always been as well-ordered as it is to-day. It is a curious fact that, as in the Reformation the Lutheran Service was practically fixed in the period between 1523-1539, while the first English Service, which was drawn from it, was not published till 1548, 9, so the reaction, conversion and reform of which I have spoken had declared itself and taken shape and started on its resistless way before the beginning of the Oxford movement, which, in spite of the Romeward tendency it developed, has had so mighty an influence on the liturgical reform of the Anglican Church. It would be unfair to say that it is due to the movement in Germany. The Romantic movement, the conservative reaction, found leaders and prophets in England. The English and the Germans are of the same stock. German sovereigns, whose continental realm possesses one of the purest of Lutheran communities, sat on the throne of England. There is too much in common between the Lutheran and the Anglican Churches for one to be deeply stirred without the other feeling it. Yet it must not be left unnoticed that German influence in this direction *was* felt in England. Baron Bunsen, for instance, was as effective in England as in Germany. He profoundly influenced Broad Churchmen there. The healthy core of the English Church always is nourished on Lutheran theology. And the very attempt of Frederick

Digitized by Google

William IV. to unite the German and Anglican churches in the Jerusalem bishopric, though it rested on a misconception of the genius of both churches, urged on the movement to the revival and criticism and repristination of the forms of the past.

I may say that in the Church of England in this country before this movement began, there was little order. And in England the churches were neglected, instruments of handiwork stood in chancels, the usages of the fathers were forgotten, the clerk and not the congregation said the responses, and it even was forgotten what vestments were in use in earlier time. There is much reason to admire the dignity of the Service of the English Church and its so-called uniformity, but we must not forget that it has been attained under much greater advantages, yet not without sore struggle, in the course of that very movement, of liturgical reform upon which we are borne in our own Church, which seems so incomplete, but in which we are striving to do our part.

The progress of liturgical reform in our own country has gone the same course that I have described. The earliest liturgy of our Church in this country was of the historical Lutheran type, but by the beginning of this century another had succeeded it, which answered to the colder faith of the time. And when our first English Churches were organized, our first books breathed the grandiloquent uncertainties and touching periphrase which were a truthful utterance of weakness of conviction. The revival of Church-consciousness, a renewed interest in doctrine, were in no small measure due to the movement in Germany, and in later years the influence of controversy in England was felt. The same movement began in other churches. Dr. Nevin revived a churchly theology and his followers tried to establish a liturgy constructed on ancient models. Dr. Schaff gave a voice to German thought. The General Synod was always aiming at an improved liturgy. In that improvement the Pennsylvania Synod was the pioneer. The Southern Churches practically adopted the Pennsylvania Synod's scheme. The *Church Book* finally came into being; and then the *Kirchenbuch;* and finally the *Common Service*. We now have the full Lutheran Service with all its provisions for all who wish to use it. We see, ever more clearly, the Christian principle of worship. We are learning to discern the principle of worship which our fathers held to be Scriptural and proper to the Church from that which has mastered the Roman Catholic Church and so troubles the Protestant Episcopal Church to-day. And having reached this stage, we recognize it is but a stage. We have yet to understand one book; to criticise it; to live it; and to make it the possession and life of our people. It is yet a mark to aim at. It will be long before the fidelity

Digitized by Google

of many make it a standing point for further development of the Church.

I have dwelt at length on the origin of the present movement of liturgical reform. It is well to remember that the same interest that occupies us is felt throughout the Christian Church. It has its roots very deep in history. It is a part of the progress of our race. And it is not a spent force.

There have been several great eras of liturgical reform. Perhaps the first was when the simple Service of New Testament time, such a Service as the *Didache* or Justin Martyr tells of, became such as that of the earliest Greek written liturgies that have come down to us. The adoption of the dramatic principle, the secret discipline, the growing distinction between a clergy and laity, the transference to Christian worship of Old Testament forms, the development of a priesthood and a Sacrifice, are elements of it; there are evidences of hesitation and criticism; and we are not yet able to say how much of this early form may have been borrowed in Alexandria from Egyptian rites and in the Greek world from the Mysteries.

A second period of liturgical reform of the greatest importance was that of the formation of the Latin Service. How strange that so momentous a change should have taken place somewhere in the 3d Century, and yet there should be no record of it; strange enough if it had been a mere translation of the venerable Greek form; but stranger as manifesting a critical and creative spirit guiding it, so as to form a distinctive Western Service, which shall be the old Service, yet a new, simpler, no less majestic, and lucid; without the invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements, though there is evidence that there was a question about this omission; but with the marvellous addition of the Collects, for which we should ever be grateful, and the skilful and suggestive variation of the liturgy at every Service of the Christian Year.

The next great period of liturgical reform is marked by the name of Charlemagne. How I wish we knew more of him! He was the first great German. The Roman Service took the place of the particular liturgies which had maintained themselves in Spain, for instance, and in France. Among many other reforms we owe it to Charlemagne that the reading and inculcation of the Scriptures in the Service were arranged and enforced; an endeavor that early to make the Roman Liturgy something else than an *opus operatum*.

The fourth great period was the era of the Reformation. Before the Lutherans began it for themselves, the movement to liturgical reform had begun in the Roman Church. In 1525 the

Digitized by Google

Pope took steps for the reformation of the Breviary, and the work was completed and published by Cardinal Quignonez in 1533-6. The debates between Roman and Protestant theologians showed how unsettled was the doctrine of Sacrifice which was held by many adherents of the old order. Charles V. attempted a reformation at Augsburg in 1548. And finally the Council of Trent instituted a reformation of the office of the Mass. In this, of course, the conception of Christian Worship as a Sacrifice offered to God, in which our Lord is immolated in the Holy Supper, and which reaches its culmination in the consecration and oblation of the elements, was established. This was the Roman liturgical reform. The opposite conception and the uncertainties about the matter were condemned and cast out. The work of liturgical reform did not then come to an end in the Roman Church. It was merely confined within a narrow channel. But, besides the addition of new festivals and new forms of devotion, hymns in the vernacular have been admitted, the Scriptures are read in the language of the people, a sermon is made customary at Mass, a translation of the whole service is published for the use of worshippers, and there have been teachers to urge the use of the whole Mass in the common tongue.

The reformation of worship which Rome condemned, took two opposing lines. One set of teachers would have brushed away the whole structure of worship which had grown up in the history of the Church, to reconstruct it anew on the principles of the Scriptures and perhaps after the example of the Churches in the time of the Apostles. This tendency has gone so far as practically to deny the possibility of any common worship: if there is to be any public prayer, it is to be only the occasional outpouring of an overcharged soul; and the Word of God is not presented as God's Word, but never without comment, and always addressed as the word of man to the minds of men and subjected to the private judgment of every hearer. On the other hand the vast majority of the Protestants against Rome acknowledged a certain right and authority of the traditional order of worship. They might criticise or reshape it or try to purify it or seek to give it another explanation than that which Rome canonized; they might accept or reject more or less of it; but the Order of the Mass was there, to be reckoned with like the Scriptures and the ancient Creeds and the decrees of Councils and the Hierarchy. In the course of time there has been a deep difference between the principles of liturgical reform which have guided different communions. Roman Catholic writers will tell you that Luther was not honest in his reformation of the Service. They say that he left the forms of the old worship, so that all appear-

Digitized by Google

ed to simple folk as it had hitherto, and skilfully slipped out of it all that was of moment, and thus furtively changed the faith of the people while he amused their ears and eyes. The very objection betrays its groundlessness. It was the change of faith, which was of moment. Doctrine was at the heart of the Lutheran reformation of worship and governed every part of it. And while addresses to the saints, for instance, were lopped off, and the Scriptures were read to the people in a tongue they could understand, and in the hymns they were given a voice in worship, and gradually all the parts were translated with much study and anxious attention to form as well as meaning, the heart of Luther's reform is that God gives us all and we bring Him nothing but open mouths and empty hearts,—that Word and Supper are primarily and essentially Sacrament not Sacrifice, the impartation of complete redemption and sufficient grace, and that our Sacrifice is only the other side of it, begotten by it, included in it, subordinate to it. This is the centre and focus of the Lutheran reform. It casts out the whole doctrine of a propitiatory Sacrifice in the Mass, which the Roman Church made to be the whole of worship. And it starts the question whether Luther and his coadjutors in so many German cities had a *theory* of Christian worship which demanded and justified their retention of the old Order and constituents of worship after they had cut the Canon of the Mass out of it. There are those who say he had none.

There are German scholars who say that his work was incomplete, but was not meant to be incomplete; that he set up the principle which was destined to be the solvent before which the whole of the old Order should crumble; and that therefore the disappearance of the traditional order in the German Churches in the last century was the result of the persistence of the good leaven, and that it is the duty of the adherents of Luther in the present age not to go "back to Father Luther," as the king of Prussia essayed to do, but to construct a new Order of fresh materials, the original utterance of an emancipated age. This is one of the issues of liturgical reform to which I shall revert. I allude to it to show two of the lines of liturgical reform which the movement of the era of the Reformation has taken,—Luther's reconstruction of the Service on the Sacramental principle and the demand for a modern revision of his work. But there was also another line, which must be taken into account. It is represented in the history of the Book of Common Prayer. The varying currents of the English Reformation need not be described again. But it will not be too much to say that the Church of England has received the liturgical reform of the Protestants—the order of the old Service with the distinctive Roman and mediæval

Digitized by Google

Sacrifice taken out of it—but is unwilling to supply the Lutheran content. She wonders at and prizes the ancient relic, but cannot explain it; and goes about to invent other sacrificial theories to take the place of the central immolation of our Lord in the Mass. —Here we have five theories of Christian worship, all represented in the movement of liturgical reform in the life of the Christian Church today.

Let us turn to *the Problems of liturgical reform.* It is clear that men may engage in the work of liturgical reform from very different interests. Let us classify them as æsthetical, historical and practical. A taste for ritual or for extreme simplicity in worship might be without any appreciation of the historical questions involved and might lead to steps hurtful to the congregation. On the other hand a scholar might take great delight in historical study of Christian worship and yet be entirely careless of the Service in his own Church. Many a practical man wishes uniformity and order, but has no taste, and violates the historical meaning of the Service ruthlessly.

What authority has taste? If taste had been consulted, we could not have secured the Common Service. It was by the exclusion of personal preference and common submission to the norm, that agreement was reached. Yet taste had play. There were minor parts of worship which taste ruled out. The *Nunc Dimittis* is retained in our Communion Service because the taste of all agreed on this point rather than because it belongs to the normal Lutheran order. Taste had much to do with the original Lutheran reform. Luther's sympathetic preference for rhymed verse, his keen musical perception, caused him to hesitate to receive translations of texts which were at hand, and to spend a long time perfecting his Service, and, no doubt, this had a good deal to do with his retention of the Latin and of many of the songs. Even his taste was sometimes at fault, as witness his German *Sanctus, Isaiae dem Propheten dies geschah!* And some of his cotemporaries made a clumsy work of the Collects. To eminent delicacy and courage in liturgical composition we owe the English form of parts of the Service. But while we wonder at the marvellous skill and taste of German and English reformers, there was much in the 16th Century Service-books which does not suit the taste of this age. This suggests a question which the scientific liturgist must meet. What are the canons of liturgical taste? In how far can the subjective and the temporary be allowed to alter that which belongs to the whole Church of all ages and times?

It is somewhat annoying to one whose interest in liturgical reform is largely historical to meet with men and women who have

Digitized by Google

a taste for ritual and would change our churches and pass judgment on our usages and manner of worship from the standpoint of fashion. They think they are "liturgical" because they sing *Amen* at the end of hymns. They would require us to kneel in prayer, against the custom of our fathers and the Nicene rule. They declare it is essential to kneel in the Holy Supper, against the custom of the Early Church. They add a song instead of the Offertory Sentences. They subordinate ecclesiastical symbolism to adornment. But another question has to be met here. Liturgical taste is set among us principally by the English Church; and its canons, when not arbitrary, are derived from the Roman. Why are these to be preferred to those of the German Churches? Why is that to be called churchly or liturgical which agrees with English or Roman usage, rather than that which has the sanction of the churches from which we sprung? It will therefore be the task of the æsthetic liturgist to compare these uses, and trace them to their real origin, and detect their real worth. There are canons of taste in every art. There should be such in liturgical reform.

There is a large body of Churchmen in Germany who have no sympathy with the repristination of the Reformation liturgies. I believe they would even deny the possibility of the maintenance of such a Service as we have. But they are not without liturgical taste and zeal. They are eager for what they call the *enrichment of worship*. They publish journals. They collect information. They propose the employment of the most diverse elements. For instance, some of them urge that the organ and choir be put behind and above the altar; they censure the erection of Gothic churches with the old arrangement of chancel and altar; they clamour for the development of a modern and evangelical style of architecture; they advocate the recension of venerable forms, for instance, of the *Gloria in Excelsis* and the *Formula of Consecration;* they abandon the historical and claim everything and hold that they have a right to adopt it. There is a good deal of this in our American churches. It is the assertion of *"taste."* And what do we mean when we say it is "unliturgical"? Smend says Zwinglie had more liturgical genius than Luther. What right have we to say that taste must be limited, governed, subjected by any rule; and what shall the rule be except the consent, that is the common taste, of the worshippers? This is an issue in the movement to liturgical reform.

And so we come to another question—What is liturgical progress, and what is liturgical decay? We look upon the effect of Pietism and the final triumph of Rationalism over the Reformation liturgies as steps of decay. But in their time they

Digitized by Google

were thought steps of progress. It was thought a great thing when the old full list of services, the varied vestments and complete Service, which had lingered at Nuremberg until this century, while church after church throughout Germany had put on the stately emptiness of the 18th century, were done away. Now we are looking back to what was abandoned. If we go into a Church where hearty congregational singing has given place to an artistic service, and there are lights and genuflexious and vestments, which appeal to a refined taste, but are a mere gazing-stock to the people, do we not again say that this is decay? How shall we decide what is liturgical progress and what is decay? Are the Introits always to be chained to their archaic music? Are the Gregorian tones as sacred as the Psalms? Cannot history show us some forms or principles which are inseparable from Christian worship and assert and maintain themselves through all change? This is a question for liturgical taste.

The historical student finds in the liturgy of the Church an authentic witness of the past. As in rebuilding old churches they find in the walls traces of the work of masons and architects separated from each other by centuries, so he delights to recognize the parts of the Service which belong to various remote ages, to trace their development, to read the story of their own time in them, and to explain their place in this secular mosaic. We owe a great deal to such cool investigators. The devotee accepts all without question, even the tradition concerning its origin; every part of the Sacramentary of Gregory he ascribes to him and shudders to be told of a comparison of manuscripts which proves that a great part of it is centuries later in date than Gregory. But the scholar is cool as an anatomist. He burrows and speculates, hesitates and decides, like Layard and Schliemann among the ruins of the past.

We have not more than begun the investigation of liturgies. So far as our own Church is concerned, and its own order derived from the 16th century forms, we have only secured an outline upon which to work. There are questions about all the texts: whence are they derived; what variations appear in the Reformation formularies ;why do different Church Orders insist on slight variations; what was the objection to the earliest translations, which caused the neglect and final rejection of them; and what can be said of the merit of the rhymed translations which got such vogue? New discoveries are being made of letters, memoranda, city records, Church Orders, in libraries, sacristies, and town-halls, which multiply the knowledge of ten years ago.

Then comes the question as to the originals from which these German texts were rendered: What Missals and Breviaries

Digitized by Google

were in the hands of our reformers? And what is to be said of the variations between these Missals? And when the original usage has been discovered, then comparison must be made between the Ambrosian, Gallican and Mozarabic Masses and the Roman. This brings the liturgist back to the origins of the Latin Service. He seeks them in the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian, in North Africa rather than in Rome. And then come the Eastern liturgies. What a maze! How shall he disentangle the original from later additions; and to which shall he assign priority—to the versions—the Syriac, the Armenian, the Coptic, —or to the extant Greek form? And here again he must go to what remains of early Christian literature for a check upon the forms themselves.

The texts ascertained, or, rather, their history and variations having been chronicled (and on the way to this how much will our liturgist have learned of the interaction and successive superiority of the divine and the human factors in the life of the Church,)—he will meet the question of the *rationale,* the meaning, of the parts and their order. Is there any reason why the worship of the Church should contain just such parts in just such order? Was there a conscious purpose in the construction of the Church Service? Has the whole a single and definite significance, and is each part essential to the structure? Are not many venerable parts of the traditional worship merely rudimentary survivals, whose use is forgotten, unascertainable, and which are subjected to arbitrary and varying explanation, like the lights on the altar, for instance? Are they like knots on a tree's trunk, only marks where something else was? Do they give forth the same voice they had at first? Or are they organic utterances of the very heart of the Christian worship? And if there is a meaning, what are you to say of the variations between Greek Liturgy and Roman Mass and Protestant Communion? Is there a common residuum on which the variants are an exfoliation? Or can one maintain its claim to have its root in the Upper Chamber and its topmost boughs flower-crowned in the Holy of Holies?

This brings us to the numberless questions involved in the development of ritual. I have adverted to the different elements of which the Christian Service is composed. We may find remnants of the earliest Service in the New Testament. Was it not natural that forms of the Old Testament worship should be taken over? Perhaps these were at first used figuratively, then kept in token of their fulfilment in Christian realities, but can we wonder if those whose Christian life was in so large part nourished by the Old Testament Scriptures, and who, coming out of

Digitized by Google

the corruptions of heathenism, so needed the discipline of the Law, and still were accustomed to sacrifices as the universal expression of worship, adopted also forms of the Ceremonial Law? That Ceremonial Law was constructed on patterns of things heavenly showed to Moses in the Mount. Still, the heavenly patterns were expressed in forms not unknown to the patriarchs, to Egypt and to Assyria. Universal forms of worship were purified and rearranged in the Tabernacle. Here seems to be a sanction of the adoption of what appears characteristically human, as well as the promulgation and fixation of something which is Divine and therefore eternal, immutable. What is that imperishable, normal, real thing in the Old Testament ritual, which dares not be absent from its worship in Heaven? The same considdares not e babsent from its worship in Heaven? The same considit is not absent from its worship in Heaven? The same considerations join with the genius of the peoples among whom the worship of the Church took form, to justify the use of symbolical action. This had a use and a meaning then, which among us it has not. The beginnings of ritual perhaps are traceable to Jerusalem. It does not seem a false tradition which ascribes a standard Greek Liturgy to Alexandria. Scholarship has as yet done no more than suggest the great part Egyptian traditions and habits, ingrained in the people and fortified by the remains of age-old cults, had in the formation of the Christian forms of worship. At places also the Christian ritual strangely touches the Mithraic ceremonies which maintained themselves in Italy. Gregory's principle expressed in his letter to Augustine of Canterbury and illustrated in the religious habits of Germany and Scandinavia, to adopt and Christianize heathen customs, was no invention of his age, but in all probability was the tradition of the Church from the beginning. It is the task of the scientific liturgist to seek the heart, the essence, the soul, of Christian worship, that is incorporate in a body nourished upon and assimilating these elements; but when the soul is encountered, shall the scientific liturgist stay and strip off this body? Can the soul live disembodied? Or shall we admire and value and use the Service which bears the mark and is the offering of every age and every people and every conquered faith through which the undying Church has passed?

We need a complete study of the doctrine of Sacrifice in Christian Worship. How early was the figure mixed with a literal interpretation? The priesthood of all believers, the spiritual sacrifices, the Eucharist of the Church, strive to maintain themselves side by side with the immolation of Christ by a regular priesthood. Political urgency, innate convictions, false exe-

Digitized by Google

gesis, all conspired to fix this doctrine on the Church, so that, though at the time of the Reformation there were many more or less Scriptural theologians to deny it, it long had been practically the rule and habit of faith. So we come upon a serious question: at what stage did the historical Service begin to leave the true type; when did it cease to be Christian; how can we explain the true elements which not only continued to exist in it, but, like the Collects, for instance, seem to have been forgotten and born in what we pronounce an age of retrogression and decay? In how far are we justified in picking out the framework, in which the propitiatory sacrifice is imbedded, as if the latter had been a complete superaddition on the former?

Two events in the early history of the Service are most suggestive. One is the omission from the Western Service of *Epiclesis,* the Invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the Elements (and upon the worshippers) in the Holy Communion. It occurs in all of the older liturgies.* It has been urged by the Eastern Church against the orthodoxy of the Roman Mass, that

* Cyril Cat. Myst. V. 7. After hallowing ourselves by these spiritual hymns, we beseech the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the elements displayed on the table, to make the bread the Body of Christ and the wine the Blood of Christ. For most certainly, whatsoever the Holy Spirit may have touched, that is hallowed and transformed.

Lit. Clem. Ap. C. VIII. 12. 17. That he may declare (αποφηνη) this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ, in order that they who partake of it may be confirmed in piety, obtain remission of their sins, be delivered from the devil and his deceits, be filled with the Holy Spirit, be made worthy of Thy Christ, obtain everlasting life, Thou being reconciled to them O Lord Almighty.

it omits this essential rite. The Nonjurors in England insisted on its restoration to the Service and it has been inserted in the Scottish and the American Prayerbooks, over against the Book of Common Prayer. The liturgies betray the force that was ascribed to it. There is little doubt that it was found in the Greek Liturgy of the Church at Rome. But it is omitted in the Latin, which came into being in the 3d century. Yet there survives in one of the oldest MSS., the so-called Leonine Sacramentary, "a distinct invocation of the Holy Spirit."* Its omission therefore was deliberate, purposed. Why? What doctrinal departure was represented by this momentous, almost essential liturgical change? To me this seems a question of the greatest importance, and if it cannot be answered, only shows how ignorant we really are of the genius and rationale of our Liturgy.

Digitized by Google

Another very curious variation occurs between the Armenian and Coptic versions on the one hand, and the Greek liturgies as they have come down to us. In the latter the offering is made to God the Father. In the former, on the other hand, the offering is made to the Lord Himself.** It hardly is conceivable that in the earliest form of the Liturgy the Church immolated Christ and offered Him to Himself. Are these ancient versions in this particular a faithful translation (imbedded in a corrupt representation of earlier forms) of the original thank-offering of the

---

Lit. Chrys. (Make) this bread etc.–changing them by Thy Holy Spirit.

Lit. St. Mark. Send forth Thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these cups, that He may sanctify and consecrate them; as God Almighty, and may make the bread the Body etc.

Mozarabic (for 2 S. after Ep.) That Thou wouldst sanctify this oblation by the permixture of Thy Holy Spirit, and wouldst conform it with full transformation to the Body and Blood etc.

Syriac St. Basil. He beseeches God that His Spirit should come on the congregation and the gifts and (αναδειξαι) exhibit the bread and cup as the precious Body and Blood of our Lord.

* "The first, and undoubtedly the oldest, is a sacramentary discovered in the library at Verona and published by Blanchini in the year 1735. He gave to it the title Sacramentarium Leonianum, and attributed it (without any documentary evidence) to pope Leo the Great. . .It seems now to be generally agreed that the MS, was prepared by some ecclesiastic for his own, either private or public use. . .It contains a collection of prayers such as were used at the eucharistic services etc. . .A distinct invocation of the Holy Spirit is on pp. 79, 147 (cf. p. 139)." Dict. Christ. Antt. 1032.

** Lit. St. Greg. "Remembering Thy coming upon earth, Thy Death, Thy Resurrection, Ascension, and coming Advent, we offer to Thee of Thine own gifts." And he beseeches Christ to come and complete the mystic

---

redeemed Church, the Body of Christ, to its Head; of which the present form preserves the gradual and final misconception and perversion?

As we study the Liturgy we shall become more and more enamoured of the ancient forms. At first taste may select a few forms or texts; then we allow ourselves to criticise old forms; we even rearrange (as, for instance, some would place the *Introit* before the *Confession of Sins* and the *Kyrie* before the *Declaration of Grace* in the Communion); it does not seem wrong to adapt the old Service to modern taste and a logical scheme; but as we persist in studying it, it more and more seems sacrilege to depart in the least from the model. Finally it is enough that "in the Sources" the text is given in that way (which it were

Digitized by Google

sacrilege to amend) and the parts in that order (which it is "unliturgical" and "unchurchly," to criticise). Another way to state this is that as we use the old Order it justifies itself. And this suggests a question which the student must settle for himself, the question of the liturgical value of tradition, of ancient usage. We may be glad to have the historical Service as a witness to the history of the Church. So we would revere a mediæval Cathedral. But ought we insist on copying it in a place of worship, if no words that were said could be understood in it? Are not we and each successive age of the Church to resist the erection of archaic forms instead of the living worship of the Church; to criticise, select and reconstruct; and to yield due respect to the new forms of worship, which, just like the Collects, the Sunday Gospels, the Lutheran church-hymns, and the Confession and General Absolution in the Communion, still are being developed in every age? It is easy to answer this question in the affirmative; but what are the rules on which this criticism shall proceed and which will defend us against the vagaries of personal taste and preserve for us the seminal forms in the use of which we participate with the whole body of the faithful? I urge this, that we may feel the peril that awaits the

---

service, to send His Spirit and sanctify and change the gifts into the Body and Blood of our redemption.

In the Greek and Arabic St. Basil in the Epiclesis the appeal is to God, in the Coptic to Christ.

St. Mark. The intercessory prayers which are offered by the priest after the giving of thanks in the "dignum et justum est," are addressed in the Greek Liturgy to the Father, in the Coptic to our Lord. . .In the Coptic the prayer is addressed to Christ to receive "the sacrifices and oblations of those who offer on His spiritual heavenly alter;" in the Greek a similar petition is addressed to God.

Syriac St. Bas. Addressed to God. D. C. A. 1022.

---

historical liturgist, and to defend our Church against the unhappy condition of the Anglican liturgists, who resolutely shut their eyes against all that is not found in their Service, seek and revere every pre-Reformation precedent, and labour to invent a convenient explanation for all they have or have not, until, threatened by endless contradictions, they are driven to the faith and practice of the nought-explaining Church of Rome.

We need spend but little time upon the problems of the practical liturgist. His devices must be subject to liturgical taste and liturgical knowledge. He seeks order and edification. He

Digitized by Google

estimates the demands and limitations of the present. He guards against a development of the liturgy away from the congregation. While he depends on the student, as a pastor waits for the instruction of the theologian, we are not to forget that the Church owes all to her practical liturgists. Gregory reformed the Service, vigorously cutting out superfluities, and impressing order upon those who wished for independence. Luther and his friends seem to have studied the different uses of the West and the liturgies of the East, and they possessed intuitive taste, but he was a practical liturgist,—as was Cramner in his own age, and Cosin in a later. He put his hand to the very central sanctuary of the Roman Mass, and cut the Canon out of it; he put the Gospels into the vernacular; he passed every prayer in review; he criticised the feast-days; and he put an end to the awkward transference of Epiphany Sundays to the end of the Christian year, supplying an appropriate finial to the whole year. There is, however, a sphere in which the historical liturgist and the practical come together—in the region of *Symbolism*. All the constituents of the Service are said to have a meaning, and all the accessories, too. Volumes have been written on the signification of colours, vestments, candles, incense, shapes, materials, architectural ornaments, rites. What if the explanations differ? Do we turn to the altar in prayer, because we pray with the congregation, or because the Sun rises in the East, or because we wish to pray towards Jerusalem, or because the Incarnate Lord is on the altar? Or what, again, if these things did once speak volumes in an imaginative age? The practical liturgist must decide whether they are now vocal or dumb, or whether they preach truth or falsehood, and how they may be made to contribute to communion between man and God.

The practical liturgist has to consider not only how he may speak to men, or how he may help men to speak to God, or how he may bring God's Word to men; it is his duty also to maintain *Churchliness*. And what is "churchliness"? It is conscious fellowship with all the members of the Body of Christ, in the present, in the past, and in the world to come. Here taste and historical scholarship and practical purpose will unite, and find in the possession of the historical Service the means of enkindling the consciousness of the Communion of Saints.

We must briefly notice the results to be expected from liturgical reform, especially in our own communion. The attainment of a beautiful and right praxis will not guarantee its maintenance. Our Service or worship seems to be a truthful utterance of our faith, and at the same time is well adapted to nourish the right faith, and we value it because it is commended by

Digitized by Google

the example and precept of the Reformers. Perhaps it is more beautiful now than it was in their time, for our congregations are more intelligent than most of theirs were, and say and sing, for they do not need to depend upon choirs better trained. Unhampered by tradition, we are able to omit many things whose use even then was a riddle, and which perhaps interfered strangely with the Service. Our Service, again, is a witness to the unity and continuity of the One Holy Christian Apostolic Church. But dear as it is to us and sacred, the mere recovery of it and its re-establishment in our congregations, fortified as it will be by such earnest research as this Association has entered on, will not guarantee its perpetuity. The Orders of worship which the Reformers occupied years in perfecting fell into disuse. A time came when there was hopeless dissonance between the taste and faith of the churches and the old forms. The old liturgies that lingered were obsolete long before men replaced them with others. It was wise in Muhlenberg to bring the Lutheran liturgy to America, but in less than fifty years one was composed which that age thought better, or at least more manageable. We must face this fact and provide against hurtful change. But, at the same time, not against all change. There is a sense in which even what is loveliest becomes obsolete and needs amendment. Every age will have its own faith springing from the old truth, and its own voice in which to confess it. The Service of the Church is what it is because every age has given to it its life-blood. It has been sprouting in new forms, opening into new blossoms continually. It would be false (unliturgical) to go back to the First Age, or even to the Sixteenth Century, for an absolute standard. It is a delight and a nourishment to our souls to mark the origin of the different parts of our worship in successive eras. An incense fills our churches in which linger the devotions of Egypt and Asia Minor, of Jerusalem, of the catacombs, of Roman churches when the barbarians were hovering on the borders of the Empire, of France when the Moors had swept over Spain, of the heroic age in Germany, and just as well of the Pietistic and Moravian eras, and of later days. We must expect and serve the *development* of the liturgy, its healthy and natural growth.

Therefore while truthfulness of life and in the expression of life must be a prime law, liturgical reform among us will aim at the ascertainment of the true principle of liturgical authority. I account it a great gain to the Church that Lutherans have made the Liturgy a principal subject of study. They are not bent on a defense of what is, like Roman scholars. Too often Anglicans are averse to the consideration of any fact which will make

Digitized by Google

against their own Order. You will look in vain into their books for a comprehensive, scientific and exhaustive study of all the elements of Christian worship. But the Lutheran is keenly alive to the perils of authority and of historical authority without criticism. That a thing has been so, is rather a reason for doubt than acceptance. The clear light of the Word and an imperturbable modernness in the application are his means. He turns from a dim fane, bleak and cobwebbed, in which is the moan of archaisms, and says, Ye make void the Word of God with your traditions.

We may expect great things in our Church from the liturgical reform in progress. The possession of *a Book*, of a uniform Service, of an historical Service—the peculiar possession of an historical Church, the explanation and inculcation of that book, and the use of it from childhood, will produce a generation very different from our hardy fathers. This is not yet attained; but it is in process. The sense of the unity among our churches, of the unity of our own time with the past, of the unity of those of our faith with all the saints of God, will become a much more potent element in our religious life. It may be expected that our churches will retain a larger proportion of their educated members, whose taste is cultivated, for hitherto these have been attracted to churches more in sympathy with the literature on which their culture is based; and their influence will be felt. Impelled by them we shall have to meet larger questions of popular concern than hitherto have seemed to require an answer from us. It will be a great thing to have order impressed on our religion. I look to see a fuller expression of the mind of the reformers in this land than under the repression of Europe ever found voice. The antimonies of our confession will again demand solution. And, no doubt, under the mellowed tone of this old ritual, in the daily consciousness of the communion of saints, the controversial spirit which has characterized our teachers will yield to a broader sympathy.

A great result of the closer study of liturgical history and the forms of Christian worship will be a development of the doctrine concerning the Church. A "liturgical service" is incompatible with individualism. It is a worship in fellowship; and in *the* fellowship; in real fellowship with the Lord Jesus Christ; and therefore with His Body, the whole Church of which He is Head; a worship rendered not by men simply, but by men in their several estates and offices, as they are organically related in our Lord. The Holy Scriptures in this worship are imparted as the living Word of God; are divided and applied on days and in seasons which derive their sanctity from it; but are not pro-

Digitized by Google

posed to the private judgment of the hearers; but are *interpreted* by the Church's Service and offered as the Means of Grace. No doubt Ritschl is right in saying that our reformers set forth "the Church basis for the course of justification and renovation." The doctrine of the Church was not fully developed. There are contradictions in it yet unsolved, which perhaps are as stubborn as those between "free will and foreknowledge absolute," and those which are fused in the Person of our Lord; yet doubtless they would be as fruitful to the mind and spirit as the exploitation of those mysteries is. Those embarked on the stream of liturgical reform are carried directly to the problem of the CHURCH. Perhaps God is calling the Lutheran Church to a thorough study, a fuller recognition, a clear and convincing statement, of the truth of the One and the Real Church which transcends all outward mechanism.

EDWARD T. HORN.

Reading, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

SOURCES OF THE MORNING SERVICE OF THE COMMON SERVICE.

We are the possessors of a matchless liturgical Order of Worship. What is the origin of its component parts? To this question many, who have used it for years, cannot return a satisfactory answer. Their ideas respecting the origin of the various parts are hazy and confused. Some seem to think that their source lies bodily in the Office Books of the Roman Church; others, that Luther, his co-laborers and followers composed and presented our Service to the Church. To trace the origin and to some extent the development of the different parts, their use in the Christian worship of the early and mediaeval church, and their retention in the Orders of the Church of the Reformation of the XVI century, (the consensus of which formed the basis of "The Common Service"), is the design of this paper. If by it any are stimulated to further research of their own, or obtain a higher appreciation of our Service, the writer will feel amply repaid for the many, by no means unpleasant, hours spent in poring over volumes that exhaled the fragrance of languages other than his mother-tongue.

The Lutheran Church has ever claimed, and rightfully too, to be the Church conforming most closely to Holy Scripture. Her Liturgical Service cannot consequently be incompatible with Scripture. We purpose, therefore, to trace

I.

THE SCRIPTURAL SOURCES.

The *Invocation* is at once recognized as the Baptismal Formula in Matt. 28 : 19.

The *Call to Confession* has its origin in Hebrews 10 : 22.

Digitized by Google

The first part of the *Versicle* is taken from Ps. 124 : 8, and the second from Ps. 32 : 5.

The *Confession* is not Scripture, word by word, but is nevertheless Scriptural.

The *Declaration of Grace* has its source in John 3 : 16, 1 : 12; Mark 16 : 16.

The *Introits* are found as follows:

I. Advent, Ps. 25 : 1–4; II. Advent, Zech. 9 : 9; Isa. 30 : 30, 29; Ps. 80 : 1. III. Advent, Phil. 4 : 4–6; Ps. 85 : 1. IV. Advent, Isa 45 : 8; Ps. 19 : 1. Christmas, Isa. 9: 6; Ps. 98 : 1. Sunday after Christmas, Ps. 93 : 5, 2, 1. New Year, Ps. 8 : 1, 4; Isa. 63 : 16. Epiphany, Mal. 3 : 1; Ps. 72 : 1. I. Epiphany, Isa. 6 : 1; Rev. 19 : 6; Ps. 100 : 1. II. Epiphany, Ps. 66 : 4, 1, 2. III. Epiphany, Ps. 97 : 7, 8, 1. VI. Epiphany, Ps. 77 : 18; 84, 1. Septuagesima, Ps. 18 : 5, 6, 1, 2. Sexigesima, Ps. 44 : 23–25, 1. Quinquagesima, Ps. 31 : 2, 3, 1. Ash Wednesday, Ps. 57 : 2, 1. Invocavit, Ps. 91 : 15, 16, 1. Reminiscere, Ps. 25 : 6, 2, 22, 1. Oculi, Ps. 25 : 15, 16, 1, 2. Laetare. Isa. 66 : 10; Ps. 122 : 1. Judica, Ps. 43 : 1, 2, 3. Palmarum, Ps. 22 : 19, 21, 1. Monday in Holy Week, Ps. 35 : 1–3. Tuesday and Thursday in Holy Week, Gal. 6 : 14; Ps. 67 : 1. Wednesday in Holy Week, Phil. 2 : 10, 8, 11; Ps. 102 : 1. Good Friday, Isa. 53 : 3–6; Ps. 102 : 1. Easter, Ps. 139 : 18, 5, 6, 1, 2; or Luke 24 : 6, 5, 7; Ps. 8 : 5–6. Quasimodogeniti, 1 Pet. 2 : 2; Ps. 81 : 8, 1. Misericordias, Ps. 33 : 5, 6, 1. Jubilate, Ps. 66 : 1, 2, 3. Cantate, Ps. 98 : 1, 2. Rogate, Isa. 48 : 20; Ps. 66 : 1, 2. Ascension Day, Acts 1 : 11; Ps. 47 : 1. Exaudi, Ps. 27 : 7, 8, 9, 1. Whitsunday, Wisdom 1 : 7; Ps. 68 : 3, 1. Festival of the Trinity,—I. Ecclesiastical, Ps. 8: 1. II. Isa. 6 : 3; Rom. 11 : 36; Ps. 8 : 1. Sundays after Trinity,—I. Ps. 13 : 5, 6, 1. II. Ps. 18 : 18, 19, 1, 2. III. Ps. 25 : 16, 18, 1, 2. IV. Ps. 27 : 1, 2, 3. V. Ps. 27 : 7, 9. 1. VI. Ps. 28 : 8, 9, 1. VII. Ps. 47 : 1, 3. VIII. Ps. 48 : 9, 10, 1. IX. Ps. 54 : 4, 5, 1. X. Ps. 55 : 16, 18, 19, 22, 1. XI. Ps. 68 : 5, 6, 35, 1. XII. Ps. 70 : 1, 2. XIII. Ps. 74 : 20–23, 1. XIV. Ps. 84 : 9, 10, 1. XV. Ps. 86; 1–4. XVI. Ps. 86 : 3. 5, 1. XVII. Ps. 119 : 137, 124, 1. XVIII. Ecclesiasticus 36; 16, 17; Ps. 122 : 1. XIX. Ps. 35 : 3; 34 : 17; 48 : 14; 78 : 1. XX. Dan. 9 : 14; Ps. 115 : 1; 119 : 124; 51 : 1; 48 : 1. XXI. Psalm 119 : 1. XXII. Ps. 130: 3, 4, 1, 2. XXIII. Jer. 29: 11, 12, 14; Ps. 85: 1. XXIV. Ps. 95: 6, 7, 1. XXV. Ps. 31: 9, 15, 17, 1. XXVI. Ps. 54: 1, 2, 5. Festival of Harvest, Ps. 65: 11, 9, 10, 1. Festival of the Reformation, Ps. 46: 7, 2, 1. Day of Humiliation and

Digitized by Google

Prayer, Isa. 1: 2, 4; Ps. 130: 3. Day of General or Special Thanksgiving, Ps. 150: 6, 2, 1. Annunciation, Ps. 45: 12, 14, 15, 1. Evangelists', Apostles', and Martyrs' Days, 2 Tim. 1: 12; 4: 8; Ps. 139: 1, 2. St. Michael's Day, Ps. 103: 20, 21, 1.

The *Gloria Patri* has as its basis Rom. 16: 27; Eph. 3: 21; Phil. 4: 20; Rev. 1: 6.

The *Kyrie* is found in Ps. 51: 1; 123: 3; Matt. 9: 27; 15: 22; 20: 30; Mark 10: 47.

The *Gloria in Excelsis* rests upon the angels' song as wafted over Judea's plains on the night of the Saviour's nativity,— Luke 2: 14.

The *Salutation* is taken from Ruth 2: 4, and the *Response* follows Ruth 2: 4; 2 Tim. 4: 22.

The *Collects* are largely Scriptural. This fact may not always be evident, owing to the changes made in translation. An example is furnished in the Collect for Epiphany, which is plainly built upon Matt. 2: 9; 2 Cor. 5: 7; 1 John 3: 2.

The Epistles and Gospels are necessarily all Scripture.

The *Sentences* after Epistle are found as follows: Advent, Ps. 25: 6; Epiphany, 117: 1–2; Passion, Phil. 2: 8; Easter, 1 Cor. 5: 7; Whitsuntide, Ps. 104: 30; Trinity, Ps. 119: 124–125; or Ezra 7: 27 and Song of the Three Holy Children.

The *Creed* has its basis in Scripture.

The *Sermon* should be largely a "Thus saith the Lord."

The *Votum* is found in Phil. 4: 7.

The *Offertory* selections are from Ps. 51: 17–19; 51: 10–12.

The *General Prayer* like the Collects is largely Scriptural. The *Lord's Prayer* is from Matt. 6: 9–13.

The *Salutation and Response* of Preface are from Ruth 2: 4; 2 Tim. 4: 22.

The *Sursum Corda* ———(?)

The *Proper Prefaces* abound in Scriptural expressions.

The *Sanctus* is taken from Isa. 6: 3 and Ps. 118: 26.

The *Exhortation* contains many interwoven Scriptural phrases.

The *Words of Institution* are found in Matt. 26: 26–28; Mark 14: 22–24; Luke 22: 19–20; 1 Cor. 11: 23–25.

The *Agnus Dei* is taken from John 1: 29; Matt. 9: 27.

The *Pax* has its origin in Luke 24: 30; John 20: 19–21; Rom. 16: 16; 1 Pet. 5: 14.

The *Words of Distribution* only assume a slightly different form of Christ's own words at the Institution.

Digitized by Google

The *Nunc Dimittis* is the grand hymn of Simeon recorded in Luke 2: 29–32.

The Call to *Thanksgiving and Response* are taken from Ps. 136: 1.

The *Collect*, while not Scripture, is Scriptural.

The *Salutation and Response* as above.

The *Benedicamus.* ——— (?)

The *Benediction* is from Num. 6: 24–26.

From the above it will be seen that unscripturalness can certainly not be charged against "The Common Service." What may be of greater nterest is reserved for the consideration of

II.

THE LITURGICAL SOURCES.

It must ever be remembered that Luther had no desire to break with the past in beginning and prosecuting the work to which in the providence of God he had been called. Reformation, not revolution; reconstruction, not destruction; revision, not creation, was his aim. His energies were directed against all corruptions whether in doctrine or practice; and to bring the Church to the purity of both was his steadfast endeavor. As he moved in the van in purifying the doctrines, so also he led the way in purging the Service of the Church. Whatever was evangelical and not in conflict with the Word of God, he retained; and whatever was the fabrication of a corrupt hierarchy he set aside as so much dross. We are consequently not at all surprised to find many things in our Service that have come to us as a heritage from the Church of past ages.

We do not pretend to speak with final authority as to the sources of all the various parts. In some instances this is impossible; but enough will be said to establish the claim that when worshipping in our churches, we connect directly with the saints of the most ancient times. To trace the liturgical origin of our Morning Service we shall now proceed.

The Confiteor.

Although not a component part of the normal Lutheran Service, this is nevertheless a fitting introduction. While it has its origin in the *Confiteor* or *Praeparatio in Missam* of "The Ordinary of the Mass," it bears but faint resemblance to it when analyzed. Its usage even in the Roman Church is not of a very early date,—probably the 13th century. Most of the Lutheran orders of the 16th century rejected it. A few, e. g., Reformation of Cologne 1543, Bugenhagen 1524, Strassburg Kirchenampt 1524, Doeber's Nuernburg Ev. Mass 1525, Mecklenburg 1552 retained it. Brandenburg-Nuernburg 1533 says concern-

Digitized by Google

ing it: "Wenn der Priester zum Altar kommt, mag er das Confiteor oder was ihn seine Andacht errinert, sprechen." (When the priest comes to the altar he may say the Confiteor or what his meditation suggests.) Loehe gives several formulas for such devotions. The *Invocation*, "In the Name of the Father etc.," is found in the *Praeparatio in Missam* and also occurs as the beginning of the Strassburg-Erfurth Kirchenampt 1525.

The *Address* is not found in the Roman Confiteor and the form in The Common Service is taken from Mecklenburg 1552. It is also found in Wittenberg 1559 and Austria 1571.

The *first Versicle* is found in the Roman Order having been probably introduced about the first quarter of the 8th century. Mecklenburg 1552 also contains it. The *second Versicle* does not occur in the Roman Confiteor and The Common Service adopted it from Doeber's Nuernberg Spitalmesse 1525, Strassburg Kirchenampt 1524, Cologne 1543 and Austria 1571. The *Confession* unlike anything in the Roman Order save the phrase, "thought, word and deed," is from Mecklenburg 1552.

The *Declaration of Grace* is likewise from the same order.

The Introit.

The *Introits* have their origin in the Psalmody with which in the primitive ages of the church the services began. Originally entire Psalms were sung; but already in the time of Gregory the Great (†604), we find, instead of entire Psalms, individual verses from the same. Also to be noticed is the change of Introits to correspond with the different seasons of the Church Year (*Introitus de tempore*). Celestine I. (†432) is supposed to be the originator of this change. About the beginning of the 8th century an Antiphon announcing, in an emphatic way, the thought of the day, was prefixed.*

Luther in his Formula Missae 1523, says,—"We approve and preserve the Introits for the Lord's Days and the festivals of Christ, viz., Easter, Whitsunday, Christmas; although we prefer the Psalms whence they were taken, as of old; but we permit the usage already established." His preference was not generally followed. The ruric,—"Instead of the Introit, a Psalm or Hymn may be used," was undoubtedly the result of different usages in the various 16th century Orders.

The Gloria Patri.

Just at what period of time the *Gloria Patri*, which follows every Psalm and also every Psalm verse of the Introit, had its origin, seems

* Schoeberlein, "Schatz etc." Vol. 1. p. 45.

Digitized by Google

impossible to determine. Of an early usage, however, we are assured. Originally the form was either "Glory to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Ghost," or "Glory to the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost." But in the time of Arius (318) and his followers who denied the co-equality of the Son with the Father, the more definite form, "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost," was given it; and because, in the Arian controversy, the co-eternity of the Son with the Father was denied, the conclusion, "as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen," was added, first in the Eastern, then in the Western Church.*

THE KYRIE.

This comes to us hoary with the frosts of time. The Liturgies of St. James, St. Mark and the Greek fathers as well as those of the Armenians, Syrians and others contain it. From the earliest times it was used in the Greek Church, only in a different connection, either with the General Prayer or the Litany. The Apostolic Constitutions prescribe that in the recitation of the Litany by the deacon, the whole congregation and especially the children shall respond, *Kyrie Eleison* (Lord, have mercy) after each petition. This very ancient custom has continued in the Eastern Church to the present, so that in the Greek Church of Russia, e. g. the "Gospodi pomilui" is repeated innumerable times.† Its introduction into the Latin Church, though attributed to Gregory the Great, is by no means certain. Sylvester I. (314–335) is supposed to have first introduced the use of the Greek words into the Roman Church. Thence was added the "*Christe Eleison*" and the formula became the well-known

Kyrie Eleison (Lord, have mercy),
Christe Eleison (Christ, have mercy),
Kyrie Eleison (Lord, have mercy).

Bearing evident reference to the Trinity in this form, it was soon separated from the Litany and became a distinct part of the Liturgy. As such the form was apparently too brief and then it began to be oft repeated on the one hand and enlarged on the other. According to the old Roman service the choir was to continue singing the Kyrie until the priest signified it to cease. In the Roman mass *Kyrie Eleison* was to be sung thrice, then *Christe Eleison* thrice, then *Kyrie Eleison* thrice again.

* Alt, Kirchl. Gottesdienst, p. 500.
† Alt. p. 492.

Digitized by Google

In the Formula Missae 1523, Luther says:—"The Kyrie Eleison, as heretofore used, with its various melodies adapted to the various seasons, we accept;" but in his German Mass 1526, he directs that the Kyrie be sung *three* and not nine times, as had been the Roman practice. Reduced to this threefold form we use it in The Common Service.

The Gloria in Excelsis.

This is as old as the Kyrie and its use in the Liturgical Service of the Church. In its original, simple form, "*Gloria in Excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*," it is indisputably one of the oldest of all the hymns of the Christian Church. It is of Eastern origin. Its ascription to Bishop Telesphorus (127–138) cannot be substantiated; neither is there sufficient authority to attribute its Latin form to Hilary of Poictiers (†368). It is supposedly older. Already in very early times it developed beyond the simple form above given, as may be seen from the Apostolic Constitutions 7: 47. *

In the earliest Ordo Romanus it was used only at Christmas by the bishop, and as given in St. Luke. The Gregorian order allows it to be sung on Easter by a priest. Many of the Lutheran Orders of the 16th century prescribe a versification of the *Gloria in Excelsis* by Nicolas Decius 1531.

The Salutation and Response.

In the early Greek Liturgies, at the beginning of the Preface, are found the *Salutation and Response*. They introduced the lections in the Mozarabic and Coptic Liturgies. In the mediaeval church they introduced every integral part of the Service. Although not mentioned in the outline of many of the Orders of the 16th century, they were evidently not intended to be omitted, because music for them is provided in the old Cantionales. Brandenburg-Nuernberg 1533; Brandenburg 1540; Prussia 1544; Ritzebuettel 1544; Waldeck 1556 and I. Edward 1549, prescribe them.†

The Collects.

The *Collects* are found principally in the old Sacramentaries. Until at least the year 1000 the Order of Holy Communion or "The Mass," as then called, was distributed through four books,—the Lectionary containing the Epistles; the Evangelistary containing the Gospels; the Antiphonary containing the Introits, Communions and Post-Communions; and the Sacramentary containing the Collects and "The Canon of the Mass." Three such Sacramentaries were in existence. The

* Ante-Nicene Fathers, Scribner Ed. Vol. 7, p. 478.

† See Horn, Liturgics, p. 62; and Lutheran Sources &c. p. 13.

Digitized by Google

oldest was that of Leo, Bishop of Rome, 440–461; next came that of Gelasius raised to the Bishopric of Rome, 492; and then followed that of Gregory the Great raised to the same Bishopric, 590. In these Sacramentaries are principally found the originals of which the Collects of The Common Service are, in the main, translations. Designating these Sacramentaries, in their order, by *L.* *Gl.*, and *Gr.*, the following will show whence the Collects are derived:—

I. Advent, Gr.
II. " Gl.
III. " Gl.
IV. " Gl.
I. Other Advent Collect, Gl.
II. " " " Gr.
III. " " " —?
Christmas Night, Gl.
" Day "
Sunday after Christmas, Gr.
I. New Year, Gr. partly.
II. " " ——?
Epiphany, Gr.
I. " Gr.
II. " Gr.
III. " Gr.
IV. " Gr.
V. " Gr.
VI. " ——?
Septuagesima, Gr.
Sexagesima, Gr.
Quinquagesima, Gr.
Ash Wednesday, I. Edward VI. 1549, though the Invocation and first clause may have a Gregorian origin.
Invocavit, ——?
Reminiscere, Gr.
Oculi, Gr.
Laetare, Gr.
Judica, Gr.
Palmarum, Gl.
Monday in Holy Week, Gr
Tuesday " " " "
Wendesdsy " " " "
Thursday in Holy Week–?
I. Good Friday, Gr.
II. " " ——?
III. " " ——?
Easter Eve, Gl.
Easter Day, Gr., though the first half appears already in the Gelasian Sacramentary.
I. Other Easter Collect, Gr.
II. " " " Gl.
This is the second half of that noted under Easter Day.
Quasimodogeniti, Gr.
Misericordias, Gl.
Jubilate, L.
Cantate, Gl.
Rogate, Gl.
I. Ascension Day, Gr.
II. " " This appears as an Antiphon for Vespers on Ascension Day in Sarum Breviary. May have an earlier origin.
Exaudi, Gl.
Whitsunday, Gr.
Monday in Whitsunday Week, Gr.
Trinity, Gr.
I. " Gl.
II. " Gl.
III. " Gr. (Probably older)
IV. " L.
V. " Gl.
VI. " Gl.
VII. Trinity, Gl.
VIII. " Gl.
IX. " Gl.
X. " Gl.
XI. " Gl.
XII. " L.
XIII. " L.
XIV. " Gl.
XV. " Gl.
XVI. " Gr.
XVII. " Gl.
XVIII. " Gl.
XIX. " Gl.
XX. " Gl.
XXI. " Gr.
XXII. " Gr.
XXIII. " Gr.
XXIV. " Gr.
XXV. " ——?
XXVI. " ——?
This Festival of Harvest.
" " Reformation.—?
Day of Humiliation and Prayer——?
Special or General Thanksgiving,——?
Presentation of Christ, Invocation and first clause, Gl., rest Gr.
Annunciation, Gr.
Visitation,——?
I. Evangelists' &c. Days—?
II " " " —?
III. " " "
I. Edward 1549.
St. Michael's Day, Gr.

Only a thorough and devout study of the Collects will reveal their true beauty and sublimity. "One has seen at the root of a decaying tree tufts of wild hyacinths or primroses, the seeds of which, wafted by winds, or carried by birds or insects, have found in this friable, corrupting soil a congenial habitat. And there are correspondences in the moral world with this natural phenomenon. When the old Roman Empire was in its last stage of decay; when all old landmarks were being removed, and old institutions were going to pieces, then

Digitized by Google

appeared for the first time these bunches of fragrant, beautiful prayers, giving token of a spiritual vitality below the surface of society, a sure evidence that all was not corrupt, that the antiseptic salt of God's grace in the hearts of His elect endured still, and had not lost its savor."*

The Epistle.

In the ancient Liturgies and the works of the Apostolic Fathers the general appellation of the *Epistle* was "The Apostle." It is so spoken of by St. Augustine and also in the Gregorian Sacramentary. The patriarchate of Constantinople even now retains this designation. In the early ages of the Church the Epistle was read from the ambon by a special reader. Many of the Eastern Churches still employ a special reader for this office. This custom was abandoned by Rome about the eighth century and the sub-deacon then read the Epistle. Later the custom of reading the Epistle from the left side of the altar was introduced by the Roman Church. In our church the Epistle was usually read by the minister, although this office was at times delegated to an assistant, also called sub-deacon.† Following Luther in his German Mass, 1526, the reader stood with "face turned to the people" and it was left optional whether he stood in the middle, at the right or south side of the altar as viewed from the congregation, at a lecturn, or in a place where he could be heard by the whole congregation. In the sixteenth century arose the custom, here and there, to read the Epistle from the pulpit when it formed the text for the sermon.

The Hallelujah and Sentence.

From the earliest times the *Hallelujah* was in liturgical use. It was sung at the Passover Feast of the Jewish Church. For a long time it was sung in the Eastern Church only from Easter to Pentecost. St. Jerome, however, did not approve of this restricted use and the Hallelujah was then sung even during Masses for the dead.

In the Western Church, it was restricted at first to Easter Day; but in the time of St. Augustine this restriction was removed and in many churches it was sung every Lord's Day. The old Mozarabic and Gallican Liturgies, following the custom of the Eastern church, used it during Masses for the dead. Since the time of Gregory the Great, it became a general custom to omit it during penitential seasons.

In our church it is omitted during the Passion season.

The liturgical use of the *Sentences* is not easily determined. Whether all of them had a pre-Reformation origin is doubtful. Those for the

* Goulburn, Collects, Vol. 1, p. 38.

† Ottheinrich, 1543.

Digitized by Google

Passion season and Whitsuntide were used as Graduals in the Roman Church.

Their Lutheran source is also not very apparent. Schoeberlein in his "Schatz etc." gives all those of The Common Service with the exception of that for Whitsunday. His notations are that the *Advent Sentence* is traced through Elizabeth 1542 to Deutsch Kirchenampt of Erfurth 1526; that for *Epiphany* as occurring in Hessian Agenda 1574; for the *Passion* season in Elizabeth 1542; first for *Trinity* in I. Strasburg 1525; second for Trinity in Elizabeth 1542; for *Easter* in Elizabeth 1542; this also occurs as a Versicle and Response in Onalzbach, and in fuller form as a Gradual in Lossius, Elerus and Rhein-Pfalz 1570; that for Whitsunday occurs as an Antiphon in Lossius.

THE GOSPEL.

Especial reverence has always been paid the *Gospel* inasmuch as it comprises a part either of Christ's life or His teachings. In primitive times it was read either by a deacon, arch-deacon, or priest, and on the Lord's Day by the Bishop. It was read from the ambon and in the IV. century the reader was preceded by lighted wax tapers. In Aethiopia bells were rung before the Gospel. After the reader had ascended the pulpit and announced the Gospel, the people responded "Glory be to Thee, O Lord." "This custom of giving glory to God for His holy Gospel appears to have prevailed from remote antiquity in all the churches of the East and West." * Reverence originated the beautiful custom of standing during its reading and this custom prevailed already in the time of the author of the Apostolic Constitutions, where in Book II. 57 † it is expressly commanded, "And while the Gospel is read, let all the presbyters and deacons, and all the people, stand up in great silence." Very early also the custom obtained in the West for the "Gospeller" to stand "facing the South." Anciently in the churches of Gaul and Spain a Hallelujah or Anthem was sung after the Gospel and this custom was in all probability the origin of the sentence, "Praise be to Thee, O Christ." In the mediaeval and still in the Roman Church the Gospel was and is introduced by a special prayer. This is followed by the Salutation and Response, and the announcement of the Gospel. The answer, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord," follows. At the end of the Gospel comes the response, "Praise be to Thee, O Christ." The Common Service does not contain this elaborate arrangement, and omits all that precedes the announcement of the Gospel and with the Pomeranian Agenda 1553, *allows* the "Glory be to

* Palmer, "Origines Liturgicae," Vol. II. p. 51.

† Scribner Ed. p. 421.

Digitized by Google

Thee, O Lord," before and "Praise be to Thee, O Christ," after the Gospel. *

The Lections.

We take occasion here to say a word with reference to the particular selections known as the "*Epistles and Gospels.*" About the middle of the V. century the Roman church still observed the *lectio continua* throughout the greater part of the year. But certain it is that even then particular Pericopes were begun to be appointed for particular days. There were books called *Comites* in which such selections were noted with reference to the Church Year. According to the testimony of Jerome, Hippolytus, a pupil of Clement of Alexandria, already gave a collection of lections in his *Canon Paschalis.* A similar collection was arranged by Claudianus Mamercus for the church at Vienna, and another by the presbyter Musaeus for the church at Marseilles. These collections, however, have been lost and of those that have come down to us, the oldest is the *Lectionarium Gallicanum* of the VI. century, and the next oldest the *Comes sive Lectionarius per Circulum Anni* ascribed to Jerome, but which later received so many additions that it is impossible to determine what the original work of Jerome was like. *The Lectionarium Romanum* treated by Gregory the Great in 40 sermons and belonging in its original, constituent parts to the VI. century, contains appointed lections from the Epistles and Gospels that in the main agree with our Pericopes. †

The committee on The Common Service did not revise the Pericopes, but took them as in use in Germany in the pre-Reformation missals,—Bamberg and Nuernberg. The Epistles and Gospels for Holy Week are from the *Comes Theotinchi* except the Epistle for Good Friday.‡

The Creed.

The *Nicene* or *Communion Creed* was the result of the opposition to the heresy of Arius. It was formulated at the first General Council of Nice, A. D., 325. As presented then it ended with "I believe in the Holy Ghost." The second General Council of Constantinople in May, 381, added the remainder, affirming the divinity of the Holy Ghost against the heresy of Macedonius. It was not until the V. century that the controversial *filioque* was added. This affirmed the procession of the Holy Spirit from both the Father *and the Son* and produced a schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.

* Kliefoth VIII. V.p. 33; Horn, "Lutheran Sources," p. 15.

† See Alt, I. p. 547.

‡ See Appendix to Ranke's "Perikopen System,' LXXXVI.

Digitized by Google

When the Creed was first used in the Liturgy we are not certain. It is supposed to have been inserted first by the patriarch of Antioch, Peter Fullo, about 471. In 511, the Liturgy of Constantinople adopted it. The churches of Spain adopted it in 589. The Roman Church was very slow in receiving it and only incorporated it about the beginning of the XI. century.

Anciently the Creed was not recited until after the expulsion of the catechumens and infidels: but as this division of the Service gradually became obsolete, the Creed was placed before the Sermon, which position it occupies in our Service.

The *Nicene Creed* was generally prescribed by the XVI. century Orders. Only one, Doeber's "Messordnung fuer die Spitalkirche in Nuernberg" 1525, has the *Apostles' Creed.* According to the *Pomeranian Agenda*, the *Athanasian Creed* is to be used at the opening of Synods, on Trinity Sunday, and once a month. It permits the use of the *Te Deum* because of its Trinitarian contents. *

The Offertory.

In the Roman sense the Lutheran Church knows no Offertory. Originally it was an anthem, taken principally from the Psalms, and was intended to give the deacons time and opportunity to gather the oblations of Bread and Wine brought by the faithful to the Church for use in the Sacrament. † Time wrought a fearful perversion of this ancient idea as may be seen by a careful perusal of the Roman Offertory.

The so-called (but scarcely deserving the name) Offertory of The Common Service has reference altogether to Psalmody. Following Schoeberlein in his "Schatz &c," where the second of our Offertories is given with musical settings, The Common Service adopted two taken from Psalm 51, with permission to use "any other suitable."

The General Prayer.

This has its origin in the Pauline injunction, 1. Tim. 2. 1–2. In very early times it immediately followed the Sermon and formed the connecting link between it and the Communion. Later, when the service was divided into the *Missa Catechumenorum* and the *Missa Fidelium*, the General Prayer was likewise divided. The first part was offered in behalf of the catechumens, energumens, and penitents after which they were dismissed. The *Fideles*, or those who remained, then assembled during the "secreta," after which they reverently joined the deacon in the second part of the prayer which in form and contents

* See Kliefoth, VIII. (V) p. 45.

† Alt, Kirchl. Gottesdienst, p. 505.

Digitized by Google

somewhat resembles the Litany. This part of the prayer contained petitions

1. For the peace of the world and the prosperity of the church;

2. For the congregation, its elders and church officers;

3. For all classes and conditions of men. For all in distress, for travellers, for prisoners, for enemies and false believers and for the children.

4. For grace and strength to lead a Christian life and to die a happy death.

Subsequent hierarchical development pressed the General Prayer into the Act of Communion, becoming a part of the Offertory where it lost its distinctive nature and degenerated into a series of petitions connected with the worship of saints and prayers for the dead.*

The Reformation found the Church without a true General Prayer. Rejecting the Roman Offertory, Luther nevertheless felt the necessity for such a prayer. His paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, to be used after the Sermon before the altar, is as to form and contents a type of the General Prayer. Some of the Orders prescribe the Litany, others the Te Deum, and still others like Brandenburg-Nuernberg of 1533 have a combination of several Collects.

While we owe the General Prayer, as such, to the Reformation, traces of it may be clearly seen in the earliest periods of the Church. The following parallel between parts of our General Prayer and those in the Eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* shows a very striking analogy,——

Church Book.	Apostolic Constitutions.
Most heartily we beseech Thee so to rule and govern Thy Church universal, with all its pastors and ministers, that it may be preserved in the pure doctrine of Thy saving Word, whereby faith toward Thee may be strengthened and charity increased in us toward all mankind.	We further pray unto Thee, O Lord, for Thy holy church spread from one end of the world to another, which Thou hast purchased with the precious blood of Thy Christ, that Thou wilt preserve it unshaken and free from disturbance unto the end of the world; for every episcopate who rightly divides the Word of truth.—Sec. II. 12.
Grant also health and prosperity to all in authority, especially to the President (and Congress) of the United States, the Governor (and Legislature)	We further pray Thee, O Lord, "for the king and all in authority," for the whole army that they may be peaceable toward us, that so, leading the whole

* See Alt, Kirchl. Gottesdienst, pp. 650-651.

Digitized by Google

of this Commonwealth, and to all our Judges and Magistrates; and endue them with grace to rule after Thy good pleasure, to the maintenance of righteousness, and to the hinderance and punishment of wickedness, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.

time of our life in quietness and unanimity, we may glorify Thee through Jesus Christ. Sec. II. 12.

Let us pray for "kings and those in authority," that they may be peaceable toward us, "that so we may have and lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." Sec. II. 13.

May it please Thee also to turn the hearts of our enemies and adversaries, that they may cease their enmity, and be inclined to walk with us in meekness and in peace.

We further also beseech Thee for those that hate us and persecute us for Thy Name's sake; that Thou wilt convert them to goodness, and pacify their anger. Sec. II. 12.

All who are in trouble, want, sickness, anguish of labor, peril of death, or any other adversity, especially those who are in suffering for Thy Name and for Thy truth's sake, comfort, O God, with Thy Holy Spirit, that they may receive and acknowledge their afflictions as the manifestation of Thy fatherly will. Preserve us from false and pernicious doctrine, from plague and pestilence, from all calamity by fire and water, from hail and tempest, from failure of harvest and from famine, from anguish of heart and despair of Thy mercy, and from an evil death. And in every time of trouble, show Thyself a very present Help, the Saviour of all men, and especially of them that believe.

Let us pray for our brethren exercised with sickness, that the Lord may deliver them from every sickness and disease, and restore them sound into His holy Church. Let us pray for those that travel by water or by land. Let us pray for those that are in the mines, in banishment, in prisons, and in bonds, for the name of the Lord. Let us pray for those that are afflicted with bitter servitude. Sec. II. 10.

Thou who dost nothing for favour; Thou whom none can deceive; deliver them from every sickness, and every disease, and every offence, every injury and deceit, from the fear of the enemy, from the dart that flieth in the day, from the mischief that walketh about in the darkness. Sec. II. 11.

We further beseech Thee also for this city and its inhabitants, for those that are sick; for those in bitter servitude; for those in banishment, for those in prison; for those that travel by water or by land; that Thou, the helper and assister of all men, wilt be their supporter. Sec. II. 12.

Cause also the needful fruits of the earth to prosper; that we may enjoy them in due season.

We further offer to Thee also for the good temperature of the air, and the fertility of the fruits, that so, partaking perpetually of the good things derived from Thee, we may praise Thee without ceasing. Sec. II. 12.

Let us pray for the good temperature of the air, and the proper maturity of the fruits. Sec. II. 13.

Digitized by Google

The General Prayer of the Common Service is a combination of a number of Collects. The first paragraph after the invocation is taken from the Hesse Order of 1657. The second introduces General Collect, sixteen; the third Bidding Collect, four; the fourth General Collect, twenty-six; the fifth *seems* to have no dependence upon any Collect in the Church Book; the sixth is taken from the Leipzig Order of 1707 and introduces important Litany elements; the seventh Bidding Collect, eight.*

The combination of these Collects gives us an idea of the construction of the General Prayer, although they do not form it verbatim.

"The first General Prayer of The Common Service is, except the first paragraph, in the Strassburg Order of 1598, and is probably considerably older. In its main features, it is found in the Austrian Order of 1571.†

We now approach the most solemn part of the Service,—peculiarly THE LITURGY. It begins with

THE PREFACE.

No part of the Service has undergone less change than this. It is also the oldest portion of the Liturgy. Tertullian (about 201 A. D.) alluded to it. Cyprian, about the middle of the 3rd century, directly mentions it. In his treatise on "The Lord's Prayer," he says: "Moreover, when we stand praying, beloved brethren, we ought to be watchful and earnest with our whole heart, intent on our prayers. Let all carnal and worldly thoughts pass away, nor let the soul at that time think on anything but the object only of its prayer. For this reason also the priest, by way of preface before his prayer, prepares the minds of the brethren by saying, "Lift up your hearts," that so upon the people's response, "We lift them up unto the Lord," he may be reminded that he himself ought to think of nothing but the Lord."‡

Augustine avers that the *Sursum Corda* was used *"per universum orbem,"* i. e. in all churches. It is found in the Eastern liturgies of Sts. James, Mark, Clement, Chrysostom, Basil and the Malabar. It occurs also in those of Rome, Milan, Gaul and Spain. Minor differences may be noted by a comparison of these ancient Liturgies. In general it may be stated that in the Eastern Church, the *Introduction* consisted of the *Apostolic benediction* with response, and in the Western, of the *Salutation* with responee, which are found in the Gregorian Sacramentary, as in our service, immediately before the Sursum Corda.

* See "The Lutheran," Jan, 4th, 1894, Article, The General Paryer.

† Jacobs, "The Lutheran Movement in England," p. 303.

‡ See Ante-Nicene Fathers, Scribner Ed., Vol. V. p. 455:3

Digitized by Google

The "*Common Preface*," is found in both the ancient Eastern and Western Churches, though as a rule, the Western is much shorter.

PROPER PREFACES.

These are peculiar to the West and have a very early origin. Originally there was but one Preface for all Lord's Days and festivals, but with the development of the Church Year, *Proper Prefaces* were composed and introduced. They multiplied so rapidly that they were soon numbered by the hundred. In the time of Gregory the Great, they were reduced to nine. The Common Service retains but six. The originals may be found as follows:

For *Christmas*, Gregorian Sacramentary, Muratori, II. 10; for the *Passion Season*, Greg. Sacr. Mur. II. 318; for the *Easter Season*, Gelasian Sacr. Mur. I. 572 or Wilson, 89; for *Ascension*, Greg. Sacr., Mur. II. 85, for Whit Sunday, Greg. Sacr. Mur. II. 90, although the first half is found already in Gelasian Sacr., Wilson, 120; for *Festival of the Trinity*, Gelasian Sacr., Mur. I. 606, Wilson, 129. The original of the *Trinity Preface* is much longer than that of The Common Service. The translation of our Proper Preface for the *Passion Season* is taken from Shipley's "Ritual of the Altar."

THE SANCTUS.

This is frequently, though incorrectly, called the *Trisagion*. The Trisagion is peculiar to Eastern Liturgies. Neale's translation of it is as follows:—"Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, have mercy upon us." The difference between it and the *Sanctus* is readily discerned. The Sanctus is in all probability of apostolic origin so far as its use in the Liturgy is concerned. At least its early use in the churches of the East and West is attested by Tertullian, The Apostolic Constitutions, Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Tours, Hilary of Poictiers, Caesarius of Arles, and Isidore of Seville. The *Benedictus*, or the words, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord," is supposed to have been added by Caesarius of Arles.* The *Hosanna* occurs in the earliest known Communion Service as may be seen from, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," ch. X.

THE EXHORTATION.

This has no earlier origin than the Reformation. It is a new Liturgical part peculiar to the Lutheran Church. It was introduced for the purpose of instructing those raised under Romish error concerning the true nature of the Sacrament. However edifying its character, it acts

* Daniel. Cod. Lit. I. p. 31.

Digitized by Google

as an intruder and hence is often omitted. Luther's paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer with appended Exhortation was one form very largely used. Another one, that of The Common Service, is by Wolfgang Volprecht, 1525.

The Lord's Prayer.

This prayer has always formed an integral part of the Communion Liturgy. There is, however, no direct testimony for its use until the 4th century. Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen bear indirect testimony. But the fact that Cyprian referred to it as "a public and common prayer;" that it was frequently called "the prayer of the faithful;" that in the first centuries already the fourth petition was referred to the *bread* in the Sacrament,—all this argues very strongly for the later tradition that it was always a part of the Communion Service. The earliest direct testimony seems to be that of Cyril of Jerusalem, A. D., 350, who, after explaining to his "competentes," or more advanced catechumens, parts of the Liturgy, says:—"Then, after these things, we say that prayer which the Saviour delivered to His intimate disciples, out of a pure conscience addressing God and saying, 'Our Father, &c.'"*

In the time of St. Augustine it was in so general a use that he declares, "*Quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica oratione concludit.*"

St. Jerome in a work written about A. D. 415, says:—"So He taught His Apostles that daily in the Sacrifice of His body, believers should make bold to speak thus, 'Our Father, &c.'"† It is found in all the early Liturgies, as well as later Greek, Roman and other Western. Its pre-Reformation usage was *after* the Words of Institution. It is not a consecratory prayer and is not essential to the Service.

The Words of Institution.

These are essential to the consecration of the elements. They are found in the early as well as the later Greek and Roman Liturgies, but usually in an interpolated form. In the consecration of the bread the words, "which is given for you" are omitted by the Roman Liturgy.‡ The Common Service gives the words of the New Testament in their grand simplicity.

The Agnus Dei.

Virtually this is of Western origin, although reference is made to "The Lamb of God" in the Liturgies of Sts. James and Chrysostom.§

* Dict. Christ. Antt. II. 1056.

† Dict. Christ. Antt. II. 1056.

‡ Durand's Catholic Ceremonies, p. 259.

§ See Neale's Primitive Liturgies, pp. 71, 141.

Digitized by Google

This addition to the Service is ascribed to Sergius I. (687-700). How often the versicle was to be repeated is not stated in the older Roman orders; but before the year 1000 the threefold repetition was enjoined in the Church of Tours, and in the 12th century, this was the universal custom.* The words "Grant us Thy peace" at the end of the third repetition were added since the XI. century and Innocent III. informs us that they were the result of the disturbances that beset the Church at that time.†

Our Church also adopted the *Agnus Dei* into her Liturgy, but altogether in a different position from its use in the Roman Church. In the Romish Mass it had and still has its place in the *fractio panis*, and was said by the priest. In setting this act aside, another place had to be found for the Agnus Dei, if it was to be retained. Restricting the consecration solely to the *verba testamenti*, Luther in his Formula Missae placed it in the Act of Administration, to be sung while the pastor "administers the communion both to himself and the people." In his German Mass, he thought it would be more appropriate to consecrate and administer the bread first, then to bless the cup and administer the same while the Agnus Dei was being sung.

Daniel,‡ quoting Gerbert,§ mentions as an ancient custom, what is frequently the case in our Church, viz.,–the singing of the Agnus Dei during the distributing of the elements.

It was retained in Formula Missae, 1523, German Mass, 1526, entire Nuernberg Series, Prussia, 1525, Nordheim, 1539, Saxony, 1539, Mecklenberg, 1552, Austria, 1571, Nassau, 1575, Coburg, 1626 and others.

THE PAX.

The development of the *Pax* is most interesting. Its origin lies undoubtedly in the greeting of the risen Saviour, Luke 24:36; John 20:19 and 21. This greeting was in all probability with the words, "Peace be unto you" and the kiss. Luther commenting on I. Peter 5:14 says: "In the Gospel, we read clearly that Christ received His disciples with the kiss. This was the usage in those lands."‖ This custom found its place in the worship of the Apostolic Church. In conformity with the injunctions of the Apostle, St. Paul, Rom. 16; 16; I. Cor. 16:20; II. Cor. 13:12; I. Thess. 5:26; and of St. Peter, I. Epistle 5:14, the

* D. C. A. p. 44.
† Alt, Kirch. Gottesdienst, p. 309.
‡ Codex Liturgicus, I. p. 148.
§ De Cantu et Musica Sacra, I p. 438.
‖ Luth. Com. Rom. 16:16.

Digitized by Google

"Kiss of Peace" became a fixed form in the κοινωνία (communion, fellowship). At what point of the Service this ceremony took place we are not informed; but its significance shows that it was either at the beginning of the General Prayers and Oblations as an attestation, or at the end of these, as a seal of their fellowship.

Later in the time of Justin Martyr the General and Eucharistic Prayers, (with the latter of which the oblations were connected,) were separated and the Kiss of Peace formed the conclusion of the former. This separation, Tertullian perfected still further, and speaks of the General Prayers as "*precationes et orationes*" and of the Eucharistic Prayers as "*Oblationes*" or "*Sacrificiorum Orationes.*" The General Prayers were divided and the last division, "*oratio cum fratribus,*" was said after the expulsion of the catechumens. Then followed the Kiss of Peace. In the time of Cyprian, the old division of the Service into three parts was reduced to two,—the *Missa Catechumenorum* and *Missa Fidelium.* The General Prayer, in the developmental period of the cultus of the Church likewise appeared in a twofold division,—one *before*, the other *after* the Kiss of Peace. The first division closed the homiletical part of the Service, the second with the Kiss of Peace began the Sacrifice of the Mass.

The 19th Canon of the Council of Laodicea gives this order for the *Missa Fidelium,—(a)* Silent prayer; *(b)* two public prayers; *(c)* Kiss of Peace, *(d)* distribution. Here it will be noticed that the Kiss of Peace has been removed further into the Communion Service and closes the Eucharistic Service, as formerly it closed the Sacrifice of the prayers and oblations. In the time of St. Augustine, the principles of Cyprian were carried to a fuller development. With a proper General Prayer began the *Missa Fidelium*, in which we find another General Prayer that closed with the Lord's Prayer and the Kiss of Peace. The order, then, is as follows: (*a*) prayer; (*b*) Preface; (*c*) consecration; (*d*) Lord's Prayer; (*e*) Kiss of Peace.

St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, gives but little on this point in his works. In a letter to Marcellinus he mentions the Kiss of Peace once; and in his *De Dignitate Sacerdotali*, cap. 5, he refers to the impartation of peace as the function of the bishop: "*pronuntiat enim episcopus ad populum dicens*: Pax *vobis.*" Thus the formula is spoken, but the actual kiss is not given. Minor points of difference may be noted in the Spanish and Gallican Liturgies, but are not necessary to be embodied here. It may be remarked, however, that where Roman influence prevailed over the Gallican Canon, the prayer *Ad Pacem*

Digitized by Google

was dropped from the latter and the Kiss of Peace before the Preface in the Gallican Sacramentary was removed to the end of the Consecration, where the Romish Canon has it; and from this time forth we find that the Kiss of Peace was given to one another by the communicants only, and not by the whole congregation.

In the Gregorian Sacramentary the *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum* follows the Lord's Prayer and precedes the Agnus Dei. It seems to have been retained until the time of Innocent III. (1161) and then abolished because it was deemed inappropriate. Here and there arose the custom of passing metal plates whereon was the image of Christ,—the so-called *osculatoria*, which the people kissed. But this custom did not obtain long, and towards the end of the Middle Ages the priest simply gave the salutation to the people, while he and his assistants exchanged kisses. A trace of this remains in the Roman Church "in the custom of the congregation kissing the *Pax* after the priest has kissed it." Also continued is it in the *Christos voscress* of Easter Day in the Greek Church, when

> "See! the bearded faces kiss each other:
> Every Russian Christian loves his brother.
> Serf or noble, each to-day may claim
> Friendly kiss in that all friendly Name."*

The Reformation found the Pax in this form, viz: at the end of the Consecration and as an introduction to the Distribution the priest saluted the congregation with the words *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum* (The peace of the Lord be with you alway) and the congregation responded, *et cum spiritui tuo* (and with thy spirit.)

Luther in his Formula Missae very forcibly states his views of the Pax, when he calls it "a public absolution of the communicants; a voice truly evangelical announcing the forgiveness of sins; the only and most worthy preparation for the Lord's Table, if it be apprehended by faith not otherwise than as directly issuing from the mouth of Christ."† Warmly as Luther received it, it is more than strange that in his German Mass he dropped it, and in this he was followed generally by the XVI. century Liturgies. It was retained, however, besides Formula Missae, 1523, by the entire Nuernberg family of Liturgies and Prussia, 1525. The Standard MS. of The Common Service inserts it immediately after the Consecration and before the Agnus Dei and the rubric is, "Then shall be sung the Agnus Dei and the Distribution shall begin." Who is responsible for the unhappy departure from this order in the Church Book we know not.

* Pulpit Com. I. Cor. p. 551. † Daniel, Cod. Lit. II. p. 88.

Digitized by Google

The Formula of Distribution.

It is difficult to determine when words were first used in connection with the delivery of the consecrated elements. From the writings of Tertullian and Dionysius of Alexandria it would appear that the custom dates back at least as far as the second or third century. That this custom had an early origin is evident from the Apostolic Constitutions. In Book VIII. 14 sec.3, we read: "Let the bishop minister the oblation saying, 'The Body of Christ' and let him that receiveth say Amen; and let the deacon hold the cup, and say as he administers, 'The Blood of Christ, the Cup of Life,' and let him that drinketh say, Amen."

The Liturgy of St. James gives no formula whatever.

The Coptic of St. Mark has simply, "The Holy Body;" "The precious Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour."

The Byzantine of St. Chrysostom gives a fuller formula. The priest as he distributes the elements to each, says, "N., the Servant of God is made partaker of the pure and holy Body and Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, for the remission of his sins, and life everlasting."* In the time of Gregory the formula was: "*Corpus Domini Nostri Jesu Christi posit tibi in remissionem omnium peccatorum et vitam aeternam.*" (The Body of our Lord, Jesus Christ, avail for thee unto the remission of all sins and eternal life.)

In the time of Charlemagne it read: "*Corpus Domini Nostri Jesu Christi custodiat te in vitam aeternam.*" (The Body of our Lord, Jesus Christ, preserve thee unto eternal life.)

Luther in his Formula Missae virtually preserved the old formula: "The Body of the Lord, &c. preserve my or thy soul unto eternal life;" and "The Blood of our Lord preserve thy soul unto eternal life."

Some of the XVI. century orders retained no words of Distribution, inasmuch as all that needed to be said was said already in the Consecration. Many allow them but have no fixed formula. A number of formulas may be found in Hoefling's Urkundenbuch, p. 124.

The formula of The Common Service is from Brandenberg-Nuernberg, 1533. Traces of the permissive formula of dismissal are recognized in the ancient Distribution formulas. That of the Church Book is found first in Augsburg-Strassburg (1565 ?).

The Nunc Dimittis.

The use of this is permissive. Beautiful and even appropriate as it is, it has no early authority in the Communion Liturgy. According to Schoeberlein† it is used in the Greek Church. It has authority as Lutheran usage in Bugenhagen, 1524, Doeber, 1525 and Slueter, 1531.

* Neale, Prim. Lit., p. 123. † Schatz &c., p. 450.

Digitized by Google

The Thanksgiving.

This has no earlier authority than the Reformation, so far at least as the contents of the form are concerned. In the old orders a great diversity is noticed in this part of the Service; but very many (Coburg, 1626, E. Frisia, 1631, Hildburghausen, 1685, Magdeburg, (2) 1667, Schwarzburg. 1675, Dantziger, 1708,), introduced the *Collect* with the *Versicle and Response.** Later Agendas as a rule followed this arrangement. The Versicle and Response appear first in Coburg, 1626. The Collect is first found in Luther's German Mass, 1526.

The Salutation and The Benedicamus.

The Salutation and Response are found in the Roman and Ambrosian Liturgies.† They are found also in Prussia, 1525, Pommern, 1535, Schleswig-Holstein, 1542.

Early in the Middle Ages there appeared a companion to the customary formula of dismissal, "*Ite missa est*" in the "*Benedicamus Domino.*" (Bless we the Lord) with the response "*Deo Gratias,*" (Thanks be to God). In the "*Micrologus, etc.*" of Ivo von Chartres (date uncertain) we find these two formulas paralleled. After the Council of Trent the Benedicamus was only permitted during Advent and Lent.

Luther in his Formula Missae says: "In place of the "*Ite Missa*" let the *Benedicamus Domino* be said, with the Hallelujah added, where and when it pleases, in its own melodies; or the *Benedicamus* may be borrowed from the Vespers." In this he was followed by the entire Nuernburg family of Liturgies.

The Benediction.

The use of the Aaronic *Benediction* appears already in the Apostolic Constitutions. In Book II. Sec. 7 : 57, we read that the deacon after offering a General Prayer and a prayer for peace, concluded with "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord make His face to shine upon thee, and give thee peace." Only bishops and presbyters were allowed to pronounce this blessing. In Book III. Sec. 1 : 10, a distinction is made between the greater, (Num. 6 : 24) and the lesser, (2 Cor. 13 : 14) formulas of blessing. During the Middle Ages a large number of Benedictions came into vogue, the use of several of which Luther in his Formula Missae allowed. But in his German Mass he cast aside all except that from Numbers 6 : 24. Numerous as were

* Kliefoth, V. 140; Schoeberlein, Schatz, etc., 451.
† Daniel, Cod. Lit. I., p. 108.

Digitized by Google

the forms of Benediction in our own Church during the Reformation era *they were gradually supplanted by the Aaronic.

It should be remembered that the Bendiction is not a prayer or pious wish, in which the minister can include himself; but it is the Lord's Word of Blessing, and only can the change of pronouns from "thee" or "you" to "us" be sanctioned when the formula is turned into a prayer or wish, e. g., "May the Lord add His blessing upon us etc."†

* See Hoefling's Urkundenbuch, pp. 132–133.
† Kliefoth, V. 142–143.

R. MORRIS SMITH.

Baden, Pa.

ERRATA.

Page 44,—tenth line from top, for "nterest" read "interest."
" 45,—sixth line from bottom, for "ruric" read "rubric."
" 48,—last line of first column, for "Wendesdsy" read "Wednesday."
" 48,—ninth line from bottom of second column, for "Whitsunday Week" read "Whitsun-week"
" 55,—second line from bottom, for "responee" read "response."
" 55,—in first foot-note, for "Paryer" read "Prayer."

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

VOL. II.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHANCEL.

THE Church of Christ may be infallibly recognized by two marks, or characteristics. These are the pure teaching of the Gospel and the right administration of the Sacraments. In order that the Word and the Sacraments may be properly administered, some structure is ordinarily demanded, in which those may gather for whom the Means of Grace are designed. A certain part of this structure, however, must necessarily be reserved as the place from which the Word, read and preached, may sound forth; and in which the Sacraments may be applied to the people. "Order is Heaven's first law," and dare not be absent from the arrangement of our earthly temples. The specific place in the churches designed for the administration of the Means of Grace is popularly known as the *Chancel*. The name now applied to this section of the church is derived from the *Cancelli*, screens, or barriers, which in the ancient Church separated this part from the Nave, or main body of the church. In this discussion, the term Chancel is used in a general sense, and includes all that is commonly understood by the words, choir, recess, apse, and sanctuary.

The time allotted to the presentation of the architecture of the Chancel and its essential furniture does not admit of an elaborate treatment of the subject. It will not be possible to outline the processes whereby some of the conclusions stated in this paper, have been arrived at. The object is merely to state results, and to furnish in brief and succinct form some of the principles which ought to be observed in the construction and arrangement of the most important and suggestive part of our Houses of Worship. The aim throughout has been to keep in view the practical wants of our churches in this country. If the lynx-eyed critic should feel inclined to carp at some of the suggestions contained in this paper, let him rest assured that it was not prepared with a view to instruct the architects of Protestant cathedrals; but, to outline

Digitized by Google

the best and most practical arrangement of the Chancel and its fixed, essential furniture for the House of Worship of an average Evangelical Lutheran congregation.

In treating an important subject like this, we must ever bear in mind that we dare not break abruptly away from the line of our historical development, nor fail to take into account that healthful conservatism which has always marked our beloved Church, where her adherents enjoyed a due appreciation of her Scriptural doctrine, her correct usages and her glorious history. Nor yet, on the other hand, dare we be so bound by the opinions and practices of the ancients as to impair our usefulness and adaptability in view of the age in which we live, in spite of the fact that it manifests a strong tendency to exalt the practical and the utilitarian at the expense of the artistic and refined; and shows an alarming want of reverence for the wholesome usages of the past. The Nineteenth and the Twentieth centuries contribute their quota to the development of cultus and ecclesiastical architecture as well as the Ninth and the Sixteenth. In a consideration like this it is as unpardonable, to put it mildly, to be indifferent to the trend of the present in these matters, as it is to ignore the results of wholesome development in the past, and to refuse to profit by them.

In treating of the architecture of the Chancel, we must in the first place decide upon its proper place in the church. The historical position of the Chancel is toward the East, so that the worshipping congregation always faces in the direction of the rising sun. To the devout mind, a number of beautiful and forcible reasons at once present themselves and make it self-evident that this is the most suitable place for the Chancel. If at all possible, the eastern position should always be selected for this important part of our Houses of Worship, not merely because this is in accord with the historical practice; but because it is eminently beautiful and suggestive. Our churches should be sermons in stone, and every individual part should be vocal with the exalted truths of our holy religion.

The floor-space occupied by the Chancel in proportion to that of the whole church, is a matter worthy of special consideration. Many of our churches are marred by such small-sized Chancels as to give the painful impression that the Word and the Sacraments, instead of being of essential importance, may be suitably disposed of in an insignificant little corner. In begrudging the ample space which ought to be assigned to the Chancel, we manifest a want of a due appreciation of the importance of what takes place

Digitized by Google

there. While unprepared to lay down a hard and fast rule stating the exact proportion which should exist between the Auditorium and the Chancel, one may safely say that there is no tendency manifesting itself anywhere at present in the direction of making the Chancel too large. One-eighth of the floor-space of the whole structure is not too much to devote to its exclusive use.

In the majority of our churches, the Chancel may well extend throughout its whole width a short distance into the Nave. This will make it possible for the pulpit and Lectern to be stationed near the people. The floor of the Chancel should be raised from that of the Auditorium by three low and wide steps.

The three liturgical stations in our Church, as accepted by all our writers upon this subject, are:—the Baptismal Font; the Pulpit, and its co-ordinate, the Lectern; and the Altar. These liturgical stations are properly considered under the subject before us; for Baptismal Font, Pulpit and Altar dare not be regarded as mere portable articles of furniture; but as fixed parts of the Church in which they are placed. They are more essential to a proper conception of a Christian church than the walls.

Let us take up the liturgical stations in their order, and begin naturally with the consideration of the Baptismal Font. In the great majority of our churches, a special Baptistry, like in ancient times, would be out of the question. The placing of the Font at the West end of the church, on the North side, is not practical in most of our churches; and no amount of emphasis laid upon the historic and symbolic significance of this place will ever make it general. There is only one other proper place left, and that is, at, or within, the Chancel. The center of the church, immediately in front of the Chancel steps, suggests itself as the best and most significant place for the Font. Here it will not intercept the view of the Altar, yet it will be in line with it in the centre of the church. Resting on the floor of the auditorium, it suggests that Baptism meets us on the level of our natural life, bestows upon us God's grace, passes us on to the ministry of the audible Word from Pulpit to Lectern, until we finally, in proper order, attain to the Altar, with its holy mysteries and its celestial blessings, marking the most exalted point of worship on this side of the glories of Heaven.

The Pulpit has been subjected to many and devious wanderings in the course of the Christian centuries. In the beginning the Bishop used to preach from his cathedra, in the Apse, back of the Altar. Whenever the Bishop did not

Digitized by Google

preach, the Deacon read a homily from the South, or Epistle, Ambo. Owing to the distance of the Cathedra of the Bishop from the people, it early became customary for the Bishop as well to preach from this Ambo. Of these Ambos there were usually two in the ancient Church, placed respectively to the North and South of the Choir where it joined the Nave. From these Ambos the Scriptures were read, the Gospel on the North and the Epistle on the South; and from them the Cantores intoned the Psalms. The early practice of preaching from the South Ambo is no doubt responsible for the southern position of the pulpit in many of our important churches. The growing practice of placing the pulpit on the North side has no historical warrant, although we may well bear in mind what Meurer says in his "Kirchenbau," page 214:—"The question whether the pulpit should be placed on the North or South side, in respect to which there has been no established usage, becomes for us simply a matter of expediency; for the distinction between the women's and the men's side of the Nave, or between the Gospel and Epistle side, has for us no longer any significance. The South side might be preferred simply for this reason, because the preacher facing the North, is at no time in danger of having the sun shine in his eyes. Certainly this might also be avoided by means of curtains."

It is safe to say that the practice will never become general among us in this country of placing the Pulpit in the Nave at one of the pillars. Yet the Pulpit should be fixed as far out into the Auditorium as practically possible. Its most approved place doubtless is on the south side of the Chancel as near as possible to the people. The great mistake is to be avoided of building the Pulpit so inordinately high as to defy a simple law of acoustics, and do violence to the neck-muscles of the audience in looking at the preacher.

The Lectern, or Reading Desk, is not universally used in our churches. With respect to it, our most distinctive practice follows the later developments, according to which the lessons are read from the Altar. There are a number of reasons which show this practice to be an objectionable one; and warrant a return to the more ancient practice according to which the lessons were read from Ambos from the north and south sides of the Chancel where it joins the Nave. Having concluded that the Pulpit properly occupies the place of the south Ambo, from which in the ancient Church, the Deacon, as already explained, used to read a homily when the Bishop did not preach, the Lectern may properly take the place of the north Ambo; and thus afford greater balance and

Digitized by Google

symmetry to the arrangements of our Chancels. Here the Word of God will be more audible to the people than if read from the Altar. The Word is not anything offered to God; but, God's message and gift of Grace to the people. It is a cheering sign to note that the trend in the development of the arrangement of our Chancels has of late been in this sensible and practical direction.

Having now, in our consideration of the ideal Chancel Architecture, placed the Baptismal Font in the center immediately before the three low steps which ascend to the Chancel, and having placed the Pulpit and Lectern on this elevated platform, as far into the Nave as possible, we now proceed to a consideration of the Altar. The recess in which the Altar stands, call it Sanctuary if you will, is reached by a low step from the elevation on which are fixed the Pulpit and Lectern. This step will serve the purpose of a prie-dieu, or kneeling-stool, for the communicants. A slight and inconspicuous railing, always open in front of the Altar, except at the times when persons kneel thereat, may be placed at a proper distance from the edge of this step; so as to serve, not as a chancel, or barrier, to the Altar, but merely as a support for the body. The Altar itself, which should be of generous proportions, may be raised from this elevation by three low and wide steps, thus elevating it on seven steps, all told, from the level of the auditorium, and bringing it within plain view of every worshipper, the center and most conspicuous object in the church.

The Reredos, or, in lieu of that, Dossal hangings, are becoming quite popular. These are doubtless what remains of the Reliquaries, as we see them in the Mediaeval churches. They are not essential to the architecture of the Altar, but are permitted; and submit to great artistic treatment. As in the Mediaeval Church, so in those of today, the Reredos is the place where the canons of good taste and of pure ecclesiastical art are most frequently transgressed. The Reredos must correspond with the architecture of the church in which it is placed. The round, semi-circular arches of the Byzantine style are decidedly out of place upon the Reredos in a Gothic church. It must not surpass in costliness and elaborateness of design, the Altar itself, as if the Altar existed for the sake of the Reredos, and not the Reredos for the Altar. The Reredos may so powerfully overshadow the Altar as to give the impression conveyed by the attachment of a $1500.00 portico to a $300.00 cottage. Again all statuary and paintings on the Reredos must refer distinctively to the redemptive work of Christ. Unity and harmony must exist

Digitized by Google

throughout the whole of the sacred edifice. From its foundation-stone to the cross upon its spire, a church ought to produce the impression of a grand symphony proclaiming the great, central truths connected with the redemption of man.

In conclusion, let the prospective builders of churches be urged to recognize the fact that the organic centre of the church is the Chancel, and especially the Altar within the Chancel; and that here is the place to give character to the whole structure. If the building must be stinted in any place, let it not be the Chancel and the Altar Here the wealth and affection of every worshipper may well find their exalted expression in forms of chaste beauty and of simple elegance. Just as in the human body, the condition and activity of the heart determine the general health of the individual, so the architecture and arrangement of the Chancel express, in no uncertain characters, not only the general character of the whole structure; but, the taste and intelligence of the worshippers as well.

Although we dare not tolerate for a moment the far-fetched symbolism which some claim to see in the Chancel and its arrangements; yet it is cheerfully admitted that, as the Gospel sounds from it, and in it the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ is administered, it should remind us, by its architecture and symbolisms, of that more glorious temple not made with hands, in which dwells the inapproachable glory of God. The earthly tabernacle should be a pattern of the heavenly.

ELMER F. KRAUSS.

Lecchburg, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ALTAR.

Of all visible accessories to worship, either of God's ordering or of man's devising, the altar is the most ancient. The very first divine service of which we have any record was an altar service. True, it is not stated explicitly that Cain and Abel erected altars, but the fact that they brought offerings unto the Lord implies some form of altar. Whether these sons of Adam were instructed of God as to how they were to worship is a question. It seems very probable that they were; certain it is that "the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering." The altar which Noah builded unto the Lord and upon which he offered burnt offerings, likewise met with divine favor. In the time of the Patriarchs, a number of altars were erected; some at God's express command, others were voluntary expressions of a desire to worship, on the part of godly souls. These altars of early times were often built in places where the Lord had appeared, or in spots hallowed by other religious associations. The usual purpose for which they were erected was naturally that of offering sacrifice; although in some instances, they served simply as memorials. These rudely constructed altars of the patriarchal age gave way to the portable altar in the court of the Tabernacle; and this in turn was superseded by the larger and more beautiful altar of the Temple. To trace in detail the development of the altar of burnt offerings, to study its construction and to notice its relation to the altar of incense

Digitized by Google

would doubtless prove interesting in this connection, but all this would naturally be manifestly foreign to our purpose here.

To God's people of the old dispensation the altar was wholly sacrificial in its significance. The most devout and thoughtful of th epatriarchs and prophets seem to have had no knowledge of the symbolic meaning of the sacrifices which they offered. There is no record, either in Holy Writ or in the ancient profane writings, to indicate that these men had even an inkling of the truth that their sacrifices were but a type of the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world. They expected a redemption through a Redeemer, but they did not understand that this meant the remission of sins through a crucified Savior. They understood and believed the divinely given laws concerning sacrifice without grasping the truth that those sacrifices were efficacious before God only in as far as the merits of the Messiah gave them efficacy. Their altars were to them a constant reminder of man's duty to bring his gifts to God; but concerning God's Gift to man, their altars were silent. While the light of fuller revelation makes manifest in the Old Testament altar a sacramental character, to the believers under the Law the altar was entirely sacrificial in its significance.

In the coming of Christ Jesus, Who, as our great High Priest, offered Himself as a spotless sacrifice to God for the propitiation of our sins, we have the substance of that which was foreshadowed by the types and ceremonies of the Old Testament. In Him all types found their anti-type and all ceremonies found their fulfillment. These glorious shadow-pictures by which the Jews were taught spiritual truths were therefore done away when the superior glory of that which was portrayed in the pictures was made manifest. From this it becomes obvious that the Jewish altar has no place or part under the present dispensation. Calvary's cross, upon which our blessed Savior suffered and died is the only altar of sacrifice in the Church of the New Testament. Sin without a sacrifice now, as in times past, clamors for vengeance, but the Sacrifice of the cross is amply sufficient to silence the clamoring of all the world's transgressions.

However it does not follow from this that that which we designate as an "altar," in our churches at the present time, is a misnomer. On the other hand, the term "altar" as applied to the Christian communion table has an appropriateness which is readily apparent to the thoughtful Christian. This use of the word is of ecclesiastical rather than of scriptural origin. The New Testament speaks of "the Table of the Lord,"but does not refer to it as an "altar," unless Hebrews

Digitized by Google

xiii. 10 is such a reference, a matter which cannot be proven. Certain it is that the word was used in this sense very early in the history of the Christian Church. We find it so used already in the writings of Ignatius, who was the contemporary of some of the apostles. Therefore the expression "Christian altar" has been sanctioned—yes, hallowed—by not less than eighteen centuries of use.

The celebration of the Holy Eucharist demanded some form of table, upon which the elements might be placed during their consecration, and from which they might be distributed. As long as the little bands of believers met for worship in private houses, the ordinary table of the home was utilized for this purpose. But the external development of the Church required changes in the arrangements for the assembling of the believers; and, just as naturally, the internal development brought about changes in the ceremonies and customs of the service. The spiritual life of the believers gave birth to very beautiful and edifying forms, already in the early years of Christianity. It was during these years of the Church's pristine purity that the Table of the Lord began to develop in form and to grow in meaning. The result of this development and growth is the Christian Altar as found in the true visible Church of Christ at the present time. It must, therefore, be conceded that the altar as such is a human arrangement; yet we do not concede that it it a human invention. It is a legitimate growth of the same nature as are the Church Year and the Liturgy.

The prime purpose of the altar is, and always has been, for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Without this Sacrament, the altar would in all probability, never have been introduced into any branch of the Christian Church. The dispensation of the blessed Body and Blood of our Lord from it, is what gives the altar its right to exist. Not that the altar adds to the essence or validity of this feast of grace. The Sacrament is in every way complete and perfect, as instituted by the Lord Jesus. When in times of persecution, Christians celebrated the Lord's Supper on the trunks of trees, on the stones of graves and on elevations in the fields, the absence of an altar detracted absolutely nothing from the efficacy of the Sacrament. Notwithstanding this, he, who under normal conditions, would not prefer to receive the Lord's Supper from an altar, rather than from the trunk of a tree or the stone of a grave, either does not grasp the idea of this Sacrament, or else is sadly lacking in his sense of churchly order and propriety. The Christian who has a correct conception of the Eucharist and any appreciation whatever of

Digitized by Google

that which is churchly, would show a decided preference for an altar. To us as Lutherans the Lord's Supper is so intimately associated with an altar that we commonly designate it as "the Sacrament of the Altar." To us the altar has a meaning. To us it stands for one of God's precious means of grace. As the pulpit stands for the Word and the font for Baptism, so the altar stands for the Holy Supper of our Lord. Even at a minor service the altar is eloquent with meaning. It speaks. It proclaims a rich feast of grace. It tells of gracious pardon for the sinful; it tells of nourishment and strength for the weak and faltering; it tells of sweetest heavenly comfort for the afflicted and distressed. It tells, in short, of a blessed communion in which sinful men may be drawn nearer to Heaven than is possible for them to approach in any other way on earth. These are the fundamental truths for which our altar stands. It is, therefore, primarily sacramental in its significance.

But our altar's significance is not restricted to the sacramental. The Holy Supper is so suggestive of the atoning work of our Savior that we can hardly think of this Sacrament without being reminded of Christ's agony and death. It is this atoning work that we plead in all our supplications and prayers at the throne of grace. When we petition our Heavenly Father for mercy, our reliance is solely upon the blood and righteousness of Jesus our Redeemer. The altars in our churches are, in a certain sense at least, symbolical of Golgotha's altar upon which our Savior expiated our sins. Therefore while the altar speaks of one of the means through which God comes to us with His grace, it also proclaims the ground of our acceptableness when we approach our God. This gives the altar also a certain sacrificial meaning.

There is yet another idea which augments this sacrificial significance of our altar, though not in a co-ordinate manner. In the ancient Church it was customary at the services, for each communicant to offer some gift upon the altar. Of these offerings, such as were necessary for the celebration of the Holy Supper were set apart for that purpose; the remainder were used for the support of the ministry and for the benefit of the poor. Practically this same custom still obtains in our churches. The justification of this custom lies on the very surface of the matter. The offering is an integral part of a divine service. It is a blessed privilege as well as an imperative duty devolving upon every Christian to bring regularly a gift unto the Lord. When a congregation of Christians meets for worship, these gifts of the people are collected. What disposition shall now be made of them? The Chris-

Digitized by Google

tian Church has always regarded the altar as the most appropriate place upon which to lay these offerings. Nor does this in any way militate against the primary purpose of the altar. Our altar stands, and ever must stand, primarily for God's gift of grace to us, bestowed in the Holy Eucharist. Now upon this same altar from which we receive this rich and gracious feast, we lay our humble offerings, in token of our appreciation of God's manifold mercies, and of our gratitude to their beneficient Giver.

But perhaps we may be enabled to discern more clearly the scripturalness and beauty of our altar's significance by contrasting it with the altars, real and so-called, of other Christian denominations. Let us make comparisons, first with the altar as found in the Church of Rome, and then with the altars of the various Reformed Bodies, and briefly note the points of contrast.

The altar of the Romish Church differs very materially from the Lutheran altar, just as the Romish conception of the Eucharist differs essentially from our own doctrine. According to papistical teaching, there is in the Romish Mass a sacrifice; not simply a commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, but a true propitiatory sacrifice whereby God is pacified. The celebrant in this ordinance is said to offer an unbloody sacrifice to God, by which atonement is made for the mortal and venial sins both of the living and of the dead. By this unscriptural view of the Eucharist, the Table of the Lord becomes, in the Church of Rome, an altar of sacrifice. This makes obvious a very important point of difference between the Lutheran and the Romish altars. While to the Lutheran the altar speaks primarily of divine grace bestowed upon men, to the Romanist it speaks of a sacrifice which men endeavor to bring unto God.

Again, the Romish Church makes a consecrated altar absolutely essential to the celebration of the Eucharist. According to this view, the use of an altar in the Lord's Supper is not merely a matter of churchly order and propriety, but the altar is a part of the essence of the Sacrament. To the Lutheran, the Sacrament makes the altar; to the Romanist, the altar makes the Sacrament.

There is yet another point of difference. The Church of Rome has for many centuries made use of her altar in her idolatrous martyr worship. Every altar used for the celebration of Mass must, according to Roman Catholic rule, contain some authorized relics. These are preserved in a cavity prepared for their reception, called "the tomb." At the consecration of an altar, the bishop of the diocese inserts the relics,

Digitized by Google

and seals up "the tomb" with the Episcopal seal. These relics are regarded with a veneration which amounts to worship. The Romish altar is, therefore, also a shrine, considered as sanctified by the presence of some martyr's bone or other relic. The Lutheran Church has always regarded the veneration of relics, and all kindred practices, with horror. There is not even a semblance of saint adoration or martyr worship in the significance of the Lutheran altar.

To make a comparison with the altar as found in the various Reformed churches is by no means an easy task. We might dismiss the whole matter by saying that these churches have no altars; for, while it is true that in nearly all Christian churches there is a table of some sort, it is very doubtful if that article of furniture should be dignified by the name of "altar." Some of the sects apply this word to their communion tables; others repudiate it. Even the Anglican or Episcopal Church has, since the year 1552, designedly eliminated the word "altar" from her Prayer Book.

Concerning the Episcopalians we can hardly do more than say that there is among them a very wide diversity of views on this subject. On the one hand, there are clergymen of this Church who have ascribed a significance to their altar which can barely be distinguished from that of the Romish altar; some, on the other hand, declare that their Church has no altar, contending that it is misleading to designate the Table of the Lord by this term. These are the two extreme views. The majority of those who have written on the subject take positions somewhere between these extremes. This great lack of unity in the teaching of the Episcopal Church renders her altar practically nondescript. Therefore no satisfactory comparison with our own altar can be made.

As regards the altars of the other Reformed bodies, if we ascribe any significance at all to them, it is, strange to say, more like that of the Romish than of the Lutheran altar. It is sacrificial rather than sacramental. Among the various sects the Eucharist has, to a large extent, degenerated into a means whereby the participants proclaim their faith in the fact that Christ died for them. It is more a token of faith and of brotherly love than a true means of grace. Such a conception of the Eucharist naturally deprives an altar of any real sacramental significance, and leaves it but a meager sacrificial aspect. To the average sectarian congregation, the altar is simply a table placed in the church for the convenience of the pastor, deacons and the committee on decorations, having no significance whatever.

Digitized by Google

The difference, therefore, between the Lutheran altar and the altars of other Christian bodies is not merely one of degree but of kind. The difference is identical with that between truth and error. Would that all Lutherans had a better understanding of these matters! Then would all appreciate and love this beautiful heritage of former ages, the altar of our Church.

W. E. SCHRAMM.

Allegheny, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE SWEDISH LITURGIES.

In the Middle Ages the Latin language was the language of the Catholic Mass, and the Divine Service was then, in all essentials, conducted according to the *Ordo Romanus*. The liturgical forms used in Sweden deviated, however, in several details from the *Missale Romanum* of the beginning of the sixteenth century. The reason probably was that the forms used in Sweden were older by one or two centuries, the later Roman innovations having not yet been incorporated into the same, perhaps because Sweden was such a remote ecclesiastical province and not so often visited by papal legates.

The five printed missals of the mediæval Church of Sweden are: *Missale Upsalense vetus* (printed between 1475 and 1484); *Missale Stregnense* (1487); *Missale Aboense* or *Missale secundum ordinem fratrum predicatorum* (1488); *Missale Upsalense novum* (1513); and *Missale Lundense* (1514). The Manuals of that time are two: *Manuale Lincopense* (1525) and *Manuale Aboense* (1522). To these may also be added *Breviarium Scarense* (1498), also containing *Actus Sacerdotales*. The missals differ from the general Latin ritual in some details and these even from each other. Thus the *Missale Stregnense* and *M. Lundense* differ from the three others and from *M. Romanum* in the order of the Collects read before the Epistle; especially is

Digitized by Google

this the case for the Sundays following upon the Third Sunday after the Festival of the Trinity. This difference and its results in the Swedish Service ever since 1553 will be remarked upon later.

Olavus Petri, the Swedish Church reformer, not only translated into Swedish the New Testament and some of Luther's Sermons, but he also wrote an original Collection of Sermons, a Catechism, a Manual, a Service Book and other smaller works for edification or polemics. And it is with great pleasure that we attempt to make his liturgical works known to American friends of Lutheran Liturgiology. The first work of Olavus Petri was: *A Manual in Swedish, wherein Baptism and Other Things are to be Found.* Concerning this book Dr. O. Quensel, Professor in Upsala, says: "Olavus Petri has here hardly had access to more than one Lutheran manual, namely *Das Taufbuechlein* of 1523; Luther's *Traubuechlein* appeared first in 1534. The oldest Lutheran Ritual of Burial mentioned by Daniel dates from 1540. Neither Daniel nor Bodemann seem to know any Ritual earlier than 1539 for *The Pastor's Visitation of the Sick.* Thus everything signifies that Olavus Petri independently, with the exception of what is mentioned, composed the handbook of 1529, without the guidance of any existing foreign Ritual, and that consequently this handbook is to be regarded as the first Church Manual not only in Sweden, but in the whole Lutheran church."

I may be permitted to state here, in passing, that we still have many precious jewels from this handbook in the Swedish Lutheran Church Books. Among others may be mentioned the following beautiful prayer, composed by Olavus Petri and read at the burial of the dead: "Almighty, Merciful and Eternal God, Who on account of sin, etc.—" This prayer has been translated from the Swedish Church Book of 1811 and inserted in *Die Preus. Hofkirchen-Agende,* as follows: "Allmaechtiger, barmherziger, ewiger Gott! Der Du um der Suende willen, etc.—" The same is true of the Swedish custom that the minister shall throw earth into the grave three times, while he says: "Dust thou art; and unto dust shalt thou return; Jesus Christ, our Saviour, shall raise thee on the last day." This form has been transferred from the handbook of Olavus Petri to the Danish ritual of 1680 and to the Prussian "Agende." Kliefoth (Liturg. Abhandlungen I: 291) says: "Die alten Agenden der deutschen lutherischen Kirchen kennen niche diesen Ritus." And from Nitzch's *Theologisches Votum ueber die Neue Hofkirchen-Agende,* Dr. Quensel quotes these words: "Gewiss ist, dass die Schwedische Agende vorgelegen, denn z. B. das Hauptgebet fuer die Beerdigung und mehreres zur Ordinations-handlung gehoerig,

Digitized by Google

ist woertlich aus derselben entlehnt." Six more or less changed editions of this Manual were printed before 1614.

But we shall direct our attention to the Church Services. Olavus Petri published in 1531: *The Swedish Mass, as it is Celebrated in Stockholm, With Reasons for Conducting it in Such Manner.* This Service Book has as an introduction a little treatise: *Reason why the mass ought to be conducted in such language that the common people may understand.* In a following special preface: *Olavus Petri to the Christian Reader,* he gives an account of what had to be changed or not changed in the Mass. In the first mentioned introduction O. Petri says, among other things, "We Swedes as well as other people belong to God, and God has given us the language we have." These words have been inscribed on the statue of O. Petri, erected in 1898 in the front of Storkyrkan in Stockholm, in which church he served as pastor from 1543 until his death in 1552.

This Swedish Liturgy must, however, have been composed by Olavus Petri some years previous to 1531. According to the historian Messenius, the Swedish Mass was celebrated for the first time in 1525 at the marriage of O. Petri; and in the beginning of 1529 certain conspirators against King Gustavus Vasa, accused the king for allowing the Mass to be celebrated in the Swedish language. The title of O. Petri's Service Book confirms this statement; and in the first lines of the book the author also says that in many places of the country it was known that the Swedish and Evangelical Mass was administered in Stockholm and at sundry places in the kingdom.

The Swedish Service of 1531 contains, in order, the following parts:

1.) *Allocution to the Congregation.* Originally written by O. Petri, it has been abbreviated and changed in later Service Books.

2.) *Confession of Sins.* "We poor miserable sinners, conceived and born in sin, with all our heart confess unto Thee, holy and righteous God, merciful Father, that we in manifold ways during all our life, have offended against Thee. We have not loved Thee above all things, nor our neighbor as ourselves. Against Thee and Thy holy commandments have we sinned by thought, word and deed, and we acknowledge that, if Thou shouldst judge according to Thy justice and our sins, we have deserved eternal condemnation. But Thou, Heavenly Father, hast promised to receive with tender mercy all penitent sinners, who return unto Thee and with living faith flee for refuge to Thy fatherly compassion and to the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Their transgressions Thou wilt not regard, nor impute

Digitized by Google

unto them their sins. Relying upon Thy promise, we poor sinners confidently beseech Thee to be merciful and gracious unto us and forgive us all our sins to the praise and glory of Thy holy name. May the Almighty, Everlasting God, in His infinite mercy and for the sake of our Saviour Jesus Christ, forgive all our sins, and grant us grace that we may amend our lives, and finally with Him obtain eternal life. Amen." (Church Book of Augustana Synod, Church Services with Music, Page 3.) This confession, also a composition of O. Petri, is still, with a few alterations, read in all Swedish Lutheran churches. It contains several expressions from an old prayer book in the Swedish vernacular and is written in good evangelical and liturgical style; its last sentence, a prayer for absolution, is a free translation from the Latin Missal.

3.) *Introitus.* a) A Psalm of David or any other song from Holy Scriptures.

b) Lord, have mercy upon us! Christ, have mercy upon us! Lord, have mercy upon us!

c) Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will toward men. We praise Thee, we bless Thee, etc.

4.) *Salutation.* The minister says (not sings as he does in the *Introitus*) :"The Lord be with you!" The congregation sings: "And with thy spirit!"

5.) *Collecta.* The General Collect: "Grant us, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, Heavenly Father, a steadfast faith in Jesus Christ, a cheerful hope in Thy mercy and a sincere love to Thee and to all our fellowmen; through Jesus Christ our Lord." Or any other, "according to the time."

6.) *The Epistle.* A chapter or a half from St. Paul or any other Apostle.

7.) *Graduale.* The Hymn on the Ten Commandments, or any other Hymn.

8.) *The Gospel.* A chapter or a half from any of the four Gospels. In an Appendix to his Service Book O. Petri has added, that if this reading of the Scriptures gives offence to anybody, then the Epistles and Gospels in the Latin Mass may be read, until the people have been better instructed.

9.) Either the *Apostles' Creed* or the *Nicene* is to be read.

N. B. The usual place is not here given to the Sermon. According to the Latin Mass and Luther's *Formula Missae* of 1523, the Sermon very likely had its independent place before the Mass began. O. Petri says in his first Introduction to the Service Book: "No Mass is to be held, if there has not first been preaching." He had already in 1530 published a collection of his

Digitized by Google

own sermons as a help for ignorant preachers. This Postil also gives instructions how to begin and finish a sermon, and the sermons are from the old Gospel Pericopes.

10.) *Preface to the Communion.* No Offertorium, but the following parts.

a) The Salutation: "The Lord be with you, etc."

b) "Lift up your hearts to God!" "We lift up our hearts."

c) "Let us give thanks to God our Lord!" "It is meet and right."

d) "It is truly meet and right, becoming and salutary, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God, through Jesus Christ, our Lord; Who is our Paschal Lamb offered for us, the innocent Lamb of God, Who taketh away the sin of the world; Who has conquered death, is risen again, and liveth forever more. Therefore, we who trust in Him shall also through Him be victorious over sin and death, and inherit eternal life. And in order that we may keep in remembrance His unspeakable mercy, He hath instituted His Holy Supper." (Ch. Book of Aug. Synod. Services with Music, Page 18). This form of the *Vere dignum* was written by O. Petri, and, having been omitted in the Swedish Church Book of 1811, has been again restored in the Church Books of 1894 and 1895.

11.) *Consecration.* The elements are consecrated by reading from the Holy Scriptures the Institution of the Lord's Supper, not the paraphrase in the Roman Mass.

12.) *Sanctus* (to be read or sung). *The Lord's Prayer, Pax, Agnus Dei.* (All in Swedish.)

N. B. This order of the Consecration and Sanctus has been preserved in all Swedish Services, although in the present Service Books the Lord's Prayer precedes the Sanctus. Luther's *Formula Missae* of 1523 and the *Brandenburg-Nuernberg* Service of 1533 also place the Act of Consecration between the Vere dignum and the singing of the Sanctus. The proper place for the Sanctus in the Service seems to us to be after the Consecration of the Bread and Wine and not before, as is the case in the Gregorian Mass, *Missale Romanum* and some Lutheran Church Books. The Church as the bride of the Lamb, greets her Bridegroom and King, and we Lutherans believe this sacramental advent of our Lord to the communicants to take place, not at the Consecration but at the Distribution and reception of the consecrated Bread and Wine. The tenth article of the unaltered Augsburg Confession reads: "Of the Lord's Supper they teach, that

Digitized by Google

the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present and are communicated to those that eat in the Lord's Supper" (*vescentibus in Coena Domini*). Compare with this also the answer given to the first question in the Fifth Part of Luther's Small Catechism.

13.) *The Communion.* To this belong, a) *An Admonition to the Communicants.* This Admonition was written by O. Petri himself and is wholly independent of the Exhortation that in *Die Deutsche Messe* follows on the paraphrased Lord's Prayer. Although abbreviated and put in another connection, the Admonition of O. Petri was used in the Swedish Service until 1894.

b) *The Distribution* of the Bread and afterwards of the Wine to the communicants. The minister says to those who receive the holy elements: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve your soul unto everlasting life!" And: "The Blood of our Lord, etc."

14.) a) A *Swedish Hymn* or the *Nunc Dimittis* in Swedish.

b) *Salutations.* "The Lord be with you, etc."

c) *Collect of Thanksgiving.* "O Lord, Almighty God, etc."

d) *Benedicamus.* "Let us thank and praise the Lord, etc."

15.) *Benediction.* "Bow your hearts to God and receive the benediction. The Lord bless us and keep us. The Lord make His face shine upon us, and be gracious unto us. The Lord lift up His countenance upon us, and give us peace. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

FINIS.

As an Appendix to his Service Book, Olavus Petri has also translated the seven penitential Psalms of David, to be used *"pro introitu."* Thereupon follow sixteen Collects, all translated from the Latin Missal, and twelve of them belonging to the latter half of the Church Year. These Collects are ordered to be read by the minister before the reading of the Epistle at his own pleasure, no direction being given for the selection of the Collects.

It may suffice here to note, as a general remark on this first Swedish Service, that in the main it follows that classic Liturgy, Luther's *Formula Missae* of 1523. Olavus Petri is however sometimes quite independent of Luther, as he had already shown himself to be when translating the New Testament into Swedish in 1526. He had the courage and the evangelical spirit of Luther and was his true disciple in faith. but at the same time searched the Scripture himself for truth and life. Special characteristic traits in all the works of O. Petri are his faithful conservatism, deep humility and holy earnestness. The natural result of this has

Digitized by Google

been, that the old Swedish Service has always been dear to Swedish Lutherans, even though it may be acknowledged, that the allocutions of O. Petri sometimes fall from the pure liturgical style into a certain manner of preaching.

Olavus Petri published, with a few but important changes, new editions of his Service Book in 1535 and 1537. The last increased the number of Collects to thirty, of which fifteen were referred to certain named Festival Days. The Bible texts to be used as Introits are limited to "at most six verses," and the Graduale is allowed to be sung in Latin, provided that it is taken from the Holy Scriptures. All these editions of the Service Book were semi-official, the king Gustavus Vasa, for political reasons, keeping himself neutral as yet in such matters. He had, however, tried to abrogate the Latin Mass in Stockholm as early as 1528.

In 1541 the Swedish Church Service received further changes under the editorship, as it seems, of a certain German nobleman, Georg Norman, a disciple of Melanchthon, and from 1539 the king's adviser in church government. This new edition has the title: *The Mass in Swedish, Upsala* 1541, and its most important changes are the following. The minister is allowed to read his Confession of Sins in Latin; both the Introitus and the Graduale may be sung in Latin; and the old pericopes may be used as the Epistle and Gospel for the Sunday. Between the reading of the Gospel and the Creed is now inserted a rubric indicating this as the place for the Sermon. This rubric was taken from *Die Deutsche Messe* of 1526, where the Sermon, however, has its correct place, that is to say, after the Creed. The Nunc Dimittis in Swedish after the Communion has also been exchanged for a Swedish hymn.

The archbishop Laurentius Petri, a brother of Olavus Petri, had probably assisted Norman in the editing of the Service Book of 1541, and it is quite certain that Laurentius Petri himself executed the new edition of 1548. This edition has no changes in the text, only adding four new Collects after the Communion and introducing indications as to the manner of singing the responses in the Service. The singing of hymns in the Service was very deficient and in that respect still far below the use in Germany. Olavus Petri had, however, published a collection of 15 Swedish hymns in 1530, and another of 45 hymns in 1536, and Laurentius Petri published in 1567 *The Swedish Hymn Book,* containing 99 hymns, of which many are still sung in Swedish Churches.

The Mass in Swedish. Improved, Stockholm 1557. This is the title of the following Service Book of Laurentius Petri. Its two good improvements are, that the Gospel follows immediately

Digitized by Google

upon the Graduale, and that the Collects for the whole Church Year are printed in an Appendix. These Collects are all translated from the Roman ritual; but Laurentius Petri, following here his *Missale Stregnense,* has all the Collects from the Third Sunday after Trinity Sunday, one Sunday ahead of the Roman ritual and the Episcopalian Book of Common Prayer. This Swedish order of the Collects for the latter half of the Church Year is also followed in the Common Service and in the Church Book of the Augustana Synod.

Liturgia Svecanae Ecclesiae Catholicae et orthodoxae conformis. 1576. This Liturgy, having king John III for its author, was in reality a kind of restoration of the Roman Mass, although with some Lutheran features, as that the Sacrament was to be administered in both kinds to the laity. A new edition was published in 1588. Both editions were written partly in Latin and partly in Swedish and pretended to restore the ritual of the old Apostolic Church. Enforced with violence by the king until his death, this liturgy, commonly called the *Red Book,* was in the following year, 1593, rejected at the Church Diet of Upsala as superstitious and conformable to the papal Mass. Not a single person caring to defend the Red Book, it was then resolved, that the church should return to the use of its old evangelical models of liturgy.

After the Church Diet of Upsala a long and hard strife began between the Swedish clergy, who preferred to use the liturgy of Laurentius Petri, and Charles IX, who had Calvinistic tendencies and presented two different Calvinistic draughts of a liturgy of his own. These were not adopted by the clergy, and the Swedish Church in defending its Lutheran faith against Calvinism grew more conservative in doctrine and liturgical customs than it otherwise might have been.

During the reign of the illustrious Lutheran king and hero Gustavus Adolphus, a new Swedish Liturgy was published in 1614 by a committee of seventeen learned divines, the sources and rule for their work being "the Church Law of 1571 and other pure and blameless liturgies." This Service Book is called: *Church Book, Containing the Manners in Which Public Worship with Christian Ceremonies and Rituals shall be Conducted in our Swedish Congregations.* The title is nearly the same as that of the Pennsylvania Agenda of 1748, and the word Mass is no longer used. The Church Book of 1614 contains also: *Forms for the Ministerial Acts;* but here we confine ourselves to the first part: *The Manners for Public Worship on Sundays and Festival Days.* The contents are as follows:

Digitized by Google

1.) An *Allocution.* This now pertains not only, as in the former Services, to the Communion, but to the whole Divine Service.

2.) *The Confession of Sins.* The same as that of 1531. The only change is in the beginning:——"that we with our fathers in manifold ways." The words "with our fathers," having been very properly inserted here, are however omitted in the Service Book of 1811 and later editions.

3.) *Kyrie and Gloria.* As from 1531. The *Introitus* proper is omitted and has been omitted in Swedish services ever since. And instead of the *Laudamus* the first hymn of Decius (Church Book, No. 9: All glory be to God on High, etc.) is given as an alternative.

4.) *Salutations.* As from 1531. *The Collects.* As in the Service of 1557.

5.) *The Epistles* and *Gospels* are now definitely fixed to be the old pericopes of the Church Year. The *Graduale* between the Epistle and the Gospel is a Swedish Hymn, which in the Church Book was named for each Sunday. After the Gospel follows the *Apostles' Creed,* with either the *Nicene Creed* or Luther's Credo Hymn as alternatives.

6.) *The Sermon,* preceded by a Swedish Hymn, is closed with prayers, and a new Confession of Sins is here given to be read at the minister's pleasure. This confession is a translation from the Brandenburg-Nuernberg ritual: "O most merciful God and Father, Whose grace endureth from generation to generation! Thou art patient and long-suffering, and forgivest all who are truly penitent, their sins and transgressions. Look with compassion upon Thy people and hear their supplications. We poor sinners confess unto Thee that we are by nature sinful and unworthy of Thy goodness and love. Against Thee have we sinned and done wickedness in Thy sight. Remember not our transgressions: have mercy upon us; help us, O God, our Savior! For Thy Name's sake, grant us remission of all our sins and save us. Give us the grace of Thy Holy Spirit that we may amend our sinful lives and obtain with Thee everlasting life; through Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved. Grant us, O Lord, this Salvation." (Augustana Church Book with Music. Page 39.) These prayers in the pulpit close with the *Lord's Prayer* and a Swedish Hymn sung by the congregation.

7.) As from 1557. a) *Salutations.* b) Both the *Prefaces.* c) The *Consecration.* d) *Sanctus* (to be read or sung). e) The *Lord's Prayer* (to be sung by the minister). f) The *Ad-*

Digitized by Google

monition to the *Communicants.* g) *Pax.*

8.) *The Distribution,* during which the *Agnus Dei* is sung by the congregation. The words said by the minister at the distribution are here changed to: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve your *body and soul* unto everlasting life." And: "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve your *body and soul* unto everlasting life." These anti-Calvinistic words are taken from the already mentioned *Missale Stregnense,* which has this unique reading.

9.) a) *Salutation.* b) *Collect of Thanksgiving.* c) *Salutation with response.* d) *Benedicamus* e) *Benediction.,* as in 1531, but the word *"us"* is now changed to *"you."*

10.) *A Swedish Hymn* is added in the Service of 1614 *"pro exitu."*

A new edition of this Church Book appeared in 1693 with the ratification of king Charles XI, who positively prohibited the ministers from making any alterations in the Service. And the Church Book of 1614 continued thus to be used in all Swedish Churches until 1811, when a new Church Book was adopted, which was not an improvement but indeed a deterioration from the former pure and noble liturgy.

During the reign of Gustavus III, when the Church was more or less under the baneful influence of rationalism and neology, there was a proposition in 1789 to modernize the language of the Divine Service, although keeping the Lutheran faith unaltered. And in 1793 at the centennial jubilee of the Upsala Church Diet a new Church Book appeared, which however was not adopted in its proposed form. But the proposed Book was afterwards examined and modified by the clergy of the realm. In such amended form the new Church Book was ratified in 1810 by the king, and in the following year it was ordered by a royal proclamation to be generally used in all the Churches.

It is really a wonderful thing, that the Church Book of 1811 was as good as it turned out to be; it could have been worse in those times. All the churches seemed to acquiesce in the change of Church Books. Several believing Christians in the southern part of Sweden, however, murmured, but made no opposition, and some of those in the northern part, commonly called Luther readers, made some opposition and were at last allowed to choose between the old and the new Church Book. This Church Book of 1811 was used in the Established Church until 1894, when the new and far better Church Book, adopted the previous year by the Church Diet, was authorized by the king and ordered to be exclusively used in the Lutheran Church of Sweden.

Digitized by Google

The most characteristic trait of the Church Book of 1811 is its rhetorical style. We will here render, as an example, the very peculiar beginning of the Morning Service. It begins with a short hymn, and the Pastor, having in the meantime entered and advanced to the altar, turns toward the congregation, and continues the Service thus: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty! Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory! We praise and honor Thee, we worship Thee, we thank Thee for Thy wonders. O Lord, the only begotten Son of the Most High, Jesus Christ! O Holy Ghost, Spirit of peace, truth and grace!

All Thy works, O eternal God, praise Thee; eternal as Thou art, is Thy power, unchangeable is Thy goodness. Behold, eternal Father, with mercy, Thy people, assembled in Thy sanctuary to worship Thee, to thank Thee for Thy goodness, and to implore Thy grace for their spiritual and bodily welfare. Enlighten our understanding to know Thee, and teach our hearts to make unto Thee holy offerings of a true obedience. Bowed down under the burden of our sins, we humble ouselves in the dust before Thee and pray for grace and deliverance of Thee, O God, our Saviour! Merciful and good art Thou; great in mercy and compassion. Hear graciously the united supplications which now ascend to Thy throne."

Thereupon follows the *Confession of Sin, Kyrie and Gloria in Excelsis,* as from 1531. In the *Salutations,* the Response of the congregation has been changed to "The Lord be with thee also." The same Response is given in the Service of 1894 and in the Augustana Synod's Swedish Church Book, but its English Church Book has: "And with thy spirit." *The Graduale* (a Swedish Hymn) is taken away after the *Epistle,* and the *Gospel* is to be read in the pulpit. In the *Apostles' Creed,* the third article has the change of "The Resurrection of the body" to "The Resurrection of the dead." The Service of 1894 has the same phrase; but both the Augustana Church Books have the old sentence: "The Resurrection of the body." In the Augustana Synod the congregation reads aloud the Creed and in like manner, after the Sermon is ended, and at its proper place, the Lord's Prayer. This is not done in Sweden.

Among other alterations in 1811 we observe that the old exhortation of O. Petri to the communicants has gained a more rhetorical style, and that the same has been entirely omitted by the Swedish Service of 1894 and both the Augustana Church Books. The Church Book of 1811 had omitted the *Vere dignum,* but this, in its old form as given by O. Petri, was restored again in these three Church Books. The *Agnus Dei* in the Swedish Services of 1811 and 1894 and in the Swedish Augustana Church

Digitized by Google

Book reads thus: "O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, save us merciful Lord God! O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, hear us merciful Lord God! O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, give us Thy peace and blessing!" Instead of this the English Augustana Church Book has the old form of Agnus Dei found in *Missale Romanum*, the Swedish Services of 1531 and 1614, and in the Common Service. When distributing the consecrated elements the minister says to each communicant, according to the Service of 1811: "Jesus Christ, Whose Body thou receivest, preserve thee unto everlasting life. Amen!" And again: "Jesus Christ, Whose Blood thou receivest, preserve thee unto everlasting life. Amen." In the Service of 1894, and the Swedish Augustana Church Book, there is a shorter form given as alternative: "The Body of Christ, given for thee!"——"The Blood of Christ, given for thee!" And when this form is used, the minister says when dismissing the communicants: "The Lord Jesus Christ, Whose Body and Blood you have received, preserve you unto everlasting life! Amen." The English Augustana Church Book says: When the minister giveth the Bread; he shall say: "Take and eat; this is the body of Christ, given for thee." When he giveth the Cup, he shall say: "Take and drink; this is the Blood of Christ, shed for thee." In dismissing the Communicants, the Minister shall say: "The Lord Jesus Christ, Whose true Body and Blood you have now received, strengthen and preserve you unto everlasting life. Amen."

In 1860 a change was made in the Service of 1811. After the Epistle follows now as Graduale a Swedish Hymn and the old Gospel text, which is to be preached upon only every third year. And two new series of texts for Morning and Evening Services are to be read in the pulpit and preached upon in each of the two succeeding years. The same order is still kept in the Church of Sweden and in the Augustana Synod. In the year 1874 the third article of the Apostles' Creed was again altered. The sentence: "The holy Christian Church" has since been given us: "Thy holy universal Church." And still again in 1894 another change was made in the second article. The words: "He descended into hell" are changed to: "He descended into Hades." The Swedish Augustana Church Book has the same changes, but the English translation uses the old common form in English.

There remains now to notice only the beginning and the close of the ritual of the Swedish Service of 1894 and of the Augustana Synod's Morning Service. In all three Church Books the Minister turns to the Congregation and proceeds thus: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of His glory.

Digitized by Google

The Lord is in His holy temple; His throne is in heaven. The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a humble and broken spirit. He heareth the supplications of those who truly repent and inclineth to their prayers. Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace and confess our sins."

The Morning as well as the Evening Services in the Church Book of Sweden close, as from 1614, with the Aaronic Benediction and a Swedish Hymn. According to the Church Books of the Augustana Synod, the same Services close with that Benediction and silent prayer.

LITERATURE ON THE HISTORY OF THE SWEDISH LITURGIES.

Baelter. S. Historiska Anmærkningar om Kyrko Ceremonierna. (Historical Remarks on Church Ceremonies.) Oerebro, 1830.

This book is however antiquated and superseded by the following works.

Kleberg. O. Den Svenska hœgmessan fran Reformationen till narvarande tid. I. (The Swedish Morning Service from the Reformation to the Present Time.) Lund. 1882.

Klemming. G. E. Sveriges ældre liturgiska literatur. (The Oldest Liturgical Literature of Sweden.) Stockholm, 1879.

Quensel. O. Svenska Liturgiens historia. (History of the Swedish Liturgy.) Upsala, 1890.

Ullman. U. L. Evangelisk Luthersk Liturgik. (Ev. Luth. Liturgics.) Lund. 1885.

Articles of Bishop Ullman and Prof. Quensel in *The Church Review.* Upsala, 1896-99.

N. FORSANDER.

Rock Island, Ill.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

ALTAR LINEN.

THE mind that accords to the Holy Sacrament the supreme dignity and importance which the Word of God and the Church have ever given it, cannot regard any detail pertaining to its administration as unimportant. Here, on this summit peak of our earthly worship, we come to receive a Divine gift. But, as in other spheres, we "have this treasure in earthen vessels." Earthly elements become the media for the heavenly impartation, and these must be kept in material vessels and spent by human hands. And while realizing that the word and will of its Founder alone give the Sacrament its virtue, and well knowing that they can add nothing to it, yet believing hearts delight to employ reverent hands in fashioning and disposing everything needful for its administration, and give loving thought to each detail. Hence it is not strange that the Linens which are required for the Table of the Lord should receive very particular attention from those who rightly value its Sacrament. Woman, ever anxious to engage in thoughtful service for her Saviour or His Church, has found here a most congenial field for her labor. While the hands of man wrought the story of his faith in sculptured arch and pillar, massive tower or tinted glass, woman's deft fingers have plied swift needles through fine linens and bright silks and in "needle paintings" for the Altar have told their belief in language no less sublime. The Empress Helena, Etheldreda, queen of the Anglo Saxons, and many others, even to our own day, have thus employed royal hands. Nuns and princesses and devout women in every age and every station have thus concerned themselves with this part of "the King's business."

It is true that at times the Church has forgotten her privileges and neglected her treasures. Rationalism, scepticism, and materialistic indifference, no less than sectarian iconoclasm, were the open and subtle foes that exhausted her vitality and dimmed her vision. With the denial of the simple Word, came the depreciation of the Sacrament

Digitized by Google

and the mutilation or total loss of the Liturgy in which both were enshrined. Every detail of the Divine Service felt the poisonous breath of doctrinal error. Hence minds that thought much of the relation of man to his brother, thought little of man's relation to his God, as expressed in his worship of Him; and women, scrupulous in their concern for correct details of the napery of their own well-appointed dining rooms, failed to think of the Linens requisite for the Table of the Lord. But we rejoice to know that our generation has returned to the "Rock from which we are hewn;" the old paths have been sought, the old faith found, and the old practices revived. Not only do our church buildings, with their towers and windows, again proclaim the distinctive faith of Christianity, but the very walls and chancel furniture are vocal with sacramental suggestion in color and ornament of vestment. Altar Societies in many congregations emulate the pious zeal displayed by the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth, and Church Needlework has again laid many a noble offering of time and toil upon our altars.

Let us understand clearly that this renewed interest in the appointments of the Lord's House is not to be viewed simply in the light of an æsthetic or artistic revival. The Art that has been awakened has but responded again to the call of the Faith and devotion that once inspired her greatest efforts. This Faith labored for centuries upon the structure which Christian Art, in its several departments, reared. Generation after generation of believing artists laid down chisel and brush and needle or pen when the sun of their day set, and passed on their work to their children in the faith. And so we have a distinctively Christian and a distinctively "churchly" type of Art, whether it be in Architecture, Painting, Music or Embroidery, that is not the product of any one man or any single age, but in its conventional and symbolical forms has gathered and treasured the sacrificial offerings of the Communion of Saints in every age of its earthly experience. In her Art no less than her Faith, can the Church of one generation cut herself loose from the achievements of her past. In our consideration of the subject of ALTAR LINEN, therefore, it will be necessary for us to learn the principles of utility and art which determined the development of the past, and endeavor to build our future efforts upon these established and significant forms.

The Altar Vestments, with their succession of color and ornament, illustrate and emphasize the particular thought of the various parts of the Church Year. The Altar Linens are essentially unchangeable, and ever voice the single thought of the Lord's Supper. It is certainly not

Digitized by Google

necessary to say that the Season Vestments are never removed when the Linens are placed on the Altar for an administration of the Sacrament, but are simply covered by the Linens. In this manner the thought suggested by the Church Year and the idea of the Sacrament are always linked together and presented to the worshipper by a properly draped Altar. For not only at the time of an Administration, but at all times, the Altar should have upon it the white Altar Cloth, which ever marks it as the "Table of the Lord." For while the place of Prayer and Benediction, and suggestive of our offerings to God, the Altar's highest significance is in representing the sacramental gift which our Lord offers His Church in His Supper.

THE ALTAR CLOTH.

The Altar Cloth is not placed immediately upon the Season Vestments, but the latter are first covered with a heavier cloth, frequently of unbleached linen, and cut exactly the size of the top of the Altar. Upon this is spread the Altar Cloth proper, of fine, white linen, never damask. The best usage requires this to be simply the width of the Altar, but about a yard longer, so that it may hang down eighteen inches at each end. It is also correct to have it hang but a handbreadth at the ends, while good German and High Anglican usage even allows it to fall as far as the floor at either end. These ends may be trimmed with a knotted linen fringe. Lace is not regarded as so pure or churchly an ornament, though quite generally employed on Roman Altars. The Cloth may be hemstitched or double hemstitched all around, and if any ornament is desired, a simple cross may be embroidered in each corner, or five crosses, symbolical of the five wounds in the Body of our Saviour, may be worked upon it in such manner that one comes in the very centre and the others at each corner of the *Altar* when the Cloth is spread upon it.

As we have already said, it is proper to have this Altar Cloth upon the Altar at all times. We now proceed to consider the Linens peculiar to the Administration of the Sacrament—the Corporal, Pall, Purificators and Veil.

THE CORPORAL.

The Corporal is a square cloth of very fine, smooth linen, and is placed on the center of the Altar Cloth. The Sacred Vessels are disposed upon it. It should come almost to the front of the Altar, and its size will vary according to the depth of the latter. It is usually

Digitized by Google

made twenty or twenty-one inches square, with a very narrow hem or else hemstitching. When laundered it is folded in three folds lengthwise and three crosswise, thus making a perfect square consisting of nine equal squares. In this form it is carried to the Altar in the Burse, if one be used, and there unfolded, not shaken out. The Corporal has from very early times been regarded as representing the linen in which our Lord's Body was wrapped before burial, and Durandus, the great mediæval symbolist, finds a reason for the unfolding of it upon the Altar in the fact that the winding sheet of our Lord was found unrolled in the tomb. The only ornamentation permitted on the Corporal is a small cross, placed in the centre of the fore-part near the hem, thus indicating the side which is to be turned towards the Minister.

THE PALL.

The Pall is a square of heavy cardboard, covered tightly with a piece of linen sewed like a bag over it. This is used to cover the top of the Chalice at all times except in the act of Consecration or Administration. Its usual size is six inches square, though it may be slightly larger. Apart from any symbolical significance, the practical demands of absolute purity make it indispensable. Perhaps one who serves at the Altar alone realizes how frequently, especially in warm weather, foreign substances are apt to find their way into the Chalice. Upon the upper side of the Pall is embroidered or chain-stitched the cross or monogram I N R I surrounded by a crown of thorns, or the latter alone. Upon the under side is tacked, by a stitch at each corner, another square of plain linen with narrow hem. This lining may be readily removed for laundering, while it will then not be necessary to take the Pall itself to pieces for washing so frequently.

THE PURIFICATORS.

The Purificators, of which there should be several, are squares or napkins of moderately heavy linen, more usually of diaper weave than plain, and twelve or thirteen inches square in size. They are made with a plain, narrow hem, and may have a simple cross in one corner. They are brought to the Altar folded in three folds like the Corporal, and are used by the Minister to cleanse the rim of the Chalice during the Administration. This is done either after each individual reception, or after each table has partaken, and before a fresh supply of wine is poured into the Chalice. This practice is rightly regarded as an abso-

Digitized by Google

lute requirement in the interest of cleanliness, and its careful observance will do much to diminish the feeling of aversion which some entertain toward the common cup. It is interesting to note that for this purpose the Greeks employ a sponge, in memory of the one filled with gall and given to our Lord upon the Cross.

THE VEIL.

The Veil is not regarded by strict liturgiologists as belonging to the number of Sacred Linens, though in general use. In the Roman Church, Chalice and Paten, when borne to the Altar, are covered by the Chalice Veil, originally made of linen but now of silk in the color of the Mass Vestments. This Veil is removed at the Offertorium and replaced at the Ablutio, and its removal, according to their symbolists, recalls the "stupidity and ignorance veiling the great mystery of the Eucharist from the eyes of the Apostles." The Anglican Church employs a Chalice Veil of about twelve inches square of finest linen cambric, and also uses a larger Veil of silk or satin, lined with linen, made in the color of the Season, and of sufficient size to cover all the Sacred Vessels. Inasmuch as they never employ a Flagon on the Altar, but keep the wine in Cruets on the Credence Table, this Veil rarely exceeds twenty-two or twenty-four inches in size. In the Church in Germany many congregations do not use the Veil at all; others employ it, and fashion it out of finest linen, or silk lined with linen, of sufficient size to cover all the vessels, and never of any other color than white, while using the richest embroidery in gold, silver and silk. The Veil has been universally adopted by us, and the best usage would seem to require the finest of white linen or mull, made sufficiently large to cover all the communion vessels. This will determine the size as at least a yard wide. It may be hemstitched and richly embroidered with white linen or marking thread, always remembering that the designs chosen must bear the closest reference to the sacrificial death of Christ and the sacramental significance of the Supper itself. When removed from the vessels it should be carefully *folded*, and placed on the Altar until required for recovering.

THE BURSE.

The Burse was not known to the Early Church, and is not now used by the Church in Germany, though generally employed by the Roman and Anglican Churches. It is a cover or case in which the

Digitized by Google

Corporal and small Chalice Veil are enclosed and carried to and from the Altar. Two pieces of cardboard, nine inches square, lined with linen and covered with silk the color of the Season, are sewed together at the bottom. A gore or pleat of linen, made to fold in like a pocket, is set in at each side, leaving the top open. The upper side may be embroidered. The Burse seems to be used but rarely by our congregations, and is always, we believe, covered entirely with white linen, and never made with colored silk.

To briefly recapitulate—

A heavy cloth of unbleached linen, and the Altar Cloth are spread over the Season Vestments at all times.

The Altar Cloth, of fine white linen, comes just to the front of the Altar, but may overhang at the ends five, eighteen or thirty inches.

Upon these, at Communion seasons, is placed the Corporal, 21 by 21 inches; the Pall, 6 by 6 inches, is provided to cover the Chalice; Purificators are prepared for cleansing; and over all the Vessels the Veil, of fine white linen or mull, is spread.

Linen, or damask, is to be used.

No color but pure white is permitted. In Germany the embroidery is usually in red, but best usage here seems to demand even the embroidery in white.

The finest white cotton floss is employed for the embroidery, as silk will yellow in the washing.

Lace is not used for trimming—knotted fringe is permitted on the ends of the Altar Cloth.

All designs for embroidery must be symbolically pure and refer directly to the Sacrament.

The highest ornament of the Linens is their absolute immaculateness. No starch or blueing, however, is used in laundering.

LUTHER D. REED.

Allegheny, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE SOURCES OF THE MINOR SERVICES.

THE custom of observing appointed hours for devotion was transplanted from the Old into the New Testament Church. The *third, sixth* and *ninth* hours were distinguished as hours of prayer, and Talmudists ascribe the appointment of morning devotion to Abraham, noon to Isaac, and evening to Jacob. Daniel (vi. 10) "kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and gave thanks before his God." That the apostles remained faithful to this Jewish custom is clearly shown in the N. T. In Acts ii. 15 we read that at "the *third* hour of the day" the apostles were assembled presumably for prayer, and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost took place. Again in Acts x. 9 we find that "Peter went upon the house-top to pray about the *sixth* hour;" and again in Acts iii. 1 we read that "Peter and John went up together into the temple, at the hour of prayer, being the *ninth* hour."

Just at what exact period of time other "hours of prayer" began to be added cannot be definitely ascertained, though we approximate very closely in saying that it was about the middle of the third century. Evidently Clement of Alexandria (†about 217) and Tertullian (†some time after 220) knew only of the three appointed hours, for the former in Stromata (Book 7. ch. 7), says, "If some assign definite hours for prayer—as for example the third, sixth and ninth—yet the Gnostic prays throughout his whole life, endeavoring by prayer to have fellowship with God;"* and the latter in his work "On Fasting" (ch. 10) argues thus,—"Since the third hour is demonstrated as an hour of prayer, about which hour it was that they who had received the initia-

*Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. II. p. 534.

Digitized by Google

tory gift of the Holy Spirit were held for drunkards; and the sixth, at which Peter went up on the roof; and the ninth, at which they entered the temple; why should we not understand that, with absolutely perfect indifference, we must pray always, and everywhere, and at every time, yet still that these three hours, as being more marked in things human—(hours) which divide the day, which distinguish businesses, which re-echo in the public ear—have likewise ever been of special solemnity in divine prayers."* But Cyprian (†258) either as originator or approver, adds three other hours as "hours of prayer." In his treatise "On the Lord's Prayer" (Secs. 34, 35, 36) he desires that the Christian observe not only the already established Old and New Testament hours, but also that he pray in the morning, evening and at midnight. In the third, sixth and ninth hours he sees the mystery of the Holy Trinity indicated. The morning hour should be observed so that "the Lord's resurrection may be celebrated;" the evening hour, "for since Christ is the true Sun and the true day, as the worldly sun and the worldly day depart, when we pray and ask that light may return to us again, we pray for the advent of Christ;" the night hour, "since in the kingdom we shall posses day alone, without the intervention of night, let us so watch in the night as if in the daylight."†

Still more decidedly speak the Apostolic Constitutions (Bk. VIII. 34) which apparently appeared toward the end of the third century,—"Offer up your prayers in the morning, at the third hour, the sixth, the ninth, the evening, and at cock-crowing; in the morning, returning thanks that the Lord has sent you light, that He has brought you past the night, and brought on the day; at the third hour, because at that hour the Lord received the sentence of condemnation from Pilate; at the sixth, because at that hour He was crucified; at the ninth, because all things were in commotion at the crucifixion of the Lord, as trembling at the bold attempt of the impious Jews, and not bearing the injury offered to their Lord; in the evening, giving thanks that He has given you the night to rest from the daily labours; at cock-crowing, because that hour brings the good news of the coming on of the day for the operations proper for the light."||

Thus far, then, we have presented to our notice six special hours at which devotions were offered to God. That all these hours were not to be observed in the Church is very evident from

---

* Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. IV. p. 108.

† Ibid, Vol. V. p. 457.

|| Ibid, Vol. VII. p. 496.

Digitized by Google

the Apostolic Constitutions, where (Bk. II. 36) we read,—"Moreover, do not leave the Church of Christ; but go thither in the morning before all thy work, and again meet there in the evening to return thanks to God that He has preserved thy life;"* and again (Bk. VII. 59), "When thou instructest the people, O bishop, command and exhort them to come constantly to Church, morning and evening every day, and by no means to forsake it on any account.....but assemble yourselves together every day, morning and evening, singing Psalms and praying in the Lord's house; in the morning saying the sixty-second Psalm (A. V. LXIII) and in the evening the hundred and fortieth (A. V. CXLI), but principally on the Sabbath day."†

To be noted here is the fact that, while the Apostolic Constitutions retain with Cyprian six stated hours, the midnight hour has been transferred to that of dawn.

Later, however, to fulfil with literal exactness the words of Ps. cxix. 164, "Seven times a day do I praise Thee," a *seventh* hour was added and the midnight hour, reference being made to Ps. cxix. 62 and Acts xvi. 25, was again restored.

When the cloisters arose, the observance of the Canonical Hours or Horae with special devotions was one of their daily features and Benedict of Nursia (†543) added an *eighth*. He appointed seven day hours and one night. Beginning with the latter they were Vigils (2 o'clock at night), Matins (dawn), Prime (6 o'clock), Terce (9 o'clock), Sext (12 o'clock), Nones (3 o'clock), Vespers (6 o'clock), and Compline (9 o'clock). For each of these hours he prescribed a special order of Psalms, Lections, Hymns and Prayers. These hours were especially observed in cloisters and educational institutions. With but a slightly different arrangement the Roman Church, both before and since the Reformation, observed and observes these Horae,—the customary ones being Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers and Compline.

The question naturally occurs,—What effect had the Reformation upon these different Hours? Both in the "Ordnung Gottesdienst" and "Formula Missae" Luther bore testimony to the significance and appropriateness of the Horae and declared himself in favor of their retention; but he recognized the fact that great changes had to be made in order to make them serviceable to our Church. There was much in the Responsories, Antiphons and Collects that savored of saint-worship, Mariolatry and other

* Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. VII. p. 413.

† Ibid, Vol. VII. pp. 422-423.

Digitized by Google

papistical errors. All this had to be expunged. But revision could not stop there. Eight daily Horae were decidedly too many to be of any service to the congregation. He consequently dropped Prime, Terce, Sext and Nones and combined Lauds with Matins and Compline with Vespers. Thus resulted only two daily Horae, Matins and Vespers.

To trace the origin and give a partial history of the various parts of these Services is our purpose.

I.

THE SCRIPTURAL SOURCES.

The *Versicles* are found in Psalms li. 15; lxx. 1.

The *Gloria Patri* has its origin in Rom. xvi. 27; Eph. iii. 21; Phil. iv. 20; Rev. i. 6.

The general *Invitatory* is taken from Ps. xcv. 6.

The *Venite* consists in the use of Ps. xcv. 1-7.

The festival *Invitatories, Antiphons, Responsories* and *Versicles* are found as follows,—

Advent. Invitatory,—Zech. ix. 9; Matt. xxi. 5. Antiphons,—1. Is. xxx. 27, Ps. lxxii. 19. 2. Ps. xl. 17, lxx. 5, Is. lii. 2. 3. Zech. ix. 9. 4. Zech. xiv. 5. Responsory,—Jer. xxiii. 5-6. Versicles,—1. Ps. l. 2-3. 2. Luke iii. 4. 3. Is. xlv. 8.

Christmas. Invitatory,—Luke ii. 11. Antiphons,—1. Ps. ii. 7. 2. Ps. cxi. 9. 3. Ps. cxxxii. 11. Responsory,—John i. 14, 1. Versicles,—1. Ex. xvi. 6-7. 2. Ps. xix. 5. 3. John i. 14. 4. Ps. cxviii. 26-27. 5. Is. ix. 6. 6. Luke ii. 11.

Epiphany. Invitatory,——. Antiphons,—1. Ps. xxix. 1-2. 2. Ps. xcviii. 2. 3. Luke ii. 32. 4. Matt. ii. 2. Responsory,—Is. lx. 1, 3. Versicles,—1. Ps. lxxii. 10. 2. Is. lx. 6. 3. Ps. cxvii. 1.

Passion-Season. Antiphons,—1. Matt. iv. 4. 2. II. Cor. vi. 2. 3. Ps. ii. 2. 4. Is liii. 7. Responsory,—Is. liii. 7, Ps. lxxvi. 2. Versicles,—1. Ps. xxii. 21. 2. Phil. ii. 8. 3. Is. liii. 5.

Easter. Invitatory,—Luke xxiv. 34. Antiphons,—1. Ps. cxiii-cxvii. 2. Ps. iii. 5. 3. Matt. xxviii. 6. 4. Luke xxiv. 29. Responsory,—Rom. vi. 9, 10; iv. 25. Versicles,—1.——. 2. John xx. 20. 3. Ps. cxviii. 24. 4. Luke xxiv. 34.

Ascension. Invitatory,———. Antiphons,—1. John xvi. 7. 2. Ps. lxviii. 18; Eph. iv. 8. 3. John xx. 17. Responsory,—Mark xvi. 15, 16; Matt. xxviii. 19. Versicles,—1. John xiv. 18, 28. 2. Ps. xlvii. 5.

Whitsuntide. Invitatory,———. Antiphons,—1.——. 2. Ps. civ. 30. 3. John xiv. 18; xvi. 22. Responsory,—Acts. ii. 3, 4, 11. Versicles,—1. John xiv. 26. 2. Acts ii. 4. 3. Ps. li. 10.

Trinity Sunday. Invitatory,——. Antiphons,—1.——. 2.

Digitized by Google

———. 3. Rev. iv. 8. Responsory,———. Versicle,———.

Reformation. Invitatory,———. Antiphon,—Ps. cxix. 46 Versicles,—1. Ps. cxix. 105. 2. I. Kings viii. 57. 3. Ps. li. 18. 4. Gal. v. 1.

Humiliation and Prayer. Antiphon,—Ps. lxxxvi. 3, 1. Versicles,—1. Ps. li. 1. 2. Ps. cxliii. 2. 3. Ps. ciii. 10. 4. Ps. li. 10. 5. Ps. cvi. 6.

Church Dedication. Antiphon,—Ps. xi. 4. Versicles,—Ps. xciii. 5.

Commemoration of the Dead. Antiphons,—1. Rev. xxi. 4. 2.———. Versicles,—1. Heb. xiii. 14. 2. Rev. xiv. 13.

For other times. Antiphons,—1. Ps. cxxx. 1. 2. Ps. l. 2. 3 Ps. xxxvii. 5. 4. Ps. lxiv. 1. 5. Ps. cxlvii. 1. 6. Ps. cxxxviii. 8. 7. Ps. xxvii. 1. 8. Ps. cx. 1. 9. Ps. lxxii. 18. 10. Ps. cxxxv. 21. 11. Ps. lxxii. 19. 12. Ps. cxxii. 1. 13. Ps. lxxxvi. 7. 14. Ps. cxlv. 2. 15. Ps. xvi. 11. 16.———. 17. Ps. cxii. 1. Responsories,—1. Ps. cxix. 89, 105; xxvi. 8; Luke xi. 28. Versicles, —1. Ps. cxlv. 15. 2. Ps. ciii. 8. 3. Luke x. 2. 4. John xvi. 24. 5 Ps cxxxvi. 1. 6. Ps. xcii. 1. 7. Ps. x. 17. 8. Ps. xxix. 11. 9. Dan. xii. 3. 10. Prov. viii. 15, 16. 11. Ps. xci. 11. 12. Ps. lxxxiv. 11. 13. John xvii. 17. 14. Ps. cxliii. 10. 15. Ps. xxv. 4. 16. Ps. xxviii. 9. 17. Ps. lxxix. 9. 18. Ps. xiii. 5. 19. Mark x. 14. 20. Ps. ciii. 1, 2. 21. Ps. l. 15. 22. Ps. cxix. 27, 28.

The *Versicle* (Vespers) is found in Ps. cxli. 2.

The *Canticles* may be found as follows,—Matins, 1. *Te Deum.* Though ecclesiastical, its contents are scriptural even to direct quotations. 2. *Benedictus,* Luke i. 68-79.. Vespers, 1. *Magnificat,* Luke i. 46-55. 2. *Nunc Dimittis,* Luke ii. 29-32.

The *Kyrie* occurs in Ps. li. 1; cxxiii. 3; Matt. ix. 27; xv. 22; xx. 30; Mark x. 47.

The *Lord's Prayer* is given in Matt. vi. 9-13.

The *Salutation* and *Response* are found in Ruth ii. 4; Tim. iv. 22.

The *Versicle* (Vespers) is from Ps. xxix. 11.

The *Collects,* both for Matins and Vespers, like the Chief Service Collects, are pre-eminently scriptural.

The *Benedicamus*———(?)

The *Benediction* is found in II. Cor. xiii. 14.

Digitized by Google

II.

THE LITURGICAL SOURCES.

THE VERSICLES.

The first *Versicle,* "O Lord, open Thou my lips," with the response, "And my mouth shall shew forth Thy praise," is, in all probability, of Eastern origin, occurring in the Office of Lauds and prefacing the *Hexapsalmus* (Psalms 3, 28, 63, 88, 103, 143). The Versicle had this form, "Thou shalt open my lips, O Lord, and my mouth shall shew forth Thy praise," and was said twice.

Whether the Western Church derived this Versicle from the Eastern Office or adopted it independently is a questionable point. It occurs, however, in the Horae Order of Benedict of Nursia (529). Properly it should only occur in Matins.

The second, "Make haste, O God, to deliver me," with the response, "Make haste to help me, O Lord," is likewise found in the Rule of Benedict. Its origin, however, is earlier though not probably as a fixed liturgical form. John Cassian (350-433) in his "Collationes Patrum" (an account of the teachings of some hermits in the desert of Scete), mentions the fact that the monks before his time often used this Versicle.

In the monastic Breviaries, of which the Benedictine is the type, this Versicle precedes the first. Both passed over into the Breviary of Gregory the Great (†604).

The Lutheran Orders of the 16th century present quite a diversity with reference to the use of these historical Versicles. Many discarded them. Some of the principal Orders that retained either one or both were,—Prussia 1526; Schwaebisch-Hall 1526; Calenberg-Goettingen 1542; Prussia 1544; Braunschweig-Lueneberg 1544; Prussia 1558.

THE GLORIA PATRI.

For the origin and history of this part, see "Sources of the Morning Service of the Common Service," p. 45. Its use at this place is distinguished from that in connection with the Introit by the addition of the *Hallelujah.*

THE INVITATORY.

The Invitatory, or invitation to praise God, occurs only in Matins, and is a characteristic and distinguishing part of this Office. It is unquestionably of Eastern origin, though its form and use differ vastly from those of the West. In the Eastern Church it assumed from most primitive times the following threefold form,—

Digitized by Google

"O come, let us worship and fall down before God, our King.

O come, let us worship and fall down before Christ, our King and God.

O come, let us worship and fall down before Christ Himself, our King and God."

In this invariable form it prefaced *all* the daily Offices of the Eastern Church.

In the Western Church it found a place only in the Office of Matins, and its form varied, conforming to the Church Year and the various festivals.

Its use and form in our Church follow those of the West, in so far as its variable aspect is concerned. The different seasons have their particular Invitatories with the exception of the Passion Season. Why it should have been omitted from the Church Book for this season seems strange, especially in view of the fact that the Committee on Common Service had prepared one for it. Connected with the Invitatory is

THE VENITE.

The use of the 95th Psalm (Venite exultemus), or "Invitatory Psalm," is in some respects peculiar to the West. The Eastern Church did not use the Psalm as a whole, but only took from it the Invitatory (as above), based upon the first, third, and sixth verses. The Western Church invariably used the entire Psalm. Palmer says,*—"This Psalm has from a very remote period been placed before the Psalms of the nocturn, in the Western Churches. It is probable that the custom of prefixing one or two Psalms to the noctural office, arose from a desire to allow some little time for the clergy and people to collect, before the office began. In the time of Cassian, or early in the fifth century, it was lawful for the brethren to enter the church at any time before the end of the second Psalm. In the following century, this custom was probably thought inconvenient, so that Benedict appointed two Psalms to be chanted before the nocturns began, in order to afford sufficient time for the brethren to assemble; and of these two Psalms, the second was the 95th, or *Venite Exultemus.*"

Its introduction into the Office of Matins is often attributed to Pope Damasus (†384). It is not improbable that the daily ser-

* "Origines Liturgicae," Vol. I. p. 249.

Digitized by Google

vice of the Temple began with this Psalm, or at least a portion of it. In Matins it is customary to omit the last four verses.

THE PSALM.

The use of Psalms was transplanted from the Old into the New Testament Church. Their use in Apostolic times is expressly attested in Eph. v.. 19; Col. iii. 16; I. Cor. xiv. 26; James v. 13. The Church Fathers also bear testimony to the love manifested by the primitive Christians for them. They were then sung at various parts of the service. They introduced the Missa Catechumenorum, were sung between the Lections, and were even used during the Distribution in the Missa Fidelium. Matins began with Ps. 63 and Vespers with Ps. 141. Special festivals had specially assigned Psalms. The rise of Monasticism in the 4th century gave the Psalms a more general use. A divisional arrangement was made as early as the time of St. Jerome (†420); but it was not until the time of the Monastic Reformer, Benedict of Nursia (529), that the custom of singing the whole Psalter weekly came into vogue.

The Greek Church also said the whole Psalter weekly except from *Tyrophagus* Sunday (corresponding to our Quinquagesima) to Palmarum, when it was sung twice a week.

We need not enter here into a minute analysis of the weekly arrangement of the Psalter in different periods of the Church's development. The following tables, however, show such arrangement of the Benedictine and Gregorian Psalters,—

Digitized by Google

WEEKLY ARRANGEMENT OF THE BENEDICTINE PSALTER.

	MATINS	LAUDS	PRIME	TERCE	SEXT	NONES	VESPERS	COMPLINE
SUND.	3, 95, (introductory) daily. 1 Noct. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. 2 Noct. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.	67, 51, daily. 118, 63, 148, 149, 150. The last 3 are said daily.	119, Parts 1–4	119, Parts 5–7.	119, Parts 11–13.	119, Parts 17–19.	110, 111, 112, 113.	4, 91, 134.
MOND.	1 Noct. 33, 34, 35, 37, 38. 2 Noct. 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45,	5, 36.	1, 2, 6.	119, Parts 8–10	119, Parts 14–16.	119, Parts 20–22.	114, 115, 116, 117, 129.	Do.
TUES.	1 Noct. 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52. 2 Noct. 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59.	43, 57.	7, 8, 9.	120, 121, 122.	123, 124 125.	126, 127, 128.	130, 131, 132, 133.	Do.
WED.	1 Noct. 60, 61, 62, 66, 68. 2 Noct. 69, 70, 71, 72, 73.	64, 65.	10, 11, 12.	Do.	Do.	Do.	135, 136, 137, 138.	Do.
THURS.	1 Noct. 74, 75, 77, 78, 79. 2 Noct. 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85.	88, 90.	13, 14, 15.	Do.	Do.	Do.	139, 140, 141.	Do.
FRID.	1 Noct. 86, 87, 89, 93, 94. 2 Noct. 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101	76, 92.	16, 17, part of 18.	Do.	Do.	Do.	142, 144, part of 145.	Do.
SATUR.	1 Noct. 102, 103, 104, 105. 2 Noct. 106, 107, 108, 109.	143.	18 (remainder) 19, 20.	Do.	Do.	Do.	145 (remainder) 146, 147.	Do.

Digitized by Google

WEEKLY ARRANGEMENT OF THE GREGORIAN PSALTER.

	MATINS	LAUDS	PRIME	TERCE	SEXT	NONES	VESPERS	COMPLINE
SUND.	95 (Venite) daily. 1 Noct. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. 2 Noct. 16, 17, 18. 3 Noct. 19, 20, 21.	93, 100, 63, 67, 148, 149, 150. The last five are said daily.	22, 23 24, 25, 26, 54, 118. 119 (Parts 1-4)	119, (Parts 5-10)	119, (Parts 11-16)	119, (Parts 17-22)	110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115.	4, 31 (vv. 1–6), 91, 134.
MOND.	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38.	51, 5, Ps. 51 is said on every week day.	54, 119 (as on Sunday).	Do.	Do.	Do.	116, 117, 120, 121.	Do.
TUES.	39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52.	43.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	122, 123, 124, 125, 126.	Do.
WED.	53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66, 68.	65.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	127, 128, 129, 130, 131.	Do.
THUR.	69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80.	90.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	132, 133, 135, 136, 137.	Do.
FRID.	81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 94, 96, 97.	143.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	138, 139, 140, 141, 142.	Do.
SATUR.	98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109.	92.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	144, 145, 146, 147.	Do.

Digitized by Google

From these tables it will be seen that the general scheme is the same, and only in minor details are changes noticeable.

The present Roman use is that of the Gregorian Psalter except that Pss. 22-26 are no longer said on Sunday at Prime, but are distributed as follows,—Monday, 24; Tuesday, 25; Wednesday, 26; Thursday, 23; Friday, 22. It will also be noticed that with few exceptions Pss. 1-109 were assigned to Matins and Pss. 110-150 to Vespers.

The Reformation necessitated changes in the use of Psalmody. The retention of Matins and Vespers only required a complete revision of the historical arrangement of the Psalter. A reduction in the number of Psalms at a service was likewise regarded essential,—three being the rule. The essential characteristics of the old arrangement were, however, retained and thus Pss. 1-109 were assigned to Matins and Pss. 110-150 to Vespers, with the exception of Ps. 119. This Psalm was divided into 22 parts of 8 verses each and one part sung at every Matin Service.

Wherever this arangement could not be carried out, on account of daily Matins and Vespers not being held, Pss. 110, 4, 113, 121, were usually selected for Saturday, and Pss. 111, 112, 114 for Sunday and festival Vespers. In general Pss. 110-114, 4, 25, 91, 134 were the Vesper and Pss. 1, 2, 3, 93, 100, 43, 47, 148 the Matin Psalms.

The Church Book embodies 91 Psalms, of which number 89 only have received assignment,—the 77th and 150th, being included but not assigned. The Books of Worship (G. S. and United Synod of the South) include 70 Psalms in their selection.

As far as the Method of rendering the Psalms is concerned we would respectfully refer to the Preface to the "Psalter and Canticles" (Archer and Reed, 1897), and to the article, "Psalmody," in the collection of "Essays on Church Music."

THE ANTIPHON.

The Antiphonal method of singing is beyond question of Jewish origin. The parallelism of the Psalms is peculiarly adapted to this method. Its introduction into Christian worship is commonly ascribed to Ignatius (†115), bishop of Antioch, who, tradition says, saw in a vision two heavenly choirs singing alternately Theoderet, however, attributes its introduction to Flavian and Diodorus, two monks of Antioch, about the year 250, and this supposition has its supporters.*

The Western Church derived it from the East. The honor

* See Kurtz's "Church History," Vol. I. 34:4.

Digitized by Google

of its introduction into the Latin Churches has been variously ascribed to Damasus (†384), Ambrose, bishop of Milan (†397), and Celestine I. (†432). St. Ambrose, however, is usually accorded the honor, though Celestine was probably the first to divide the antiphonies into verses and to prescribe rules governing the same. The Antiphons were embodied in the Rule of Benedict of Nursia, although Gregory the Great (604) probably gave them their present form.

The 16th century Orders generally retained them. "An Antiphon should precede and conclude the Psalmody, and on Sundays and other Festivals may precede and follow every Psalm. Announcing the thought of the Season, it should be given out by a solo voice, Tenor preferably, or by several of the Choir, before the Psalm and repeated by the entire Choir after the Psalm."*

THE LESSON.

In the Monastic Rule of St. Benedict (chs. 8-20) there is no divisional arrangement of the Lections such as we have of the Psalter. He only specifies in a general way how many lessons from the Old and New Testament were to be read, and that on Festival days the assigned Pericopes were to be used. The necessity for a more definite division of the Scriptures soon began to be felt and thus "Breviaries" arose. One of the oldest of these is the *"Breviarum St. Blasianum."* This has been edited by Gerbert from a Codex used in the monastery of St. Blasius and has been reprinted by Ranke in his "Perikopensystem," p. 22. Its characteristic features are,—1. It begins the Church Year with Easter; 2. Is the first to speak of a Sexagesima Sunday; 3. Calls the non-festival half of the Church Year *tempus aestatis*; 4. Has only an Advent Season of 14 days. It evidently belongs to a period no later than the 7th century. In the table below we designate it as the I. St. Blasian. The next are the two St. Gallen, also edited by Gerbert from two accordant Mss. in the monastery of St. Gall and agreeing essentially with the above. Their characteristic feature is that they know of no Sexagesima Sunday, but begin the Church Year with Quinquagesima. They belong to about the same period as the I. St. Blasian. The third is the II. St. Blasian, also edited by Gerbert and reprinted in an epitomized form by Ranke, p. 24. Its feature is that it begins the Church Year with Christmas. Its date is later than the others above mentioned.

A fourth, which in the table below we designate as the Muratorian, was edited by Muratori from two Vatican Mss. Its fea-

* Preface to "Psalter and Canticles," p. xiv.

Digitized by Google

tures are that it knows—1. A Septuagesima Sunday; 2. Has no liturgical arrangement of the Sundays between Pentecost and Advent; 3. Begins the Church Year with Advent. It belongs to the 9th century. The following table shows how each of these four Breviaries assigned the different books of the Bible,—

	I St. Blasian.	St. Gallen.	II St. Blasian.	Muratorian.
Sexagesima to Holy Week.	Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth.			
Quinquagesima to Holy Week.		Same as I. St. Blasian.		
Sexagesima to Judica.			Same as I. St. Blasian.	Same as I. St. Blasian.
Judica to Easter.			Passion History Lamentations, Hosea, Zechariah.	Same.
Holy Week.	Lamentations	Same.		
Easter to Pentecost.	Acts, Revelation, General Epistles.	Same.	Same.	Same.
Pentecost to 2 weeks before Christmas.	Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, Sirach, Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, Maccabees, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Minor Prophets (partly).	Same.	Same.	
Pentecost to Advent.			Same.	Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, Sirach, Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Maccabees
2 weeks before Christmas to Epiphany	Isaiah.	Same.	Same.	
During Advent.				Isaiah.
Christmas to Sexagesima.				Jeremiah. Ezekiel, Daniel, Minor, Prophets.
Epiphany to Sexagesima.	Continuation of Minor Prophets	Same.	Same.	

Digitized by Google

If it be remembered that the Gospels and Pauline Epistles were reserved for the Mass, and that the Psalms had their particular places in the Divine Office, it will be seen that the whole Bible was thus read in the course of a year.

The Breviaries from the 10th to the 12th centuries show that the Lections during this period remained essentially the same as those above. But when we penetrate a little deeper into the Middle Ages and examine those of the 13th and 14th centuries, e. g., those of the Prebendaries of Friaul and of the Malta Order, a difference at once becomes evident. The lengthy Lections of former periods were successively shortened until the whole Scriptures were no longer read and the significance of the original arrangement was lost. The Church of the Reformation sought to re-establish the old idea of reading the whole Bible in the course of a year. Luther's advice in Formula Missae was,—*"universa Scriptura in lectiones partita perseveret in auribus ecclesiae"* (let the whole Scripture, divided into lessons, remain in the ears of the Church). While there was to be a *lectio continua*, the Old and New Testaments were still separately assigned. Luther, writing in his "Order of Divine Service" on Vespers, says,—"At this time the books of the O. T., one after another, should be taken up, viz., the prophets, just as in the morning the books of Moses and the histories. But since the N. T. is also a book of the Bible, I use the O. T. in the morning, and the New in the evening, or vice versa." In his Formula Missae he allowed the choice between N. or O. T. for Matins, but designated the Old for Vespers. In his German Mass, however, he assigned the New to Matins and the Old to Vespers. A large majority of the 16th century Orders followed, in this respect, his German Mass. A few, like Prussia 1525, Herzog Heinrich 1539, and Austria 1571 reversed the order.

The Common Service assigns the New to Matins and the Old to Vespers. The arrangement of the Lections follows the Mecklenberg Cantionale, to which work (Part II. Div. 1.), we would respectfully refer all interested for the reasons governing the selections. How ancient the custom is of closing *all* the Lections with the words, *"Tu autem, Domine, miserere nobis"* (But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us), Response, *"Deo Gratias"* (Thanks be to God), we cannot definitely determine. Schoeberlein,* citing Binterim as authority, says that this form of concluding the Lessons was added since the 12th century. By whom we cannot tell Not all of the 16th centruy Orders used it.

* Schatz, etc., p. 612.

Digitized by Google

The Common Service rubric is,—"After each Lesson may be sung or said"

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.
Thanks be to God.

THE RESPONSORY.

When and by whom the Responsory was first introduced is difficult to determine. Gregory of Tours (†595) and Isidore of Seville (†636) mention it. Isidore relates that the Spanish Church *long before his time* adopted the Responsory from Italy. His exact words are,—"*Responsoria ab Italis longo ante tempore sunt reperta.*" Originally it was a lengthy portion of Scripture, consisting of a whole Psalm or Canticle, but later was reduced to a few verses. The natural position of the Responsory was between the Epistle and Gospel in the Liturgy, and between the Lections in the Horae. Sung on the step from which the Epistle had been read it was also called the Gradual. It was usually followed by the Gloria Patri except when it comprised the penitential Psalms.

VERSICLE (Vespers).

The Versicle preceding the Vespers Canticles was used by the Western Church from very early times. The exact time of its introduction and by whom we have not been able to discover. The pre-Reformation use of this Versicle, as also the present Roman, was,—*Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea.* (Let my prayer be set forth, O Lord.) *Sicut incensum in conspectu tuo.* (As incense in Thy sight.)

To whom we are indebted for the second part of our form we are not able to state.

THE CANTICLES.

A. TE DEUM. The origin of this most beautiful hymn is obscure. No reliance can be placed upon the tradition that it was composed by Ss. Ambrose and Augustine at the baptism of the latter by the former (387). Neither is certainty attached to the view that St. Ambrose alone was the author. In fact its authorship cannot be definitely determined. The time of its composition seems to be about the 5th century. The earliest traces we have of it are that it was incorporated in the Divine Office of Benedict of Nursia (529) and also in that of Caesarius of Arles (542). However, it is almost certain that the germ of this noble composition is found in the East. The Eucharistic Hymn of the Liturgy of Jerusalem and the morning Alexandrine Hymn show decided traces of its contents. It is possible that its essence is Eastern and its present form Western.

Digitized by Google

The mediæval Church used it regularly in the Horae, but in the Mass it was used only on festival occasions.

On account of the dogmatic purity of its contents and its strong Trinitarian acknowledgment our Church has always accorded the *Te Deum* high honor. On extraordinary occasions it was sung in the Chief Service as a General Prayer. It was also used at marriages, opening of Synods, ordinations, seldom, however, at Vespers. From old its assigned place was in Matins. The Orders of Hoya and Pommern permitted it to be sung in their Chief Service before the Introit.

B. BENEDICTUS. This Canticle was used in the Office of Lauds in both the Eastern and Western Churches. Its introduction into the Latin Church is attributed to St. Benedict. In the Greek Church, in connection with the Magnificat, it is the last of the nine odes used at Lauds.

The combination of Matins and Lauds into one Office has given us the *Benedictus* as a Matin Canticle. It is readily distinguished from that in connection with the *Sanctus* in the Communion.

C. MAGNIFICAT. Already in the first centuries was this Praise-Hymn of Mary's used in Divine Service. The Greek Church assigned it a place in the Office of Sunday Lauds in connection with the *Benedictus*. The Latin Church, on the other hand, placed it in Sunday Vespers. Caesarius of Arles is supposed to have introduced it into the Western Church. In the time of Gregory the Great it became a part of daily Vespers,—a position it still occupies. Recognizing the highly liturgical and edifying character of this Canticle the 16th century Orders retained it and thus the Common Service.

D. NUNC DIMITTIS. The Apostolic Constitutions (Bk. VII. 48) already mention the *Nunc Dimittis*, or Song of Simeon, as an Evening Prayer. The Eastern Church gave it a place in Vespers and the Western in Compline. The Rule of Benedict does not mention it as used at Compline, but Amalarius (820) speaks of it. The combination of Vespers and Compline gave us the *Nunc Dimittis* as a Vesper Canticle.

THE SUFFRAGES AND LITANY.

Inasmuch as the SUFFRAGES and LITANY are permitted to be used as substitutes for the prayers ordinarily employed, it is within our province to trace these as far as possible. And here we must give expression to our thorough disappointment at not being able to state definitely the origin of

Digitized by Google

THE SUFFRAGES.

Whether these are a development from the ECTENE of the Eastern Church, or from the numerous LITANIES of the Western, or whether they have an origin independent of both the above, we have not been able to determine. PRECES, the name by which the *Suffrages* were anciently known, were in the earliest centuries of the Christian era, distinguished from the more specific ORATIONES or Collects. But whether the *Preces* in The Divine Office of the later mediaeval era preserved the form of the *Preces* in the earlier Gallican, Mozarabic and Ambrosian Missals is a question we cannot answer. If such should be the case, then, a very early origin must be given the *Suffrages*. Here is a most interesting and fascinating field for liturgical investigation, and if plans do not miscarry, we may have something more definite to say upon this point somewhat later. If, however, we are not able to state the origin of the Suffrages, we, at least, know their use in the Church immediately preceding the Reformation. As given in The Common Service, The Suffrages (No. ii.) under General Prayers, cleansed of all unscriptural doctrine, were the week-day PRECES of the old Lauds and Vespers. The Morning Suffrages (No. iii.) were the PRECES of Sunday Prime. The Evening Suffrages (No. iv.) were the PRECES of Compline. The Collects of the Suffrages, however, are not translations of the old Collects, but are the Morning and Evening prayers familiar to those who use Luther's Cathechism at Morning and Evening Worship.

THE LITANY.

The origin of the *Litany* lies in the Bidding Prayer of the Primitive Church. It was customary for the Deacon to announce the subject to be prayed for, then offer the prayer, to which the people responded *Kyrie eleison* (Lord, have mercy).

When in the 4th century Processions became usual, the Litany was connected with them. In opposition to the Processions of the heretical Arians, the form of the *Litany* became more elaborate and well-defined and the alternate responses, *Miserere nobis* (Have mercy upon us), *Libera nos* (Deliver us), *Audi nos* (Hear us,) were added. There were special Processions on the three days preceding Ascension Day. These days were known as Rogation Days. They were instituted by Claudius Mamercus, Bishop of Vienne, about 450, A. D. During his time as Bishop, the city of Vienne was visited and partially destroyed by earthquakes and floods. It was hoped that the approaching Easter

Digitized by Google

festival would bring an alleviation of the calamity; but while celebrating Mass on Easter Eve the royal palace was struck by lightning and destroyed. The people rushed out of Church and Mamercus alone remained at the Altar, praying. He conceived the idea of appointing the three days before Ascension as *Litany Days*. Other dioceses adopted the rite and the council of Orleans (511) decreed,—"*Rogationes i. e. litanias ante ascenscionen Domini ab omnibus ecclesiis placuit celebrari.*" (Rogations i. e. litanies were to be celebrated by all churches before the Lord's Ascension). These, then, became general in the Gallican Church. If not earlier than, at least contemporaneous with, the Gallican Processions, were the litanical Processions in Rome. The full form of these *Litanies* has not been preserved to us, although it is almost certain that their structure was similar to our present forms and this is about equal to saying that as far as contents and forms were concerned they were modelled after the General Prayer found in the Apostolic Constitutions.

Among the most important processional *Litanies* was the *Litania Septiformis* (Seven-fold Litany) of Gregory the Great. After his elevation to the Bishopric in Jan. 590,—a severe pestilence following an overflow of the Tiber, raged in Rome. Gregory delivered a sermon and at its close requested the people to render a *Litania Septiformis,* i. e. the people were to be divided into seven choirs or groups (Clergy, Men, Monks, Virgins, Married Women, Widows, the Poor and Children). Each of these seven groups was to start from a different Church, singing *Litanies* on their way till they all met in the Church of St. Mary the Great. This was on St. Marks' Day, April 25th, though it is beyond doubt incorrect to ascribe the institution of the solemn fast on this day to Gregory.

Litanies rapidly multiplied in the Roman Church and the product of this multiplication included a number of unscriptural doctrines. The response *Ora pro nobis* (Pray for us) at once suggests the unscripturalness. Under Clement VIII., 1601, the many *Litanies* of the Roman Church were reduced to three,—"*The Great Litany of the Saints;*" "*The Lauretanian;*" "*The Litany of the Holy Name of Jesus.*" In 1529 Luther, using "*The Great Litany of the Saints*" as a basis, prepared and published a *Litania Latina correcta* (corrected Latin Litany) and also a German version. Luther's Latin form was the basis of the *Litany* in The Common Service.*

---

* Kliefoth, "Liturgische Abhandlungen" V., 301, 373, 398. Vi. 155. Horn, "Liturgics," 68-69. "The Lutheran Cyclopædia," 277-278.

Digitized by Google

THE KYRIE AND LORD'S PRAYER.

From the Apostolic Constitutions we learn that the primitive Church had fixed forms of Prayer in her Morning and Evening Services. The former began with Ps. lxiii and was followed by the *Gloria in Excelsis* with *Laudamus* as Morning Prayer. The latter began with Ps. cxli, was followed by the *Agnus Dei* and *Nunc Dimittis,* and this by the Evening Prayer,—"Praise the Lord, O ye, His servants." Towards the end of the 5th century the *Agnus Dei* disappeared and the *Kyrie Eleison* was embodied as introductory to the Lord's Prayer. At the end of the Mass, Benedict of Nursia had prescribed this prayer to be said by the abbot, the congregation, however, joining in with the 5th petition; but in the Horae the congregation only joined in with the 7th petition. Later it became customary for the priest to sing the words "Pater noster," then proceed silently until reaching the 6th petition which, together with the 7th and Amen, were again sung aloud.

The 16th century Orders present quite a variety of usage of these parts. To detail this variety is beyond our scope.

THE SALUTATION AND RESPONSE.

According to historic practice the *Salutation* and *Response* introduced every integral part of the Service. Hence its position here. (See further "Sources of the Morning Service of the Common Service," p. 47.)

THE COLLECT (Matins).

The germ of this Collect is found in the Sacramentary of Gelasius (†492).* It occurs there as the first of eleven "Prayers at Matins" and is as follows,—

Gratias tibi agimus, Domine Sancte, Pater Omnipotens, aeterne Deus, qui nos transacto noctis spatio ad matutinas horas perducere, dignatus es; quaesumus, ut dones nobis diem hunc sine peccato transire, quatenus ad vesperum gratias referamus. Per.	We give Thee thanks, holy Lord, Almighty Father, everlasting God, who hast vouchsafed to bring us, after passing through the period of the night to the hours of the morning; Grant us, we beseech Thee, to pass this day without sin, so that at eventide we may return thanks. Through.

* See Wilson, The Gelasian Sacramentary, p. 291.

Digitized by Google

In the Sacramentary of Gregory (590) it has been amplified as follows,—

Deus, qui nos ad principium hujus diei pervenire fecisti, da nobis hunc diem sine peccato transire, ut in nullo a tuis semitis declinemus, sed ad tuam justitiam faciendam nostra semper procedant eloquia. Per.

O God, who hast brought us to the beginning of this day, grant us to pass through it without sin, that in nothing we may turn aside out of Thy paths, but that the words which go forth from us may be always directed to do that which is righteous in Thy sight. Through.

The Roman version expanding the latter clause and using the characteristic ending is as follows,—

Domine Deus Omnipotens, qui ad principium hujus diei nos pervenire fecisti; tua nos hodie salva virtute; ut in hac die ad nullum declinemus peccatum, sed semper ad tuam justitiam faciendam nostra procedant eloquia, dirigantur cogitationes et opera. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum.

O Lord God Almighty, who hast brought us to the beginning of this day, defend us today by Thy mighty power, that in this day we may turn aside to no sin, but that our words may go forth and our thoughts and actions be directed to do that which is righteous in Thy sight. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God forever and ever.

The Sarum Breviary has the following version,—

Domine Sancte Pater Omnipotens, seterne Deus, qui nos ad principium hujus diei pervenire fecisti; tua nos hodie salva virtute; et concede ut in hac die ad nullum declinemus peccatum; nec ullum incurramus periculum; sed semper ad tuam justitiam faciendam omnis nostra actio tuo moderamine dirigatur. Per.

O Lord, our Heavenly Father, Almighty and everlasting God, who hast safely brought us to the beginning of this day; defend us in the same with Thy mighty power; and grant that this day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger; but that all our doings may be ordered by Thy governance, to do always that is righteous in Thy sight; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

I. Edward VI. (1549) has "everliving" instead of "everlasting" before God in the Invocation. II. Edward VI. (1552) and present Anglican have the translation above given.

It appears very evident that the Common Service followed the Sarum Breviary, adding, however, the full ending.

Digitized by Google

THE VERSICLE (Vespers).

Strange as it may appear we have not been able to find any use whatever of the Versicle

> The Lord will give strength unto His people.
> *The Lord will bless His people with peace,*

except in the old Church Book and in the Common Service. Immediately preceding the Collect for Peace one would naturally suppose that it had formed the standing Versicle for this Collect for many centuries; but such *seems not* to have been the case. The pre-Reformation Vespers embodied what were known as "*Commemorationes.*" These consisted of *Antiphon, Versicle, Response, Collect.* These commemorations were usually *de S. Maria, de Apostolis, de Patrono, and de Pace.* The last, *de Pace,* was as follows,—

Antiphon. Da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris, quia non est alius, qui pugnet pro nobis, nisi tu, Deus noster.

Versicle. Fiat pax in virtute tua.
Et abundantia in turribus tuis.

Collect. Oratio pro pace.

We have carefully examined Herold's "Vesperale," and nowhere have we found, among the many Versicles of the different Vespers given, the Versicle of The Common Service.

The *Da Pacem* with which some of the 16th century Orders closed their Vespers is a versification of the *Antiphon, Versicle and Response* above given. Its full form is as follows,—

> Verleih uns Frieden gnaediglich,
> Herr Gott, zu unsern Zeiten;
> Es ist ja doch kein andrer nicht,
> Der fuer uns koennte streiten,
> Denn Du, unser Gott, alleine.
> Gott, gieb Fried in Deinem Lande,
> Glueck und Heil zu allem Stande.

This was followed by the "Collect for Peace" as given in the Common Service. It will be observed here that the last two lines are but a versified reproduction of the old Versicle and Response:

> Fiat pax in virtute tua.
> Et abundantia inturribustuis,

and this *seems* to have been the usual Versicle for the Collect.

Digitized by Google

Whence our Versicle is desired, or how it made its way into The Common Service, we are not able to state. No one, however, will question its beauty and appropriateness, and the end of our search for a historic usage is not yet.

THE COLLECT FOR PEACE (Vespers).

This most beautiful of all Collects is found first in the Gelasian Sacramentary. It occurs there twice, though in slightly different forms. This difference at once becomes apparent by comparing the following originals,—

1. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus a quo sola sancta desideria, recta consilia, et justa sunt opera, da servis tuis illam, quam mundus dare non potest, pacem; ut et corda nostra mandatis tuis dedita, et tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla. Per.*

2. Deus, a quo sancta desideria, et recta consilia, et justa sunt opera, da servis tuis illam, quam mundus dare non potest, pacem; ut et corda mandatis tuis dedita, et, hostium sublata, formidine, tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla. Per.†

The first form is the second of two Collects (the first of which is that of The Common Service for the Eleventh Sunday after Trinity), and occurs in a *Missa* assigned by Gerbert to the Thirteenth Sunday after Pentecost.

The second form is the first of three Collects that occur in the *Missa pro Pace*. The translation of our Collect follows this form.

THE BENEDICAMUS.

For the source and use of the *Benedicamus* see "Sources of the Morning Service of the Common Service," p. 62.

THE BENEDICTION.

Inasmuch as at Matins and Vespers the presence of a pastor was not necessary, it became customary to close the Services with the N. T. *Benediction* instead of the Aaronic as in the Chief Service.

R. Morris Smith.

Baden, Pa.

* Wilson, The Gelasian Sacramentary, p. 228.
† Ibid, p. 271.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE HISTORY OF THE LITURGY IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN DENMARK.

ALMOST immediately after the ushering in of the great Reformation in Germany in 1517, the revived apostolic doctrines found their way into Denmark and were preached with intense enthusiasm, especially by several men, who had sat at the feet of Luther and Melanchthon in Wittenberg. And it is one of the marvels of history that in less than twenty years, 1536, the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical establishment had been abolished and the Evangelical Lutheran order had risen in its place. This wonderful revolution was not the result of the labors of any one great leader, but was a spontaneous movement throughout the whole country, reaching all classes of people. And the leading feature was the historical characteristic of Protestantism—the earnest preaching of the Gospel, which had for ages been obscured and kept in the background by the blinding and misleading errors and ceremonies of the papacy.

In some of the cities well arranged orders of public worship were used, but in the smaller communities and in the rural districts the ministers conducted the services according to their own judgment, but in harmony with the fundamental teachings of the Word of God. When a minister was appointed to the charge of a parish, he was enjoined "to teach and preach to the people of the parish God's pure, clear Word and Gospel, which he can prove by Holy Scripture, and to teach them their souls' salvation, as he will answer before God and be known before the king. He shall conduct divine service for them in Danish, if they require it, without any human additions or ungodly ceremonies,

Digitized by Google

and give them the Holy Sacrament, the Body and Blood of the Lord, in both kinds, as Christ Himself instituted and commanded it; and he shall lead a good, honest life, and give his people a good example. And, if he have not the grace of continence, then he shall take unto himself a worthy woman to wife, and live with her in good, honorable, Christian wedlock, and not have a concubine (as the custom had been), nor any other person with him, of whom any may have suspicion."

The people were happy in the possession of an excellent Danish translation of the New Testament, made by Christian Pederson in 1529, which superseded those previously published. It ranked with the Danes as Luther's did with the Germans. A collection of hymns was also composed by Claus Mortensen in Danish. An intense religious fervor characterized the services and was long maintained, as we learn from a letter addressed by Bugenhagen to his Elector on his return from Denmark to Wittenberg in 1539. He used the following strong language: "The Gospel is preached purely and powerfully in Denmark. May God grant progress as He has begun. I have been nowhere where the people so gladly and so diligently hear preaching as in Denmark, even on week days, in winter, and before daylight, throughout the whole day at the Festivals; and they pray diligently."

But, in 1536, it was felt by the clergy and the pious king, Christian III, that an authorized and uniform Church law, governing the whole sphere of the ministerial and pastoral activity, ought to be prepared and promulgated. And, with this object in view, the king requested the Elector of Saxony to send John Bugenhagen to Denmark to aid in the great work of reorganization. But the answer was given that he could not be spared at that time; and he did not arrive until the summer of 1537.

In the meanwhile the new Church law was drawn up by a committee of 29 ministers and theologians, among whom were Peder Laurensen, Frants Vormordsen, Oluf Chrysostomus (Gyldenmund), Hans Tausen, Joergen Jensen Sadolin, and members of the Cathedral Chapters, and prominent ministers from Sleswig, as Herman Tast, Gert Slewert and John Vandal. When this document, which is known in history as the *Ordinance of Christian III,* was completed, the king amended it and then sent it, as he expressed himself in his later letter of confirmation, to "worthy Father Doctor Martin Luther, by whom God in His mercy and kindness, in these last times, has again sent Christ's holy and pure Gospel; thus he, with several other men highly learned in Scripture, in Wittenberg, examined the same Ordi-

Digitized by Google

nance and adjudged it to be good and right." And, when Bugenhagen arrived in Denmark, he still further revised it, after which, in the same year, it was published in Latin, but did not, in the fullest sense, become the law of the Church until 1539, when it was translated into Danish by Peder Palladius and duly adopted by the Diet in Odense, June 14, 1539.

This Ordinance, directing how the Church service shall be held in the kingdom of Denmark and the Duchies of Sleswig and Holsten, thus became the established law of the Danish Lutheran Church. The Diet did not change it, but advised prudence and gentleness in introducing it. This Ordinance is very comprehensive. It confirms the true doctrines of the Church; gives suggestions for their presentation in the sermons; designates the festival days and their proper pericopes; the mode of procedure in calling Pastors, Provosts and Bishops and defines their duties and rights; sets forth the proper church usages; gives rules for the religious instruction of the children, the management of the church property, the care of the poor, and provision for the education of men for the ministry.

And, in order to carry out the provisions of the Ordinance under proper supervision, the king appointed the first Bishops, seven in number, who were ordained to their high office by Bugenhagen, September 2, 1537. The ceremony took place in Copenhagen in Frue Kirke, which is still standing. The names of the Bishops are: Peder Palladius, Frants Vormordsen, Joergen Jensen Sadolin, Jakob Skoenning, Peder Thomesen, Mads Lang, and John Vandal, the last named being a German appointed to the diocese of Ribe. The ministers desired the appointment of an archbishop, but such was not made; yet the bishop of Zealand has always practically occupied that position, being regarded as primus inter pares.

In regard to the order of public service, the Ordinance, like the older German Kirchen Ordnungen, confined itself to the general outlines of the evangelical service, and, as a rule, did not give the full formulas, which had long been in use, but with the opening words indicated what the minister should say. But this did not imply the minister's liberty to fill out the formulas according to his own judgment; for when such was contemplated it was specifically so stated. These formulas were, however, given in full in later "law books" of the church. The Ordinance remained in force until 1640. But it became necessary to prepare books giving more specific directions for the conduct of public service, and these took their place by the side of the Ordinance. And the first of these "Hand Books," or "Altar Books," as they were called, and the only ones now extant, are

Digitized by Google

the Enchiridion of Palladius, 1538, and the Hand Book of Vormordsen, 1539. The latter of these aimed especially to explain and facilitate the use of the directions of the Ordinance. Neither of these contained the text of the Pericopes, but, from Palladius' introduction to the edition of the Altar Books of 1555, we learn that there were smaller books in use containing the Gospel and Epistle lessons and the Collects. From this state of things, as we might expect ,there arose a want of uniformity in the order of service, and, to remedy this, Palladius, by order of the Synod of Copenhagen, issued a new edition of the Altar Book in 1556, giving fuller directions and forms. (Pontoppidan's Annales Danicæ Ecclesiæ, 3, 335.)

But, as the right to make changes in the Liturgy was accorded to the Bishops, and as many matters needed to be cleared up, a Synod was convened in Copenhagen in 1540, which enacted 27 Statuta bearing on the Liturgy, church discipline, and the jurisdiction of ministers. This marks the second great act in ecclesiastical legislation in Denmark.

But the Bishops often gave special directions in liturgical matters, and hence arose again considerable confusion; and to overcome this it was ordered that the practice in Frue Kirke in Copenhagen should be followed as the norm. It will thus be seen that the church, as such and as a whole, had no direct voice in framing the liturgical orders; still it was held that the pastors were, in an important sense, the representatives of the congregations in the Synod. And the people did exercise a marked influence in regard to forms and usages in the churches, for the ministers were very largely governed by their wishes and demands, as in the questions raised about the elevation in the Lord's Supper and the exorcism in Baptism. But, in 1685, the king assumed the right to regulate all liturgical matters, though he claimed that he exercised it with the advice of the Bishops and other learned men. He made the Altar Book binding on all, and prescribed penalties for disobedience, but arbitrarily granted special privileges and made exceptions in favor of some of the clergy and parishes.

In the Duchies the Synodical authority given by Christian IV in 1646 continued in force, and in 1691 Christian V restored that order throughout the kingdom. The Synods effected many changes in the cultus and in other matters. In 1730 they began the preparation of a new Ritual. and in 1737 they determined to abolish the order of exorcism.

Strenuous efforts were made to bring about the desired uniformity in the service, and at the Synod in Roeskilde, 1585, a

Digitized by Google

Bishop complained that some of the pastors omitted the exhortation and the prescribed Benediction in the Communion service, and several were removed from their parishes for failing to follow the approved order. (Pont., 3, 501.)

The importance of uniformity was affirmed already in the Synod of Copenhagen, in 1540, in very emphatic language. And Palladius, in the appendix to his Enchiridion, says to the clergy, —"it is my humble prayer and request to you, each and all, chiefly first for the honor of God, and farther for the edification of the holy church, that you will all unitedly keep these ceremonies in force," and the Synod of Antvorskov in 1546 closed with these words,—"we wish and ask in love, according to the authority given us by God, that the servants of God's word throughout this Danish kingdom, all as one man, will govern themselves by these rules." (Pont., 3, 296.) And these admonitions and requests were very generally respected.

The legislation of the Danish Church, in regard to the order of worship, was in close accord with Luther's instructions and the example of the German Churches. Luther's order of 1523 was more closely followed than that of 1526 out of regard for the prejudices and weaknesses of the people and because it retained some old features which were viewed with favor. Several parts of the service were intoned by the minister, guided by musical notes provided in the Hand Book of 1539. This practice still prevails in the Scandinavian Church even in this country.

The singing of Danish hymns became a very prominent part of the public service and more and more forced out several anthems and set aside some of the old formulas, even versifying the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. The great and praiseworthy aim was to have much congregational singing and less praise by proxy.

After these general observations on the subject before us, we may now proceed to note more minutely the several parts of the service, and first—

OF THE CHIEF SERVICE. HOEIMESSE.

The original conception of the chief service, as that of the Holy Communion, is recognized in the first section of the instructions of the Ordinance—"On the outward order and the minister's prayer."

1. The Ordinance directs that the minister shall appear before the Altar in the appropriate vestments and, kneeling, say the Confiteor in Danish or Latin, as stated in the Hand Book. And it was ordered that at this point a prayer should be offered

Digitized by Google

for the king and the kingdom, but this was later omitted, and in its stead was inserted an "oratio concionatoris ante missam," and this in Danish translation in the XVI century. Hence the service began with a silent prayer by the minister, the people also praying, kneeling. In the XVII century two forms of prayer were provided, the one for the beginning and the other for the close of the service, to be offered audibly by the Deacon standing at the door of the chancel or in the middle aisle. But in the Hymn Book of 1553 there are indications that the minister made confession for the people and used a form, in which they participated in the prayer. In that book there are three parts before the Introitus, "adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini," "Confiteor" in Danish, and an "evangelical absolution over the congregation" in the precatory form. The adjutorium is given in a stanza of four lines, as follows,—

Our help is in the Name of the Lord,
Who made heaven and earth.
Acknowledge the Lord, for He is good,
And His mercy endureth forever.

These words were doubtless said by the minister, who then read the confession of sin and expressed the wish for the pardon of the people. And we have here an instance of the transformation of the Catholic Ritus which the Lutherans were wont to make, for these same three parts occur in the priest's personal preparation for the Mass in the Catholic cultus, as is fully explained in Siegel's Handbuch der Christ. kirch. Alterthuemer, 3, 376.

2. The Ordinance prescribed that, after the prayer, there shall be said or sung the Introitus, or, in its stead, some Danish hymn, especially in the country. And, in the Hymn Book of 1569, the rule is laid down that the hymn shall be in harmony with the Gospel lesson or the special occasion.

3. Immediately after the hymn, the Kyrie was sung by the Deacon in the original form, Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison, or in the corresponding Danish words. This form was sung by the Catholic priest nine times, but the Synod of Copenhagen, in 1540, limited it to three times. (Pont., 3, 350.) By assigning this to the Deacon the way was paved for making it a hymn by the choir or congregation, and hence we find that it appears as such in the Hymn Book of 1539. The first line is "Kyrie Gud Fader alsomhoeiste Troest." And in the Hymn Book from 1453 to 1778 there were three hymns, which versified the Kyrie. The Synod of 1546 prescribed that the Kyrie should be sung three times in the cities, but in the form of a hymn in ruralibus.

Digitized by Google

4. After this it is ordered that "the minister shall intone the angelic song of praise,—'Gloria in excelsis Deo,' in Latin or Danish, and then the church shall follow it." The meaning here is made clearer when we note that, in the Danish translation, the order is that the minister shall sing,—"Glory to God in the highest" and the choir and congregation shall join in the rest. In later years this was modified and it was used only on special occasions, and was then sung by the minister in Latin; and at the regular services a hymn took its place.

5. The minister then turns and faces the congregation, and, after the Responsory, there follows the prescribed Collect. After the Psalm, the Deacon and congregation respond—*Amen*.

6. After this the minister again turns to the altar and intones the Epistle "slowly, clearly, so that the people can well understand and mark him." In the Hymn Book of 1569 careful provision is made for correct intoning, the musical notes being given, but especially for the Epistle and Gospel. There a musical division in five parts is made,—comma et colon, periodus, periodus alia, questio et finale.

7. The ordinance next directs,—"The Hallelujah, which is a perpetual sound in the holy church, shall be sung by two children, and also the long Halle after it. After this, in the place where it is customary to sing the gradual, a Danish hymn shall be sung, or a gradual alone with two verses. All Sequences shall be left out except at the three great Christian Festivals." But later the strong desire for congregational singing led to the substitution of a hymn for the Hallelujah. This hymn was in harmony with the Epistle. Still the Hallelujah is found in the Hymn Book of 1690.

8. The Sequences were retained in the Lutheran Church, though for several years they were used only on festival days. But, in the Hymn Book of 1553, they were provided for the whole year and verses of a hymn were combined with the Psalm, and there were several other minor variations, which were modified in the Hymn Book of 1569, that follows the Ordinance and makes only this addition, that, after the Hallelujah, from Pentecost to Candlemas Day, there shall be sung the hymn to the Holy Ghost—"Nu bede vi den hellig Aand," in four stanzas. And here the Ritual farther specifies some changes for the several great sections of the church year.

9. Then the minister turns and faces the people and reads the Gospel. The Ordinance does not speak of the repetition of the Responsory—"The Lord be with you," nor that with which the choir greeted the Gospel—"God be praised for His joyful message;" but the Hand Book of 1539 has both, and the Synod

Digitized by Google

of 1540 ordered that they should be retained. (Pont., 3, 250.) And the Hymn Book of 1569 contains musical notes for both the minister's words and the response of the Deacon and the congregation. The Ritual keeps the Responsory as it presents two forms,—"God be praised for His joyful message" and "Praise and honor be to Thee, O Lord."

10. After the Gospel the minister turns to the altar and intones "Credo" and the choir joins in with "Patrem omnipotentem, etc.," and immediately after this the congregation sings the hymn "Vi troe allesammen," that is, We all do believe. But the Hand Book of 1539 directs that the Latin Credo shall be sung only where there are Latin schools, and this became the general custom. But later a hymn took the place of the Creed, which was always that of Nicea.

11. The Ordinance directs that the Creed—always the Nicene—shall be followed by the sermon, but the Hand Book of 1539 says that a hymn shall be sung between the Creed and the sermon.

12. The sermon was preceded and followed by prayer, minister and people kneeling. Near the close of the sermon the minister, according to the Hand Book of 1539, must "exhort the people, that, each in his or her place, should humbly make confession before the face of God, and repeat the holy catechism, word for word, without comment, in that form, which the worthy Father Martinus has set before us out of the Holy Scripture, which the Danish catechism book contains." This was the preparation for the Lord's Supper, but it was discontinued later, as such, when private confession was introduced, as ordered by the Synod of 1540. But in some localities the public confession was practiced. Yet the recitation of the catechism was continued as a means of instruction. This change disturbed the close connection of the sermon with the Holy Communion, and the direction was given that, at the close of the sermon and before leaving the pulpit, the minister should begin the singing of a prescribed hymn.

13. At this point the Holy Communion was administered, of whose order we will treat separately farther on. The Catholic office of the Offertorium with its unscriptural representation of the sacrifice was excluded. The service of the communion was short, the Ordinance giving this rule,—"after a hymn or two there shall be read a collect or two and the pronouncing of the Benediction." But later this was shortened by the limitation to one hymn and one collect, and between 1556 and 1564, the particular collect to be used, when there was no Communion, was designated. This and the Benediction, with the Responsorium,

Digitized by Google

by which they were preceded, constituted the altar service after the sermon.

14. A hymn pro pace or pro exitu closed the whole service. For this purpose the Hand Book of 1539 provides the Decalogue versified, and the Hymn Book of 1553 has it in four forms, and the Hymn Book of 1569 recommends the singing of the Decalogue, so that thus the whole of Luther's Catechism may be used at the service; but in 1573 this was prescribed for the country parishes only, and that during the Trinity season. Then the minister and congregation, kneeling, offered silent prayer.

MATINS AND VESPERS.

The Danish term for Matins is Ottesang, that is, eight o'clock song, as the service is held from 8 to 9 A. M., and, for Vespers, Aftensang, evening song, from 2 to 3 P. M. The daily services at those hours closely followed Luther's Deutsche Messe, where there were Latin schools, and were especially intended to train the young in religious knowledge and worship. The Latin was used to a considerable extent, but the Danish was also used for the benefit of those who did not understand the former, Antiphons, Kyrie eleison, and hymns were sung and lessons read from the Old and New Testament. Sermons were not always preached, but, when they were, they treated chiefly of penitence and good works, so that the Law as well as the Gospel might be put before the people. The Holy Communion was sometimes administered, but only in very special cases; but, after the time of Christian V, it became the rule rather than the exception in the larger places. Two services were held on Wednesdays and Fridays which conformed to the Sunday service, and the forenoon service followed the full order of the Hoeimesse or chief service and included the Communion. At the Matin and Vesper service on Sunday and Festivals the whole Catechism was recited.

THE COLLECTS.

Much might here be written about the history and use of the Collects in the Danish church, but I will not enter fully into this extensive subject, but merely state that, immediately after the introduction of the Reformation, the Collects or Orationes of the Catholic Church were used, with some exceptions, in accordance with Luther's practice. The first collection of these short prayers in the Danish church is found in the Hand Book of 1539, and a revised edition is given in the Hymn Book of 1553. The

Digitized by Google

collection now in use is very full for all Sundays, Festivals, and all special services and subjects, and sacramental acts. And we note that the Collects are from two to three times as long as those in our Church Book. They are very devout in spirit and expression, and are given in pure Danish.

THE ORDER OF INFANT BAPTISM.

In passing from the consideration of the more general services of the church, we naturally direct our attention to the Sacraments, and, first to that of Baptism.

It is not known who was the first to administer Baptism in Danish, but the eminent reformer, Hans Tausen, published the first baptismal formula in that language. And whilst that form is in harmony with the original Taufbuechlein of Luther, it was not copied from it; and internal evidence shows that the author did not have it before him, although he must have been acquainted with it, as he had been with Luther in Wittenberg. He retained all the symbolical features, as he deemed it unwise to hasten radical changes in things immaterial, but he stated that the use of these minor forms was not compulsory. And the Liturgy of Malmoe in 1535 indicates that these forms had been abandoned previous to that date. Thus it is evident that the ritual varied before the full establishment of the Reformation. The Ordinance of 1536 does not give the full form for Baptism, but simply says, "Thus shall he begin: Depart, thou unclean spirit." And there is good reason for believing that Luther's form, of 1523, was closely followed, of which Palladius provided an accurate translation in his Enchiridion of 1538, and declared that there should be no variation from Luther's words, though he made an exception, namely, in the long prayer at the exorcism, "O Almighty, eternal God, Who in the Flood," etc. Here Luther says,—"dass durch diese heilsame Suendfluth an ihm er sauffe und untergehe Alles, was ihm von Adam angebohren ist und was er selbst dazu gethan hat;" but Palladius has,—"All that which is born in him from Adam, that is, that sin which Adam committed," which has a dogmatic significance. This book was used by the side of the Ordinance, which designates some additional particulars. But some variations were practiced, especially in the Provinces and the Synod of 1540 gave strict directions to observe the prescribed order (Pont., 3, 252), as also that of 1556.

In the oldest orders, in the Ordinance and the Hand Book of 1539, the act begins with the questions whose child it is and whether it had been baptized at home, but later the former of these was omitted as casting a shadow on the baptismal scene

Digitized by Google

in the case of illegitimate children. The minister was then directed "to declare to the company standing around (the font), in few but forcible words, the exalted nature of Baptism;" and the outline given indicates that the address was intended for the whole congregation as well as for the sponsors. And this direction was emphasized by the Diet at Aarhuus in 1631, in the words: "Caveant Pastores, ne ommitatur adhortatio, quae ad patrinos necessario fieri solet." But this very proper direction was stricken out at the Diet at Viborg in 1699.

The act of Baptism began with Exorcism. This part of the Catholic ritual had been abolished by the Reformation and was excluded by Luther in his first "Unterrecht wie man einen Menschen zum christlichen Glauben taufen lassen solle, 1521." And the Danish Lutherans also began to omit Exorcism, but the early Liturgies show that it was re-adopted with Luther's modifications. Vigorous efforts were soon made to abolish it altogether, but failed for the time being.

The Exorcism was followed by the Gospel, and that by the Lord's Prayer. In the older books the doxology of the prayer is wanting, after the example of Luther, but in all the later ones it is inserted. During this prayer the minister and the people kneeled, with the thought that, as the prayer was offered over the child, the Lord Himself was blessing it. But in the later Altar Books this beautiful practice was omitted.

Then the minister calls the sponsor to the font and says,—"The Lord preserve thy coming in and thy going out." This was followed by the renunciation of the devil and by the Creed, each of which is respectively uttered in three parts. The questions were addressed to the child. Then come the baptizing in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the last prayer, and the Pax, admonition to the sponsors to teach the child the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments.

No change was made in this part of the Liturgy until 1783, when the act of Exorcism, even in its modified form, was strongly opposed as weakening the thought of the daily conflict with the devil. And, after some controversy, it was abolished, but the signing with the cross was retained, with the addition,—"for a witness that thou shalt believe on the crucified Lord Jesus Christ."

The order, as revised in 1895, is as follows: Address to the sponsors; signing with the cross; prayer; Gospel, Mark 10: 13-16; Lord's Prayer; praise to God who will now regenerate the child; "God preserve thy coming," etc.; renunciation and Creed in singularis with questions to the child: "Wilt thou be

Digitized by Google

baptized?"; Baptism; child commended to God; Pax; admonition to sponsors; Collect.

ADULT BAPTISM.

As infant Baptism was practically universal at the opening of the Reformation, Luther did not provide a special form for the Baptism of adults, and in Denmark there was no such form for 150 years. The first case, of which we have knowledge, occurred in 1620. The form finally given was that for infants, with some omissions rather than alterations, namely, the Exorcism, signing with the cross, and the Gospel, a hymn taking the place of the last of these parts. But, in the revised form of 1895, part of the Gospel is read,—Matt. 28: 18-20, and the signing with the cross is restored. On the preceding Sunday the intended Baptism is announced, and on the day of its occurrence the service had special reference to this Sacrament. The candidate occupied a seat specially set apart for him, was examined and commended to the love and care of the congregation. The person baptized assumed a new or additional name, at his pleasure. And, at the close of the service, the minister briefly addressed the sponsors or witnesses, who stood at either side of the altar. The presence of such sponsors at adult Baptism was no new thing. They appeared in the ante Christic period at the Baptism of adult proselytes to Judaism as well as of "exposed children" or foundlings. The Babylonian Talmud says that the number was two, but the Jerusalem Talmud and Maimonides say three.

CONFIRMATION.

In the Catholic Church, Confirmation was and is still held to be a Sacrament, and to supplement and complete Baptism. (Conc. Trident. De Confirmatione.) And hence it was entirely abandoned by the Protestants for a long time. The latter held that the rite was related to the Lord's Supper and connected with the proper preparation for that Sacrament. As it was necessary that all who come to the Communion should be prepared in head and heart for the sacred act and were examined before they were admitted, it was felt that the young, who presented themselves for the first time, should be carefully questioned as to their fitness, and when they gave satisfactory evidence of this, they should be approved. Bugenhagen, in his introduction to Palladius' Enchiridion, without a word about vows or Baptism, combines the examination of children and other communicants in

Digitized by Google

that he declares the words of Luther's Small Catechism to be the confession upon which the child of eight years and the centenarian are alike admitted to the Communion. Through the labors of Melanchthon and Chemnitz (Exam. Conc. Trid. De Confirmatione) Confirmation, divested of papal errors, was reintroduced in Germany, and still farther in the movement under Spener in the XVII century; but it did not reach the Danish Church. The Danish Ordinance gave directions for the examination of all communicants, though in practice there were some special features in that of the young admitted for the first time, but nothing that would justify the application to it of the term confirmation, as we now use it to designate a distinct act. Niels Hemmingsen, in the middle of the XVI century, is the first to use the word "confirm," but without any reference to Baptism. "Episcopi in visitationibus publice examinant juventutem in articulis fidei et in doctrina de Sacramentis. Deinde eam doctrina et exhortationibus *confirmant*. Idem fit quoque privatim a pastoribus, antequam admittantur praesertim rudiores ad participationem Coenæ Dominicæ." The children were often admitted to the Communion when they were only from six to seven years of age. Under the influence of Spener catechetical instruction received the most earnest attention. And, as the chief aim was that the minister should be assured of the fitness of the young, the examination sometimes took place privately in his house. In Resenius' book of 1627, "De executione visitationis catecheticæ," it is said that the examination in Luther's Catechism occurred in the Church. "If then any are found to have learned well, with explanation and pious feeling, they shall not only be commended, but shall be confirmed with the imposition of hands either by the Bishop or the Pastor, and then be admitted to the Communion."

In Iceland, which belongs to Denmark, Bishop Gudbrand Thorlakson, in 1596, ordered that the young, who had learned the Catechism, should meet for examination on the first or second Sunday after Easter and Pentecost; that the minister should announce to the congregation that these young Christians desired to come into closer union with the Lord through the Sacrament of the altar; and that he should ask the prayers of the congregation for their spiritual welfare. Then the young people declared their faith by reciting the Catechism, after which the minister read a promise which they repeated after him, but which made no reference to Baptism. Then followed the imposition of the right hand, and the young accompanied their parents to the altar and communed.

Digitized by Google

In view of this presentation of the subject we are not surprised at the statement of Pontoppidan (Annales, 4. 518) that, during the XVII and well into the XVIII century, *Confirmation* was not known in Denmark, although in 1706 Bishop Mueller proposed its restoration according to the "primitivæ ecclesiæ ritum," an attempt which failed. But individual ministers, and especially the German pastors in Copenhagen, began to practice the public examination, and, in 1734, Bishop Hersleb introduced it in Christiania. And on the 13th of January, 1736, King Christian VI, by the advice of Bishop Bluhme, enacted a law bearing on the subject. The principal changes made in the general practice were: The solemn repetition of the baptismal vows, and the statement that the aim is to prepare the young for the Communion. In one Section it is declared that "the nature, quality and importance of Confirmation consist in this, that the catechumens shall repeat and confirm that covenant, which their sponsors, at their Baptism, made for them, and that they shall be reminded that now in these days they must examine themselves before the Lord as to how they have kept their baptismal covenant, and whether they find themselves in the state in which Baptism placed them, as otherwise they would not be worthy to appear before the face of the Lord and the Christian congregation.

It was also ordered that a prescribed course of study must be pursued, and that then the pastor must meet them in his house twice in each week for at least three months, and not simply go over the course, but labor for their salvation. And it was farther ordered that the Confirmation should take place publicly in the church on appointed days; that these requirements were binding on all; and that the service should be conducted with the greatest solemnity. This new order met with some opposition at first, but that soon ceased, and very few changes have been made down to the present time.

This order is also observed in the Lutheran Churches in the Danish West India Islands. Their "Liturgy and Prayers," in the English language, printed in Copenhagen, is in the hands of the writer.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

In the order for the administration of the Lord's Supper, the Danish Church departed from the canon of the Catholic Church and limited it to the Lord's Prayer, the words of the Institution,

Digitized by Google

Collect and Benediction, as Luther had done, but added an eminently practical address to the communicants. This address was given immediately after the consecration and before the distribution, as seen in the Liturgy of Malmoe of 1529, but, in 1535, it was placed before the consecration. The Lord's Prayer has been generally used at the consecration, but not always in connection with the words of the Institution as now. In 1529 it appears coupled with the Admonition, and the Ordinance directed that the Prayer should be intoned according to the prescribed musical notes.

The words of the Institution, which in the Catholic Church were repeated by the priest inaudibly, were in all the evangelical churches sung aloud, and the Danish ritual directed that it should be done "alta voce." And at this point the question of the elevation of the elements received attention. The Catholic practice of elevating the elements for adoration was, of course, abandoned at once, but the first instruction on the subject was given in 1529, when the minister was directed to "lift up" (loefte) the plate and cup, but the Ordinance left this to the judgment of the minister. But in the Hand Book of 1539 Vormordsen directly forbade it, and yet the proceedings of the Synod of Antvorskov show that it was still practiced in many places, and hence, in the spirit of compromise, the Synod of Copenhagen ordered that, during the consecration and near its close, the minister should make a "decens elevatio." (Pont. Annal., 3, 250.) But the elevation as a separate act was forbidden, and before the Norwegian Ordinance was published, the "lifting up" gave place to the later practice of merely taking the plate and cup in the hand.

Another question also arose, namely, whether there should be another consecration if the consecrated bread and wine were exhausted. An affirmative answer is given by the Ordinance and the Synod of 1540; and the Hand Books of 1535 and 1539 both direct that such consecration shall take place without interrupting the singing of the hymn, and that the words of the Institution shall be said and not sung.

In accord with the example of Luther, the Hand Book of 1535, and Bugenhagen's instructions for the monasteries, the words of the Institution were divided and the bread distributed as soon as consecrated, and then the wine consecrated and distributed. But the Synod of Copenhagen, 1540, ordered the simultaneous consecration of both elements. (Pont. Annal., 3, 251, De distributione.) And the distribution took place immediately after the consecration.

In connection with the distribution the question arose whether the minister should partake of the Communion at his

Digitized by Google

own hands. He was authorized by the Synod of Antvorskov to do so at the public service, and also when administering the Sacrament to the sick. And the practice was, of course, approved by Bugenhagen, who gives the following rubric in his German "Ordnung der evangelische Messe" of 1524—a copy of which lies before me—"Nach diesem gebet speyst der priester sich selbs, darnach das Volck." But in 1640 the practice was allowed only in exceptional cases. In 1886 the practice was officially and without limitations authorized, and so the matter stands now.

At the distribution, according to the Liturgy of 1529, the minister said,—"the receiving of the body of Jesus Christ strengthen thee unto eternal life; the partaking of the blood of Jesus Christ be unto thee for help and comfort. Amen." But the Ordinance, 1536, directed that the distribution should take place *in silence,* as follows: "the minister shall say nothing to those who commune, since it was audibly said to all the people when it was consecrated." But the Synod of Copenhagen modified this by allowing "that something might be said, but as briefly as possible, as "receive the body of Jesus Christ; receive the blood of Jesus Christ." For a time the word "true" was prefixed to the words "body" and "blood," but later it was omitted as implied and therefore unnecessary. At the close of each Communion, where the Catholic Church offered a prayer called the "Communio," there the Danish church used a hymn, as noted in the Liturgy of 1529, and in that of 1553 this hymn is designated, which begins as follows: "God be praised and blest, who Himself has fed us with His body and blood; may God turn this to our good. Kyrie eleison."

A hymn was always sung during the distribution. Sometimes the Sanctus and Agnus Dei were sung as hymns, the former before the consecration and the latter either before or after the distribution. But the Synod of Antvorskov limited the use of these to the great Festivals. When the singing ceased a prescribed Collect was offered. Then followed the Responsory —"the peace of the Lord be with you," and then the Aaronic Benediction sung in the same tone as the Collect. In 1554 Palladius urged that it should be said in singularis.

The revised order of 1895 is as follows:

1. Address to the Communicants.
2. Lord's Prayer.
3. Words of the Institution.
4. Distribution. "This is Jesus' true body. This is Jesus' true blood."

Digitized by Google

5. At the close of each Communion: "The crucified and risen Christ Jesus, Who has now fed you with His body and blood, wherewith He made fullest satisfaction for all your sins, strengthen and uphold you therewith in a true faith unto life everlasting."

6. Collect.

7. Aaronic Benediction.

The remaining parts of the Liturgy are full of interest, but for want of space cannot be treated in this paper.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

EDMUND BELFOUR.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THEMATIC HARMONY OF INTROIT, COLLECT, EPISTLE AND GOSPEL.

THE Church Year moves about Christ as the natural year moves about the sun. In the sphere of redeemed time Christ *is* the Sun. In the kingdom of God, on earth as in heaven, "the Lamb is the light thereof."

The light of the natural sun and all that his shining does for the material world, reach their highest significance as the parable of the light that shines forth from the Person of Christ and of what that light works in the world of the spirit.

Thus it comes that the great theme of the entire Church Year is Jesus Christ, the "Light of the World." All the lessons, prayers, hymns, sermons and services of every form, time and place, however varied in outward features, have their inner, living harmony in Christ.

Directly or indirectly Christ is the essential element in all true worship, public and private. "Without Me, ye can do nothing." "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ." "Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the Name of the Lord Jesus."

The sacrificial element in our worship is all in the Name of Christ and is rendered possible by the sacrifice He has made for us. Prayer, praise, thanksgiving, almsgiving, all spring out of the love that His love has kindled in our hearts. The sacramental element in our worship *is* Christ. It is Christ giving Himself to us in all the fulness of His truth, love and life, in and through the means that He Himself has ordained.

Since, therefore, Christ is the great, central Theme of the whole ecclesiastical cycle it must follow that the particular Theme of each season and service will be a presentation of

Digitized by Google

some specific truth of the doctrine of Christ, or phase of His life, or feature of His mission, or fact of His ministry.

In carrying out this general harmony, the Introit, Collect, Epistle and Gospel for each Festival and Sunday of the Church year have their particular thematic harmony. These chief parts of the service move about a central, fundamental thought. They are all intended to concentrate the attention of the worshipper upon a particular phase or fact of salvation, so that while he is always edified, more or less, from the whole council of God, yet that instruction and the grace of the word that conveys it, come to him at each service through some single view of the Lord, or of His work, or of His teaching.

The mind of man is so constituted that it can only give its full and effectual attention to one thing at a time. So the heart can go out with the full current of its emotions to only one object at a time . Our service takes this important fact into account. It is arranged to meet a human necessity. It is designed to make the deepest impression upon the mind and heart; to minister the highest measure of edification to the whole being of the worshipper.

From these considerations it ought to be obvious that, in order to secure the most salutary results; in order to accomplish the most effectual edification we should, at both services, ordinarily at least, confine ourselves to the specific Theme presented in the leading parts of the service for the day, or to some cognate subject. The secondary lessons present such regulated themes, and many others may be found outside of the appointed pericopes.

The theme for each Season, Festival and particular Day is announced in the Introit. This is the principal purpose of the Introit. It combines both the sacramental and the sacrificial elements of worship. It is the Word of God bearing grace to us, and it is the sanctified channel through which we offer praise to God.

The Introit is properly the beginning, the entrance to the sanctuary of worship. After the worshipper has been prepared by the confession of his sins, and has received the gracious declaration of forgiveness, he now "draws near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith." He now comes "boldly unto the throne of grace." He now approaches God with filial confidence, that he may commune with Him and be built up in the knowledge of His truth and love.

At this entrance to the heavenly place of true worship it is very proper that the keynote of the service should be sound-

Digitized by Google

ed; the keynote of a clear harmony that is developed, elaborated and intensified in the Collect, Epistle and Gospel, and which should then be consistently carried out and, as far as possible, completed in the sermon, hymns, anthems, and in everything pertaining to that particular service.

The Theme for the particular Season is usually indicated by the name given to it. Advent thus designates the Theme for the Advent Season. This Theme is, The Coming of Christ. All the services during Advent harmonize in that one central thought or truth. The several services may each center in a single phase of His coming, as His birth in the flesh or His coming in glory, but the greater Theme of the entire Season is, His perpetual coming, from the creation of the world to its ultimate glorification.

The Theme for the first Sunday in Advent is, Preparation, in view of the Coming of the Lord. In the Introit the worshipper lifts up his soul to God; puts his trust in God; prays for protection and divine guidance. The Collect prays for the coming of the Lord in power; for deliverance and defense. The Epistle is an admonition to awake and be prepared. The Gospel is the account of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. It is the same as the Gospel for Palm Sunday. It is used here by anticipation. Its purpose here is preparation. The event which this Gospel relates is not only a historical incident, it is a parable of all the comings of Christ. Its devout contemplation stirs up the soul to prepare for any and for every coming of the Lord.

In the Festival services the Theme is most prominently announced.

Take, for example, the Chief Service for Christmas Day.

Introit: UNTO us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given: and the government shall be upon His shoulder.

And His Name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God: the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.

Ps. O sing unto the Lord a new song: for He hath done marvelous things.

Nothing could be clearer than the Theme of that adoring outburst. It is, The Incarnation, at that point where it becomes a historical fact in our human world; the birth of Christ in the flesh. The birth of the Son of God as the Son of man. It fixes the whole attention of the worshipper upon that one stupendous fact. Fills him with that one overwhelming truth.

Digitized by Google

The Collect grasps this glorious fact and makes it the ground of a confident petition for deliverance from sin, as it is in itself the most blessed assurance of the reality of such release from the bonds of iniquity.

GRANT, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, that the new birth of Thine Only-Begotten Son in the flesh may set us free who are held in the old bondage under the yoke of sin.

The Epistle, Titus 2:11-14, Isa. 9:2-7, takes up the Theme. In the first part Paul tells us what the Incarnation means for us, and makes practical application of its glorious lesson. In the second part we have the very words of the Introit with their immediate context, thus elaborating the Theme and pouring additional light upon it.

The intelligent worshipper here begins to feel his fellowship with the whole Church from the beginning of time; his oneness with the redeemed in heaven and on earth, and with all the holy angels who fall down in adoration before the Babe of Bethlehem.

The Gospel, Luke 2:1—14, is the account which this Evangelist gives of the birth of Christ. The Theme announced in the Introit meets us again in the message of the angels to the shepherds: "Unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour, Which is Christ the Lord."

In a service where the Theme is so very prominent; where the harmony of the several parts is so clearly evident, it is impossible to sound a discordant note anywhere in the whole order, or during the entire day, without offending the feeling of congruity and the sense of propriety in the intelligent worshipper. Even those who have not been particularly instructed but who have been accustomed to such an order, resent the bringing in of anything that does not bear upon the one great Theme, especially the importing of secular objects and spectacular exercises.

The Epiphany Theme is, The Manifestation of Christ as the Royal Redeemer.

Introit: BEHOLD the Lord, the Ruler hath come: and the Kingdom, and the power and the glory are in His hand.

Ps. Give the King Thy judgments, O God: and Thy righteousness unto the King's Son.

The Collect refers to the manifestation of Christ as King of the Jews to the wise men who are the representatives of the Gentile world, and thus He is acknowledged as the King of the whole world. The petition recognizes the Godhead as it is revealed in Christ, and by anticipation apprehends the eternal sovereignty of Christ with the Father and the Holy Ghost.

Digitized by Google

The Epistle, Isa. 60:1-6, is a thrilling call to the nations of the earth to rise and welcome the coming of the true light, and to behold the gathering of all the ends of the world to the standard of the King of kings.

The Gospel, Matt. 2:1-12, is the account of the visit of the wise men to the Holy Family, in which the Kingly character of Jesus is acknowledged and honored.

The order for Quinquagesima furnishes an example of a profound thematic harmony, which, however, is not at once apparent.

Theme: God is our Refuge; a present help in trouble.

Introit: BE Thou my strong Rock: for an house of defence to save me.

Thou art my Rock and my Fortress; therefore for Thy Name's sake lead me and guide me.

Ps. In Thee, O Lord, do I put my trust; let me never be ashamed: deliver me in Thy righteousness.

Collect: O LORD, we beseech Thee, mercifully hear our prayers, and having set us free from the bonds of sin, defend us from all evil.

The Theme is plain in the Collect, which recognizes the presence of the Lord, the deliverance He has already wrought, and the further defence He will surely vouchsafe.

The Epistle is I Cor. 13:1-13. This is the chapter in which Paul sets forth the essential and all inclusive character of love. Love in the believer. God is not mentioned. There is no reference to a refuge, or to a Divine presence. Where then is the note in this Epistle that accords with the plain Theme of the Introit?

Upon examination we find that the truth, God is our Refuge, is the underlying truth of the Epistle. The sum of its teaching is, that no matter what we may have in the way of attainments, endowments, works or possessions, if we have not love we have nothing and are nothing. Also that the greatest of God's gifts is love. It is only a short step from this to the reflection that God Himself is love. That He is our Refuge because He is love. That the pavilion in which He hides His children, the secret place of His tabernacle in which He keeps them in everlasting security is His love. Thus the thought of Introit and Collect here finds a harmonious response.

The Gospel is Luke 18:31-43. It treats of two distinct incidents, which appear to have been sequent in their occurrence but which have no obvious thematic relation to the Introit and Collect, or even to each other.

Digitized by Google

The first incident is the announcement of Jesus to His disciples that they are about to go up to Jerusalem; His sufferings, death and resurrection. "Then He took unto Him the twelve and said unto them, behold, we go up to Jerusalem."

The second incident is the miracle wrought on the blind beggar near Jericho.

The Theme—God is our Refuge—is not at once obvious. But the instant we think of it we perceive that it is here. It is strikingly illustrated in each part of the Gospel. Each of these incidents is a powerful exemplification of the truth that God is our Refuge; that He is our strong Rock of defence and safety.

The case of the blind beggar shows how God comes to us in our darkness and helplessness, and is ever present for our deliverance and protection.

The sufferings, death and resurrection of Christ portray the same truth as no other incident in the life of any man or in the history of the whole world does or can exhibit and authenticate it.

The Lenten Theme has an objective and a subjective side. The objective is, the sufferings and death of Christ; the subjective, our own sorrow for sin and our penitent cry for forgiveness.

In the order for Ash-Wednesday it is the subjective side that is prominent. The Introit is the cry of a penitent sufferer to God. A cry of sorrow yet of perfect trust.

> Introit: I WILL cry unto God Most High: unto God that performeth all things for me.
>
> Yea, in the shadow of Thy wings will I make my refuge: until these calamities be overpast.
>
> *Ps.* Be merciful unto me, O God, be merciful unto me: for my soul trusteth in Thee.

The Collect, Epistle and Gospel are all in the closest and most obvious harmony with the thought and feeling of the Introit.

The Theme for Easter is, of course, the Resurrection. It is clearly and impressively announced in the alternative Introit, which seems to me much preferable to the first Introit given. It is plain also in the Collect and in the Gospel, which is St. Mark's account of the Resurrection. But it is not plain, to me it is indeed very obscure, in the Epistle. The Epistle, I Cor. 5:6-8, is taken from a passage in which Paul is treating a case of discipline. There is no mention of the Resurrection. Christ is declared to be our Passover, and we are exhorted to keep the feast, assumably the Easter Festival, "with sincerity

Digitized by Google

and truth." But why should we not have an Epistle for Easter Sunday in which the thematic harmony is more pronounced? The lection in the Episcopal Prayer Book, Col. 3: 1-7, is more in harmony with the Easter Theme, yet it, too, is predominantly subjective. We are tempted to wonder how this lection got its place in our order, and to venture the suggestion that the Epistle in the secondary table for Easter Monday, I Cor. 15: 12-20, would be more appropriate as the Epistle for the Festival Day.

We have an example of prominent thematic harmony in the Introit, Collect, Epistle and Gospel for Misericordias.

Theme: The Divine Providence; the abundant goodness of the Lord in the creation and preservation of the world.

Introit: THE earth is full of the goodness of the Lord: By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made. *Ps.* Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous: for praise is comely for the upright.

Collect: GOD, Who, by the humiliation of Thy Son, didst raise up the fallen world: Grant unto Thy faithful ones perpetual gladness, and those whom Thou hast delivered from the danger of everlasting death, do Thou make partakers of eternal joys.

The Epistle, 1 Peter 2: 21-25, follows the very lines of the Collect, setting forth the fact and the manner of the sufferings of Christ, and placing by the side of the petition the ground upon which it is made, and adding the precious assurance which certifies that the petition cannot fail to be granted. "Ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls."

In the Gospel, John 10: 11-16, the Theme is fully and most beautifully illustrated in the parable of the Good Shepherd.

So prominent in all these parts of the service for Misericordias is the Good Shepherd idea, that this Sunday has come to be recognized and observed with us as Good Shepherd Sunday.

This imperfect study will serve to show that it was the design of those who arranged and developed our Order of Service that each day and each service should have its proper unity and harmony. And further, that this object has been to a very large extent attained. We believe that it would be exceedingly helpful and suggestive to our pastors, especially to the younger brethren, if some competent hand would elaborate a work, something in the nature of a full and com-

Digitized by Google

prehensive analysis, or a homiletical commentary upon this material. It seems to us that such a work would not only be helpful to pastors, but that it would be instructive to the laity as well, and that it would promote a better understanding and a deeper grasp of the genius of our Service.

D. H. GEISSINGER.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Digitized by Google

ART IN WORSHIP.

Our subject brings together two terms that may seem to some to involve a contradiction. Art is a product of the natural human intellect; worship, in the Christian sense, a devotional act of the sanctified heart. Art has to a very considerable extent nature for its teacher and mistress; worship rests upon the person and work of the Divine-human Redeemer. Art knows only beauty as its law; worship must always be truthful and holy. Art serves only aesthetic purposes and is often illustrative; worship is rooted in faith, deals with eternal verities, and has education for its aim.

In truth, however, there is as little antagonism between religion and art as there is between revelation, rightly interpreted, and a correct science. The material and spiritual both emanate from the same God as their Creator. "*All* things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made." He is the Maker and preserver of the soul as well as of the body. The Giver of all the noble faculties of the mind as well as of food and raiment. He is the Author of beauty and of our capacity to enjoy beauty, as well as the Source of all truth and goodness. He is as truly the God of the natural world as of the spiritual; and excepting where the harmony between these is disturbed by sin there can be no conflict between the two.

In speaking of art in worship we mean the use in the Cultus of the Church of the so-called *fine arts*, to wit, architecture, painting, sculpture, poetry and music. These are the arts that minister not to man's material necessities or conveniences like the so-

Digitized by Google

called useful arts, but to his love for the beautiful. Man is so constituted that he needs the beautiful as well as the useful. This principle the Church recognizes. The complete and perfect actualization of the true, the holy, and the good in the Son of Man, was also the first perfect realization of the beautiful; and as He is the Source of all real spiritual life, that life is at once holy and beautiful, and loves the beautiful in accordance with the apostolic injunction: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; . . . think on these things." (Phil. 4:8). Hence it is said: "Christianity is akin to the beautiful. He who would work out all that the Christian life involves, cannot but work out the aesthetic element which is inherent in it. The good can never be deformed. In Christianity beauty entered into the service of truth. Therefore the Church also, the vehicle of Christianity, has enlisted the service of art in all its branches, of architecture in sacred buildings, of sound in sacred music, of poetry in sacred song, of painting and sculpture in sacred decoration. An attitude of antagonism between them never takes place till art sinks below the Christian level, till she seeks to disseminate within the province of Christianity what she has derived from merely natural religion, till she debases herself to the vulgar, or ministers to sensual gratification. Otherwise, it is the part of Christianity and the Church to act as the guardians of the healthiness, purity and truth of art."*

But as the handmaid of religion art serves still another purpose. "Every religion," says Luthardt, "has an inward need externally to represent under a symbolical form those truths and notions which it proclaims, a form in which the mind finds that sensible manifestation which man's nature demands."† As man is essentially a religious being, art and religion have had an almost simultaneous development. Much of the history of art is also the history of religion. Says Luthardt again: "It was in the service of religion that architecture was chiefly fostered. The mighty rock temples and pagodas of India, the magnificent pillared structures of Greece, the lofty cathedrals of Christendom, what are they but speaking witnesses to this relation of service? And the same is the case with the other plastic arts. The sculpture of Greece took the gods and their sublime forms for its subjects, before it passed over to the representation of profane life.

*Brueckner: *The Church.*

†The Moral Truths of Christianity. p. 228.

Digitized by Google

The best and richest produce of painting is found within the Christian Church, in religious painting, whence all other branches, and especially the highest branch of the art, historical painting, have arisen. Music was the first employed in the services of the gods, and poetry in their praise, and not till afterwards in honor of heroes; while even the drama was at first a kind of worship, both among the Greeks and in Christian Germany."*

Again it is not only to satisfy the demands of man's nature as a physico-spiritual being that religion instinctively takes art into its service, but it does so in entire accord with Divine authority. The prohibition contained in the First Commandment is not directed against every species of art-representation in the service of religion, but against the making of graven images and pictures to be used for purposes of worship. That this is the correct interpretation is evident from the Cultus of the Jewish Church itself. The Tabernacle and Temple, where dwelt the glory of the Lord, and where the nation gathered for worship; their pattern and furnishings; their wealth of vegetable, animal and celestial forms, of costly wood and precious metals, of fine linen and purple and embroideries; together with the garments worn by the priests when ministering in holy things:—all these were of Divine appointment. Nor are we justified in assuming much less regarding the vocal arts, poetry and music. The Psalms were the songs of inspiration; and the account given concerning the musical arrangements for the public service leaves the impression that these were likewise by Divine sanction. It was in the time of David and Solomon that the twin arts of poetry and music began to be systematically cultivated and reached their highest development, first in the schools of the prophets and afterward in connection with the Temple Service. For the latter David made most elaborate preparation. Of the 38,000 Levites he set apart 4,000, divided into 24 courses or choirs, corresponding to the 24 courses of priests, to be singers and players on instruments of various kinds, whose duty it was "to stand every morning to thank and praise the Lord, and likewise at even," in connection with the daily morning and evening sacrifice (1 Chron. 23:5, 30). These choirs had their own leaders, received special instruction, and were under the general direction of the three chief leaders, Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun. We are furthermore told that at the dedication of the Temple the members of this great choir were "arrayed in white linen" (2 Chron. 5: 12), i. e., the choir was vested; and again we read that when Hezekiah restored the perfect Temple Service after the wicked and idolatrous reign of his father Ahaz, "he set the Levites in

* **The Fundamental Truths of Christianity.** p. 168.

Digitized by Google

the house of the Lord with cymbals, with psalteries and with harps according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the King's seer, and Nathan the prophet; *for so was the commandment of the Lord by His prophets"* (2 Chron. 29:25). According to this it would seem that even the musical arrangements of the Temple Service were Divinely authorized.

It is therefore not strange that in the teachings of Christ and in the writings of His inspired Apostles we find nothing inimical to art. Christianity does not recognize a hostile dualism between spirit and matter, between the super-natural and natural. It disallows only what is sinful, but makes use of everything that has Divine right to exist (1 Tim. 4:4, 5). In the person of the Redeemer Himself we have the most perfect union of the supernatural and the natural—the Divine made human and the human taken up into the Divine. Hence this union of divine and human, of the heavenly and earthly, of the internal and external, of spirit and body, is also throughout characteristic of the Redeemer's Kingdom. That Kingdom is both visible and invisible; it is at once earthly and heavenly. The spiritual and life-giving medium whereby its members are called, gathered, enlightened, sanctified and preserved in union with Jesus Christ in the true faith, is the Divine Word preached by human lips, heard by human ears, and received into human hearts. And the Lord Himself connected worship with nature when He united the heavenly and the earthly in the Sacraments, and made use of parables drawn from nature to symbolize Divine truth. Even the new Jerusalem and its worship are described in terms borrowed from things with which we are familiar in the natural world. We read of a wall adorned with precious stones; of a street of pure gold; of golden candlesticks; of a golden altar before the throne; of golden vials full of odors; of a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal proceeding out of the throne of God and the Lamb; of the tree of life whose leaves are for the healing of the nations; of angels clothed in pure white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles; of harpers bearing the harps of God and to their accompaniment singing the song of Moses and the Lamb. Surely when the Church that was, that is, and that is to come, sets before us such an example, we have full warrant for giving art its appropriate place in worship. The soul of true religion needs a body, the spirit of devotion a visible cultus. "We are never so spiritual as to be out of the body. The more spiritual the soul of religion is, the more glorious and heavenly, but not the less real is the body with which it is invested, for that soul also desires not to be unclothed but clothed upon."* It is only where falsehood takes the place of truth, and where faith has never

Digitized by Google

been forgotten or has ceased to live, that everything is made of the outward, and that the Cultus of the Church degenerates into a mere *opus operatum*.

When Christianity took art into its service it gave it a new meaning, and opened to it a new world. Heathen art, which had reached its highest development among the Greeks, was purely aesthetic. Christian art is not merely aesthetic, but pre-eminently ethic. The former served a religion of external representation and ceremonies; the latter served the religion of the Word. The one idealized the finite, and saw in it the perfect manifestation of the infinite; the other proceeds upon the principle that even the most ideal form is incapable of manifesting the infinite, but can only point to it. Hence our Lord's mode of instruction by parables has been called "the starting point of Christian art," containing "the germ of the new principle, that the sensible is a *parable* of the super-sensible."

This principle found expression in the *symbolical art* of the Early Church as revealed by the burial monuments and the catacombs. Among the symbols were the lamb, the fish, the cross, the Chi-Rho monogram, the Alpha and Omega, and the vine, all of which symbolized Christ and His work and office; the door, the sheep, the lambs, and the ship as representative of the relation of believers and the Church to Christ; the anchor, the palm and palm branches, the crown, the lyre, and other symbols, suggestive of the Christian's confidence and blessed hope.

Early Christian *painting* served both a decorative and a symbolic purpose, and, when the latter, was evidently intended to be a means of religious teaching. The subjects treated embraced Old Testament characters and events, and scenes from the life and work of Christ. The frescos found in the catacombs, says Bennett, "become invaluable indexes of the belief and life of the Infant Church. They prove that the aesthetic feeling, common to all men, is struggling for expression amidst the adverse influence of the time, and that the new religion, so far from being hostile to art, is seeking to purify and inspire it by its own richer spiritual truths." The "seeming hostility of a few of the Christian fathers," says the same writer, "was chiefly occasioned by the corrupting associations of the prevalent art," and was not a hostility to art *per se*. They "clearly discerned the threat to the purity of Christian life and doctrine coming from the indiscriminate use of heathen art," and yet "assumed that to represent to the eye what the Scriptures teach by word-symbol was not idolatrous."

* Krauth.

Digitized by Google

Sculpture as the most materializing of the arts, and because of its very extensive employment in the pagan cultus, received the least attention in the Early Church. Only a few free statues of Christ have been found, and these represent Him as the Good Shepherd. Much more numerous are the carvings in relief on the burial caskets (sarcophagi). These, as a rule, follow the same cycle of Biblical subjects treated in the frescos, and, like the statues of Christ, are strikingly symbolical. That neither painting nor sculpture reached a very high degree of excellence in the Early Church does not surprise us when we consider the conditions under which these first Christian art works were produced.

Protestantism does not give painting and sculpture the same place in its Cultus that was and is accorded those arts in the Cultus of the Roman and Greek Churches, for it knows no picture and image worship. Zwingli and others for the sake of saving the Word rejected all plastic art; Luther, with an equal concern for the Word, but far more conservative, would have all the arts to be the servants of the Gospel. "I am not of the opinion," said he, "that through the Gospel all the arts should be banished and driven away, as some zealots want to make us believe; but I wish to see them all, especially music, in the service of Him Who gave and created them." Again he says: "I have myself heard those who oppose pictures, read from my German Bible. . . . But this contains many pictures of God, of the angels, of men, and of animals, especially in the Revelation of St. John, in the books of Moses, and in the book of Joshua. We therefore kindly beg these fanatics to permit us also to paint these pictures on the wall that they may be remembered and better understood, inasmuch as they can harm as little on the walls as in books. Would to God that I could persuade those who can afford it to paint the whole Bible on their houses, inside and outside, so that all might see; this would indeed be a Christian work. For I am convinced that it is God's will that we should hear and learn what He has done, especially what Christ suffered. But when I hear these things and meditate upon them, I find it impossible not to picture them in my heart. Whether I want to or not, when I hear of Christ, a human form hanging upon a cross rises up in my heart; just as I see my natural face reflected when I look into water. Now if it is not sinful for me to have Christ's picture in my heart, why should it be sinful to have it before my eyes? The Lutheran Cultus has therefore never excluded painting and sculpture, but it assigns these arts the last place. It recognizes on the one hand the fact that many of their noblest examples have been produced in the service of the Church; and on the other that "in Christianity pic-

Digitized by Google

torial or sculptured representations are language made visible, symbolized thought." Whether it then be the Bible scenes and the suggestive symbols portrayed in rich colors on the walls and windows of our churches, or the beautiful carvings on their columns and furniture, or the exquisite productions of the needle on their altar and pulpit hangings, or even the free statuary of a Thorwaldsen, so long as it is a holy and chaste art, that, by the scenes and objects it sets forth, awakens and stimulates devotion, its use is not to be enjoined.

Though God may be worshiped anywhere and "dwelleth not in temples made with hands," yet "man has need of setting apart from all that is worldly and unholy the *place* in which he bows in adoration, and of so ordering the same that the spirit of devotion is awakened and called forth by his surroundings." We read of sacred places in the time of the Patriarchs. We have seen how by Divine precept Israel has its Tabernacle and its Temple, and how in all their appointments these were calculated not only to furnish instruction, but also to excite and express devotion. And though Christian worship is no longer typical as was the Jewish, but the celebration and appropriation of a completed atonement, yet it needs for this an appropriate place. Luther says: "We build churches for this one purpose, that Christians may meet together and pray, hear God's Word, and receive the Sacrament; and when they cease to be built for this purpose they had better be torn down like any other building that has become useless."

The first Christians assembled for worship in private houses (Acts 1:13; 12:12; Rom. 16:23; 1 Cor. 16:19; Col. 4:15); but as their number increased and the Churches began to take form, the need of special and suitable buildings made itself increasingly manifest. The first of these, erected during the third century, were unpretentious and frail structures; and not until the time of Constantine and the cessation of persecution did *Christian architecture* become an art. Two styles were simultaneously developed—the Basilican and the Byzantine, the one representative of the Western Church and civilization, the other of the Eastern. The former was derived from the Roman basilica—a style of rectangular building that, with its large vestibule (narthex), its long nave and side aisles, and its semi-circular recess (tribune) in the rear, required but few changes in its general plan to make it serve as a model for Christian churches. The vestibule was made to answer as the gathering place of the catechumens; the long interior hall for the assembly of the baptized or faithful; and the recess became the apse or *sanctuarium* of the church, raised a few steps above the nave, and containing the altar, the

Digitized by Google

bishops throne, and seats for the clergy. Somewhat in front of the *sanctuarium* was the space reserved for the singers and the minor clergy. On the north side of this space stood the reading-desk (ambo) for the Gospel; on the south side, that for the Epistle. The exterior of the Christian basilica was plain; but the interior, with its splendid columns, rich mosaics, and costly hangings and furniture, was most beautiful. "The early Christian basilica," says Bennett, following out a thought expressed by Messmer, "impresses by its chaste yet noble simplicity; in it the student of delicate art-sensibility may discover the germs of that richer and fuller development which was afterward realized in the Gothic cathedral. Here is seen the solution of the most important problems of sacred architecture; namely, to develop the form through the influence of the religion whose rites were therein to be celebrated; in other words, to effect a harmony between the containing material and the contained and inspiring spirit. This significant victory was achieved by the Christian religion. Herein is noticed the difference between the Greek and the Christian idea of architecture. The spiritual significance of the interior of the Christian basilica is in strong contrast with the imposing grandeur of the Greek temple. Subjective truth and beauty are here shown to be of more worth than material splendor. Instead of passing from a perfect exterior to an unmeaning interior, the basilica obeys the law of all true development and growth in first invigorating and purifying the subjective spirit, and then by virtue of the transforming power of truth, subordinating to this the exterior form."

The introduction of the transept—giving the ground-plan the form of a Latin cross, and the valuted roof in place of the horizontal rafter ceiling, marks the transition of the earlier form of the Christian basilica to the Romanesque or round-vaulted style of church architecture; and in the intersection of the vaulted roof of the transept with that of the main nave, and the cross-vaulting introduced to support the roof of the latter, we find the germs of the later Gothic in all its glorious forms. This style above every other is most distinctively Christian, having grown to its perfection of beauty under the fostering care of the Church, expressing most completely the heavenward aspirations of believers, and symbolizing most fully that spiritual edifice "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit." (Eph. 2:20-22.)

Digitized by Google

The *furniture* of God's house, no less than its form and arrangement, must give expression to the fundamental ideas underlying the Cultus. The church is designed to be "the house of prayer," where God meets His people to communicate to them, through Word and Sacrament, all the treasures of grace in Christ Jesus; and where they meet Him with the eucharistic sacrifices of prayer, praise and thanksgiving. For the performance of these acts not only must proper provision be made, but the significance of the acts themselves must be kept in view. A true Cultus recognizes the distinction between the two elements in worship—the sacramental and the sacrificial, and yet avoids the error of separating the clergy, as though it were an order, from the universal priesthood of believers. All this must silently appear in the internal arrangement and furnishing of the place of worship. A correctly developed Cultus therefore provides a *sanctuarium* for those acts in which the Lord more especially draws nigh to His people, as He does above all in the Holy Supper; and a *nave* as the gathering place of the worshiping congregation, drawing nigh to God; but it puts no screen between the two. It places an *altar* in the sanctuary, not as a place of sacrifice in the Romish sense, but as the "table of the Lord," and as the place where the acts of benediction are performed, and the prayers of the congregation are offered. It gives the altar the most prominent place because in the Sacrament of the Altar Christian worship reaches its culmination, and that by its very position it may at all times remind us of this glorious mystery of our faith. It adorns the altar and its covering with a suitable *symbolism* that this may silently speak to us of redemption. It puts a crucifix upon the altar that the eye may see what the heart feels when it sings: "O sacred Head now wounded:" or, if not a crucifix, at least a *Cross*, as the symbol of the Christian's faith. And for the administration of the Holy Supper it provides vessels of appropriate design and precious metal.—To the audible Word as the means whereby faith cometh (Rom. 10:17) a true Cultus assigns the central place, and therefore both for practical and symbolical reasons stations the *pulpit* towards the central part of the church, near the people, where all can hear and understand. For the same reason the *lectern* must occupy a forward position. —Nor does a true Cultus fail to recognize the Sacrament whereby we are made members of the body of Christ. It has a permanent place for the *baptismal font*. Sometimes near the main entrance of the church, sometimes toward the side in close connection with the *sanctuarium*, but never so as to obstruct the view to the altar.—Font, Pulpit, Altar—these three give expression to the liturgical principle that Baptism is the beginning, the Ser-

Digitized by Google

mon the center, and the Holy Supper the culmination of Christian worship.

But before any of the arts already mentioned began to receive Christian development, the vocal arts, *poetry* and *music* were already in use in the Church. Christianity is pre-eminently the religion of the Word. Its whole Cultus rests on the "Word made flesh," on the Divine-human Redeemer, as He and His work are set forth and His grace is offered and communicated in the Gospel. Hence the faith begotten and nurtured by Word and Sacrament expresses itself first of all in devout *adoration*, and finds in this, when it is common Service, one of the most powerful means of *edification*. That sacred song formed an important part of the worship of the early Christians is evident from numerous passages of the New Testament (Matt. 26:30; Mark 14:26; Luke 24:53; Acts 2:47; 16:25; 1 Cor. 14:26; Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16). Nor do we lack testimony from other sources. The Christian writers Justin Martyr, Clement, Tertullian, and Eusebius all bear witness to the custom; and even the heathen Pliny, in his letter to Trajan, A. D. 110 mentions the Christians as meeting "on a certain day before sunrise, and singing by turns (i. e. antiphonally) a hymn to Christ as to God."

The hymn-book of the first Christians was beyond doubt the Psalter; but when Paul, in addition, speaks of "hymns and spiritual songs," it seems more than probable that other portions of the Old Testament like Ex. 15:1-18; Deut. 32:1-43; 1 Sam. 2: 1-10; Isaiah 6:3, etc., also passed into use in the Christian services. At a very early period such inspired and distinctly Christian hymns as the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46-55), the *Benedictus* (Luke 1:68-79), and the *Nunc Dimittis* (Luke 2:29-32), were likewise added. These, with the *Gloria in Excelsis*, developed from Luke 2:14, and the *Te Deum Laudamus* still furnish the norm of the perfect hymn. By some it is supposed that the following additional passages of the New Testament are likewise fragments of hymns: Acts 4:24-30; Eph. 5:14; 1 Tim. 3:16; 6: 15, 16; James 1:17; Rev. 1:4-8; 5:9, 10, 12-14; 11:15, 17, 18; 21:10-14; 22:17.

Christian *hymnology* had its first bloom in the Eastern Church, but reached its highest development before the Reformation in the Church of the West and in the Latin language. In its strict sense, however, as a popular religious song of the worshiping congregation, the Church hymn was a product of the Reformation; and German hymnody, in the wealth of its treasures, surpasses that of any other land and tongue. Pre-Reformation Church song was not congregational. The whole Service was sung by the priests and choristers in a language to

Digitized by Google

which the people were strangers. But as the Reformation again gave the people the Bible in their own language, so it gave them hymns they could understand and sing. Luther himself heads the long list of German hymn-writers, with thirty-seven hymns to his credit. Julian calls him "the Ambrose of German Hymnody," and says: "His hymns are characterized by simplicity and strength, and a popular churchly tone. They breathe the bold, confident, joyful spirit of justifying faith which was the beating heart of his theology and piety." Next to Luther the most gifted and popular hymn-writer of the Lutheran Church was Paul Gerhardt.

The first English hymns in Coverdale's *Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songs* can most of them be traced to Lutheran sources; but when Calvinistic conceptions gained the ascendency in England, these also made their influence felt in the hymnody of the English Church. The rage for metrical versions of the Psalms, the vast majority of which were most wretched, for a long time paralyzed original productiveness. Not until the time of Isaac Watts, who has been called "the father of English Hymnody," did original hymns begin to meet with favor. Watts was followed by numerous writers down to the present to whom the Church is indebted for many hymns that will continue to be sung as long as the English language endures.

Here it may be well to pause for a moment to consider what must be the characteristics of a true hymn, whether metrical or unmetrical. A genuine hymn must deal with the great objective facts of religion. It must be addressed to the Triune God, or to one of the three Persons in the Trinity. It must be inspired by the perfections, attributes, offices and works that we connect with each of the three Persons in the Godhead. Its contents must take the form chiefly of supplication, prayer, praise and thanksgiving. It must be lyrical, i. e., singable, and must at all times serve the purposes of common worship, or, in other words, be true people's song. These rubrics therefore exclude all so-called hymns that contain false doctrine or that are mere dry statements of correct doctrine; hymns that are purely subjective, reflective or sentimental; hortatory hymns; the so-called "narrative hymns;" hymns that moralize about certain virtues and graces or sing the praises of objects that cannot be worshiped; hymns expressive of morbid sentiment, and hymns that, however excellent as to contents, possess no lyrical character. Many of these may answer admirably for private reading and devotion, but they are not Church hymns, i. e., hymns suitable for common worship. Still far beneath all such are the rhymes lacking even the qualities of respectable poetry, that with their equally insipid

Digitized by Google

tunes have in recent years, through the publications of a certain type, helped to degrade the song of church and school.

The devotional sentiments begotten by the great objective facts of religion find their appropriate expression in the *music* of public worship, which, when of the right kind, is *also* a most powerful promoter of devotion. It is, as it were, the censor in which the worshiping congregation offers its incense of prayer, praise and thanksgiving to the Most High, and which by the fragrance of its odors, directs mind and heart to the great realities of the unseen world. What the music of the early Christians was like we hardly know. Perhaps some of it was derived from the Hebrew Temple Service. Probably Aug. Wilh. Ambros is right in surmising that "from the *Musica Sacra* of the Hebrews the music of Christianity derived its sacredness, from the musical art of the Greek, its form, shape and beauty." It reached its first stage of development under Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who introduced the so-called *Ambrosian Chant;* another stage began with Gregory the Great, the father of the *Gregorian Chant;* in the works of Palestrina pure Church music attained its greatest perfection in the Roman Catholic Church, and in those of Eccard, Hassler and others of the same school in the Lutheran Church; whilst sacred music as distinguished from pure Church music came to its most glorious unfolding in the works of Bach and Haendel.

The Music of the Church, if it is to serve its right function, must be inspired by the Church's Liturgy in its completeness for all seasons and occasions. Starting with this fundamental conception the Lutheran Church gives place to three forms of music in her Cultus, to wit, the *recitative* or *liturgical,* for which the ancient Plain Song is best adapted; the *melodic* as it appears in the unisonous congregational hymn-tune; and the *polyphonic* for the choir. All three must serve to transfigure the text, and must be of such a character and so related as not to do violence to a correct devotional feeling or disturb the *unity* of the Service as an act of reverent worship. The latter is done, however, and the text assigned a secondary place, when the liturgical song degenerates into the sensuously sweet and languid from which every trace of the virile and dignified Plain Song has disappeared; when hymn-tunes are chosen they say nothing either musically or devotionally, and that too often remind of the street or the play-house; and when choirs, unmindful of their proper functions, arrogate to themselves an independent place, and sing what is neither fitting for the house of God nor related in any organic way to the Service itself. These altogether too prevalent sins both against a correct artistic taste and a reverent devotional

Digitized by Google

feeling, will not be corrected until pastors and organists, choirs and congregations come to a better understanding of the purpose that music is designed to serve in public worship; and until the Church is prepared to accept a musical setting of her Service that in every part sets forth the deep spiritual meaning of that Service.

The congregational *hymn-tune* is a distinct product of the Reformation. Upon its history we cannot here enter. Its noblest form is found in the Protestant *Choral* in its original, fresh, rhythmical form, which should always serve as the standard whereby all hymn-tunes admitted into our Services are to be judged. When these incomparable melodies are beginning to meet with merited appreciation in other church bodies, it is not to our credit that they are so rarely heard in our own English congregations whose lawful heritage they are. It seems that in this as in many other things we are quite willing to give up our own treasures in exchange for the rubbish that a totally different type of church-life has produced.

The artistic element in Church song finds expression chiefly through the *choir* and the *organ*. Both however must subordinate the purely artistic to the devotional. The purpose of everything that is sung or played must be worship. Hence it is important that the choir (in the Lutheran Cultus always a chorus) be composed of persons who are themselves devout Christians and "who will sing with the spirit, and with the understanding also" (1 Cor. 14:15). Hence *what* they sing is also a matter of the gravest importance. On the one hand the vulgar and mean must be excluded; on the other the intensely subjective and dramatic is rarely in place. Because of the latter quality the oratorio and cantata style cannot, strictly speaking, be called Church music, however greatly we reverence the genius of Bach and Haendel, the two greatest masters in this style. Neither the vulgar nor the intensely dramatic is profitable for worship. The one offends, the other ministers to purely intellectual and aesthetic enjoyment.

As regards the use of the organ I repeat what I have said elsewhere, that, as some of the old Church Orders direct, it should not be used during service for the performance of flippant and vulgar music, nor for mere artistic display. The strict, pure style of the great masters in organ music should determine the character of the voluntaries. In accompanying voices the function of the organ is to encourage and support, but it must never obscure the words or attract attention to itself by striving after unusual effects. He only is well qualified as an organist in whom musical and liturgical understanding, pure taste, tech-

Digitized by Google

nical ability, and sincere piety are found combined.

Having now to an extent sketched the historical development of Christian Art, and having seen how Christian Worship takes Art into its service not merely to gratify the aesthetic sense, but as a means of edification, let us yet briefly see what must be its *characteristics,* in order to serve its proper purpose. Harnack mentions four: *veracity, fidelity to history, intelligibility,* and *simplicity and dignity.*

Christian Art must set forth the Christian Faith according to its *objective and subjective truth.* Nothing must therefore be admitted as an art-form into the Cultus of the Church that does not correctly set forth or symbolize an objective truth of God's Word, and call forth that reverence and devotion which only the Word, rightly received and believed, can beget. Hence many pictures found in Roman Catholic churches as also much of the hymnology and music both of Romish and Protestant churches should have no place in the house of God.

As the Church has an unbroken *history,* and in all her pure arts in all ages knows but "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and father of all, Who is above all, and through all, and in all" (Eph. 4:5, 6), she should therefore also reflect this in her art today. By degrees, the Church developed her *own* art, representing in all its departments a distinct and recognizable type: and from this there should be no wider departure than the principle of truth and present-day requirements demand.

Again her art must be *intelligible,* i. e., of a kind that readily commends itself to the understanding of the people. Pictures must not be so allegorical, nor symbols so mysterious, nor hymns so stilted, nor the music so intricate as to become meaningless and unprofitable to the average worshiper. But this does not mean that the art of the Church may ever descend to the vulgar. For God and His people only the best and most beautiful is good enough. Hence a reverent devotional feeling combined with a pure artistic taste will not allow a quack architect to build a church, nor permit a quack artist, a quack poet, or a quack musician to desecrate the house of God and offend eye and ear of devout worshipers by their rude productions.

Above all must the art of the Church be *simple and dignified.* The beauty of all ecclesiastical art must be the beauty of holiness; and it is only then most beautiful when by its chaste simplicity and noble dignity it most readily awakens holy thoughts and attunes the heart to holy service. Hence art that pleases only by its technical perfection, and ministers only to the aesthetic sense, but does not at the same time serve the holy purpose which all ecclesiastical art is meant to serve, can have no place in a pure

Digitized by Google

Cultus. This principle excludes many beautiful conceptions in poetry, music, painting, and sculpture, that as art works are deserving of the highest appreciation, but that in the worshiping congregation are altogether useless as aids to devotion and edification.

And now let me summarize this presentation by asking and answering the question: How does the ideal Lutheran congregation, rooted in sound doctrine, vitalized by the Holy Spirit, permeated by a true spirituality, and having a pure liturgy, treat the arts we have considered, in its worship? It uses all of them to magnify Christ and His grace. It has a Cultus that sets forth the great objective facts of redemption on the one hand, and expresses the heart's faith and gratitude, its love, its aspirations, and its hopes on the other. It assigns to the audible and visible Word the chief place in that Cultus. It gathers for worship both to receive and to give. It sees in it a sacramental and a sacrificial side. Its place of worship is therefore neither a mere preaching place, nor an opera house, nor an art gallery, but the "house of the Lord," a "house of prayer," which in all its appointments speaks only of holy things and holy service, of a gracious Giver and of sanctified givers. Whether it build a cathedral or a modest chapel, it permits no profane pattern in its form, no shams in its construction, no *bizarre* effects and gaudy show in its decorations and adornments, no caricature of sacred things on painted wall or in stained glass and sculptured stone. It guards with equal care the *vocal* arts. It adapts its hymns and music to the place, purpose and season. It does not offend against reverence and propriety by singing doggerel and jingles, nor allow the use of hymns so unintelligible and of tunes so difficult as to profit no one. It will not shout *Alleluia* on Good Friday and chant *De Profundis* on Easter. It cannot tolerate an organist and choir whose principal object is the display of virtuosity, and will dismiss both as soon as they rob it of one jot or tittle of its Divine right to worship God in sacred song. In a word, the art of the ideal Lutheran congregation is *Christian art,* dignified, noble, and pure; never coarse and vulgar; refined and beautiful, yet always simple and holy, serving at once to arouse and to express devotion.

It is sometimes said, even among us, that all these things tend only to externalize devotion. But there is no such danger so long as the Divine Word remains the center of our worship, and we allow that Word to do its saving and sanctifying work in our hearts and lives. Then these will themselves become beautiful; and the soul that has the beauty of the Lord upon it will also find pleasure in clothing its devotions in a beautiful form.

Digitized by Google

Like the woman with the box of precious ointment, it will, in sincerest love and gratitude, honor the Lord with the costliest and best that it has. "The highest and best" says even a Reformed writer, "must express itself in no other than the noblest forms and, nowhere is the tasteless and misshapen less appropriate, than where God is to be worshiped in spirit and in truth."*

When the Lutheran calls this "Ritualism" and "High Churchism," or an arrogant "churchman" sets up the extraordinary claim that whatever of pure art and worship we have is only copied from the Anglican communion, both are to be commiserated for their dense but by no means excusable ignorance. The Church of the pure faith and the pure worship knows no such terms and acknowledges no such indebtedness. Our Cultus is our own, and is but the outgrowth and expression of our spiritual *life,* and not a sign of spiritual death. In its evangelical form it came and developed with the Reformation itself; and surely no one would accuse the Church of the Sixteenth Century of dead orthodoxy and formalism! Even the so-called "non-liturgical" Churches are coming to realize that the spirit which prompted a large part of Protestantism to be hostile to sacred art, is also in the long run fatal to reverent common worship. It is this very spirit that has in so many places transformed the modern church into an amphitheatre, the chancel into a lecture platform, the minister into a moral instructor, and the song of the people into a sacred concert by the choir! To guard against such tendencies among us we need increasingly to study and faithfully to follow the principles upon which our Cultus is based. Then will our churches be churches indeed; and those who regularly gather in them will come both to receive from the Lord, and to worship Him "in the beauty of holiness."

Among the authorities consulted in the preparation of this paper are the following: TH. HARNACK: *Praktische Theologie;* RIETSCHEL: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik;* MEURER: *Der Kirchenbau vom Standpunkte und nach dem Brauche der lutherischen Kirche;* SCHOEBERLEIN U. RIEGEL: *Schatz des liturg. Chor. u. Gemeindegesangs;* SCHOEBERLEIN: *Die Musik im Cultus der evang. Kirche;* KOCH: *Geschichte des Kirchenlieds u. Kirchengesangs;* JULIAN: *Dictionary of Hymnology;* VAN OOSTERZEE: *Practical Theology;* BENNETT: *Christian Archaeology;* LUTHARDT: *The Moral Truths of Christianity;* SCHAFF-HERZOG: *Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge.*

J. F. OHL.

Philadelphia, Pa.

* Van Oosterzee.

Digitized by Google

VOL. III.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER IN DIFFERENT AGES OF THE CHURCH.

THE institution of the Lord's Supper is described by the synoptists and by St. Paul. The latter, who received the revelation from the Lord, gives the fullest account. We have therefore the firm historic basis of inspired Scripture for the account of the institution, whilst that which pertains to the subsequent history and the churchly development of its doctrine and forms of administration is shrouded in considerable obscurity.

It was on the night of the betrayal, in the large upper room in Jerusalem, in the presence of the eleven disciples, that the Lord instituted the Supper. It followed immediately upon the paschal meal. The elements used were the unleavened bread and the wine upon the table at the time. The apostles reclined about the table according to the custom at meals. The Lord took the bread, gave thanks, brake it and distributed to the disciples. As to its nature and use, He said, "Take, eat; this is My Body, which is given for you; this do in remembrance of Me." "After the same manner, also, when He had supped, He took the cup, and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; this cup is the New Testament in My Blood, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins; this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me." Doubtless all the eleven ate and drank of it. Having further instructed them that through such participation of the Body and Blood of the True Passover, each believing communicant had a foretaste of that feast when he should eat and drink with Him in the Father's Kingdom, they sang a hymn and went to the Mount of Olives.

Great simplicity marked the administration of the Lord's Supper in the first Christian congregation in Jerusalem. The services of the Church were homiletical or sacramental. The service of the Word was of a popular and missionary character, and was

Digitized by Google

even held in the temple or in Jewish synagogues and usually in the morning. The sacramental services at the first took place in the evening and usually in the close circle of the Church alone, all others being dismissed. When the services were held in one place the first part was the Missa Catechumenorum, the second, the Missa Fidelium. In the fifth and sixth centuries, there appeared a growing tendency to separate the services of the Word and of the Sacrament. The former, whose forms were contained in the Breviary, became more and more the distinct type of service for monastics. The sacramental, especially the eucharistic, whose forms were embraced in the Missal, became the special service for the people, and preaching the Word fell into disuse. The importance of the homiletic services was recognized by the Reformers, and these were again restored to their proper place.

From the earliest period, probably in imitation of the paschal meal which preceded its institution, there was combined with the Supper the "Agape" or Love Feast. The Eucharist afforded the believers fellowship with their Lord; the Agapæ were of a social nature, showing the fraternity and fellowship among believers. Much obscurity still hangs about this institution. But it is clear that the Agape was closely associated with and combined in form with the Eucharist. In the parent congregation at Jerusalem they had a community of goods, they assembled daily in the temple and from house to house did eat their bread. They were a new spiritual *family*. What more appropriate than to eat at a common table? At their meetings the Word was read and prayers made. Oblations (offerings) of common bread and wine were brought. After Thanksgiving and the Kiss of Peace, they joyfully ate the common meal. When this was done the leader took the bread, gave thanks, brake and gave, or assisted by the deacons, divided it and the cup among the people.

The Agape is mentioned in Jude 12. But St. Paul already refers to it in 1 Cor. 11, and seeks to correct certain abuses, as that "Each took before other," (perhaps the rich before the poor) or that of excess in eating and drinking, whereby they were in danger of forgetting the Sacrament connected therewith. Paul did not propose to abolish the Agape but to correct its abuse as he did in reference to the homiletical services in the same congregation.

The whole service is sometimes called the Eucharist, some-

Digitized by Google

times the Agape. The Didache includes the Agape in the description of the Lord's Supper. The Epistle of Ignatius shows that they were celebrated together if not combined in one form. Probably the customs differed in the several churches. Justin Martyr (ob. 165) who gives the earliest description of the Lord's Supper, makes no mention of the Agape. He says, "On Sunday all gather in one place, the memoirs of the Apostles are read, the president instructs and verbally exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then all arise together and pray. After prayer bread and wine and water are brought, prayers and thanksgivings are offered, the people responding Amen. There is a distribution and participation by all present and a portion is sent to the absent. The offerings are taken and deposited with the president who succors the orphans, widows, destitute and strangers among us."

St. Paul's rebuke of the Corinthian Church implies that the social meal or Agape was combined with the Eucharist. To avoid abuses, he teaches them to eat at home and to meet in the church for the Divine Service and Sacrament. This rebuke, together with the edict of Trajan against strange religions, prepared the way for the subordination of the Agape. A further step is observed in Justin who tells us that the Sacrament was transferred to the Sunday morning service. The Agape was doubtless continued as the evening social or charitable feast of Christians. At Alexandria it was still connected with or followed the Eucharist in the third century. Its final stages were reached when the Agapæ were prohibited *in the churches*, and at last were altogether suppressed by the second Trullan Council, A. D. 692. This was necessary that the Lord's Institution might retain its proper place and meaning.

We have a description of the Lord's Supper as administered in the third and fourth centuries: "After the common homiletical service and dismissal of all but the faithful, the deacons gather the oblations of bread and wine. One loaf is selected as the 'hostia.' Then follows the Kiss of Peace, the clergy wash their hands, the bread and wine are placed on the altar, a subdeacon stands at each end with fan in hand to keep off the flies, the robed bishop and priests approach. Then follows a long General Prayer and special supplications for various estates and conditions, the thirty-fourth Psalm is sung, after which, first the clergy, then the

Digitized by Google

congregation receive the Sacrament." The simple primitive forms of administration gave way to various and divergent enlargements called Liturgies, which, though often incorrectly, were ascribed to Apostles or celebrated Church Fathers. There are many details which need to be mentioned to complete the history.

Ancient paintings represent the priest consecrating the elements laid upon the altar, by extending both hands over them and doubtless using the words of institution.

Originally the Communion was celebrated every day, then every Sunday. Later it was restricted to the three great festivals and at the Lateran Council, 1215, the minimum was fixed at the Easter Communion.

The people prepared themselves by fasting, ablutions, dressing in clean clothes and the Kiss of Peace. In earliest times the deacons distributed to the people, later the people approached the altar, two by two, and received the elements standing (Apost. Const.). Afterward the women, then the men, were excluded from the altar and choir and the elements were handed to them over the rail which separated the choir from the nave. In earlier periods the bread was received with the hand, then it was put into the mouth in order to prevent the people from taking it home for superstitious purposes. Kneeling does not occur till the twelfth century.

The Eastern Church continued the use of leavened bread whilst the Western Church, referring to the circumstances at the institution, began the use of unleavened bread in the ninth century. The wine was commonly mixed with water with no distinction between red and white.

By heretical sects various substitutes were used for wine, as water, milk, honey, unfermented grape juice. The breaking of the bread in the consecration was the general custom and has been retained by all except the Lutheran Church which rejects it as a protest against the symbolizing tendency. Sometimes the bread was dipped into the wine, and the Greek Church even drops the bread into the wine and offers it by means of a spoon, to the communicants.

Since the third century children were admitted to the Lord's Supper. Cyprian approves of this custom and implies that it was common. The Apostolic Constitutions and Augustine also mention it.

Digitized by Google

The form of celebration developed in the Greek Church differs from the Roman. It is more symbolical, representing the Lord's passion. Five loaves are laid on the altar. The priest selects one, pierces it with a lance, while the deacon pours wine and water into the cup. Amid solemn dirges, with lighted candles and burning incense, the elements are borne through the church, and then back to the altar and placed like the body of Christ in the tomb. A curtain is lowered before the altar, unseen, the bishop, with an invocation of the Holy Ghost, consecrates the elements. When the curtain is raised, the altar represents the tomb from which Christ is arisen. While the choir sings a hymn of praise, the elements are distributed without any special formula.

The Roman rite displays (if possible) a still wider divergence from the original institution. The name "oblation" or offering was indeed from the first applied to the people's gifts of bread and wine. When the idea of a Christian priesthood, so earnestly advocated by Cyprian, came into vogue, the other related idea of a sacrifice also appeared. The consecrated elements were offered to God as a propitiatory sacrifice for sin. Gregory the Great, (A. D. 590), saw a sacrificial victim in the bread on the altar. Masses began to be offered for the dead, who could thus be delivered from purgatory, and magical effects also were claimed. Thus the Eucharist was divided. The congregational Communion began to be overshadowed by the sacrificial mass, which was celebrated with more than apostolic frequency and often privately. The thirteenth century brought radical changes. Transubstantiation was fixed in the Lateran Council, 1215, as the doctrine of the Church. Thomas Aquinas taught that the Sacrament is consummated in the act of consecration, according to the intention of the priest, not in the Communion of believers. The mass is a propitiatory sacrifice whose benefits extend to the absent and to the dead. The Council of Trent established these doctrines in all their baldness. So far as the Eucharist is a sacrifice, it is the sole act of the priest, who is a mediator between God and the congregation. The words of consecration are spoken in Latin in an undertone and addressed *to the elements*. When the priest speaks the words, "This is My Body," he bows his knees and prays to the Christ who is present in the host, and shows it to the people who may also adore it. Likewise with the

Digitized by Google

cup. This is the elevation and adoration of the host. The priest then communicates and distributes to the people, if any are present.

Fear that the consecrated wine might be spilt, afforded the pretext for withholding the cup from the laity at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the real motive being a purpose to elevate the priesthood. Even before this, we meet with the occasional use of gold or silver tubes for taking the wine. The *Communio sub unaque* was further supported by the scholastic invention of the doctrine of Concomitance.

The doctrine of the Lord's Supper decidedly affects its administration. Consequently in those branches of the Protestant Church in which the Supper is viewed as only a memorial, little importance attaches to the manner of its administration and the Sacrament itself falls into neglect. There is a wide divergence of method between those branches that are rooted in the past and the growths of recent days. Where the spiritualizing tendencies are very marked, the objective means of grace are but lightly esteemed. The Quakers have no sacraments, and many others are in danger of losing theirs, even if their false doctrine had not already practically destroyed them.

We will close with a brief excursus upon the Essentials of a Proper Administration.

1. The presence of the congregation which believes the Lord's promise and is assembled in His Name to do according to His appointment, is necessary for the consummation of the Communion. The minister is but the organ of the congregation, which blesses the elements and receives the Communion. The validity of the Sacrament does not depend upon the intention of the ministrant, as Rome erroneously teaches, nor upon the faith of the individual recipient, nor upon the exact and literal repetition of the words of institution, but only upon this, that it is an act of the Christian congregation, performed according to the intention and appointment of Christ, in faith in His Word and for the purpose of its institution. "No human work nor any declaration by the minister of the Church can effect the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, but only the omnipotent power and grace of the Lord Jesus Christ."

2. With reference to the elements, bread and wine are essential according to the Lord's institution. Christ without doubt

Digitized by Google

used the unleavened passover bread. The ancient Church, however, used the common leavened bread. The kind of bread used, the breaking of bread in the consecration, whether the wine is red or white, pure or mingled with water, whether the elements are received by the hand or mouth, whether the communicants stand, sit or kneel, are adiaphora.

3. The elements are to be used only according to Christ's appointment, that is, they are to be consecrated and distributed. Augustine's famous dictum,—*Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum*, is defective. This would make it a Sacrament without its distribution and for other uses than that of its institution. It needs to be supplemented by the words of Luther and the Formula of Concord,—*Nihil habet rationem sacramenti extra usum a Christo institutum seu extra actionem divinitus institutam. Requiritur consecratio seu verba institutionis, distributio et sumptio.*

According to ancient custom the consecration is by the solemn recitation of the *verba testamenti*. With this was combined the Lord's Prayer as the filial and fraternal petition for the sanctification of the congregation, but it does not possess the nature nor has it the design of a consecratory prayer and its proper place is after the Words of Institution.

While there is no sacrament and no promise of Christ without the distribution, we must nevertheless, view the consecration as an integral part of the act and of the command, "This do." By the explanatory addition "which we bless" (1 Cor. 10: 16), the Apostle gives special emphasis to the consecration through which the cup is set apart to become the "Communion of the Blood of Christ." Hence we must regard it as an essential, and the words of institution should never be omitted. The plural form shows that it is the act of the whole congregation, which also indicates its participation and assent by its Amen. By the consecration, the bread and wine are separated from the ordinary sphere of natural gifts for bodily nourishment, and are transferred into the service of Christ for the application of the gifts of redemption.

"The true consecration," says Gerhard, "does not alone consist in the recitation of those four words, "*Hoc est corpus meum*," but in this, that we do as Christ did, that is, that we bless, distribute and receive the bread and wine as He appointed." This is the chief thing in the Sacrament. For it the other acts are but a preparation. The *giving* and *receiving* are always neces-

Digitized by Google

sary, while the mode of giving and receiving is left in the sphere of the Church's liberty.

Not so weighty, but still of great importance is the formula of distribution. Here the aim must be, not only to promote pious feelings in the heart, but to speak for Christ Who gives, and in His Name to assure the penitent and believing communicant that *to him* belong the full benefits of the broken Body and the shed Blood of his gracious Lord and Savior. Here the Church should give unequivocal expression of its faith, as the Oriental, Roman and Lutheran Churches do in the use of the ancient formula of distribution, "The Body of Christ, the Blood of Christ, the cup of life."

G. S. SEAMAN.

Homestead, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE LITURGICAL HISTORY OF CONFIRMATION.

JUST as the character of the works manifests the nature of the faith which produces them, and as the objective factors of worship are but the outward expression of the real life of devotion itself, so also any liturgical observance is ever the outgrowth or embodiment of a corresponding doctrinal view. Therefore the history of any liturgy or part of it, is the history of the doctrine out of which it has grown and which is its life and spirit. To trace the liturgical history of Confirmation, is almost impossible without tracing at the same time the views which the Church has held concerning this rite.

The custom of Confirmation has its beginnings in the early days of the Christian Church, and while many outward conditions have changed since then, there is still much in the catechumenate and subsequent Confirmation of the present day that is closely connected with the customs of the first few centuries. It need hardly to be stated here that in the early days, catechisation preceded baptism, as the accessions to the church were principally through adults. It is this fact however, that accounts for the catechetical observances of that period. In early Apostolic days, the instruction was confined to that which was absolutely essential, and baptism, whether of adults or of infants, represented full entrance and admission into the Church of Christ, without any additional ceremonies. As the missionary activities of the Church extended and Christianity came into contact with Hellenic culture and Roman power, with philosophic thought and heretical doctrine, adults of all descriptions entered the catechumenate, and these needed both instruction and refutation by argument. During this period, which Zöckler calls that of the Ancient Church, the catechumenate consisted of two distinct periods: the actual catechumenate or period of instruction, lasting about two years, and the period of immediate preparation by fasting and prayer.

Digitized by Google

During the former period the aspirants for baptism were called κατηχούμενοι, *catechumeni*, or catechumens; during the latter, φωτιζόμενοι, *competentes*, i. e. eligibles. A further distinction was made as to their participation in the services of the church. During the catechumenate (of the first stage) they were distinguished as ἀκροώμενοι, *auditores*, or hearers, and γόνυ κλίνοντες, *genu flectentes*, or kneelers, i. e. such as had the privilege of joining in the prayers. While they were known as hearers, they had only the privilege of listening to the sermon and were required to withdraw before the acts of prayer and the administration of the Lord's Supper. There are still extant, the acts of consecration by which the hearers were set aside as fellow-worshipers, *genu flectentes*, and were known specifically as catechumens. Frequently the transition from the first stage to the second was immediate, but separate acts of consecration were in use for the two stages, as well as a special prayer for the *genu flectentes* after the dismissal of the *audientes* from the public services. In these acts of consecration or setting apart, we must find the beginnings of the rite of Confirmation.

When the period of the *genu flectentia* was passed, i. e. after the two years of the catechumenate, the *genu flectentes* were set apart as *competentes* or eligibles, by a special act of prayer and benediction, occurring directly after the sermon. The final stage, that of *competentia*, was passed in special prayer-meetings in which according to the custom of the times, exorcism was repeatedly practiced. The congregation was entitled to take part in these meetings for prayer and as they usually occurred in the Quadragesima before Easter, they were for all a time of earnest fasting and contrition, known as the ἐξομολόγησις, *confessio*, period of confession. This shows us a grand feature of the life of the early Church, for the preparation for baptism or ingrafting into the body of Christ, took place in the very midst of the congregation and was accompanied by the devotional acts of all. This meant especially much for the *competentes*, for while they could not take part in the celebration of the Mass like those baptized (this was the period of liturgical growth and establishment, consequently also of the Mass Service) they learned to look forward to higher mysteries and higher honors. This gave them a gradual participation in the liturgical acts of the worship and a special system of prayers, while also their names were already entered

Digitized by Google

upon the lists of the congregation. The liturgical acts mentioned, took place during the period directly before baptism and while they were learning the formulated "sums" of doctrine by heart, and occurred in the public services during the service of the Mass proper, and they were called in from time to time, for the participation in these liturgical acts. The acts themselves were called "*scrutinies*" and formed a beautiful parallel to the periods of catechumenate passed through. The first scrutiny was the *signatio crucis* or marking with the cross. By it they had once been received as hearers. By it now they were reminded of the real import of the Χριστιανοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, the becoming Christians. The second scrutiny was the laying on of hands and corresponded to the second period of the catechumenate, the specific κατηχουμένους ποιεῖσθαι or becoming catechumens. Exorcism and prayer accompanied these acts and in many of our Lutheran orders the same prayers are still used for the same acts in baptism. The signing with the cross signified the negative moment of renouncing the devil, etc., by removal from heathenism, and the laying on of hands the positive moment, corresponding to the rearing in the faith and bearing the promise of God's mercy and hearing of prayer. Corresponding to the two principal subjects of the instruction the baptismal symbol, *traditio symboli*, and the Lord's prayer, *trad. orationis dominicæ*, were now formally and solemnly delivered to them. Then followed the scrutiny in which an express deliverance of the key to the understanding of Scriptures was made in a special act, *officium quattuor evangeliorum* or *evangelistarum*. Finally, in the last scrutiny came the act of baptism itself, hedged in with symbolico-liturgical acts. With all this rich development of liturgical forms, the practices of the catechumenate were far from being formal. The very fact of such a long catechumenate showed that the Church was not eager for promiscuous reception of members and while great stress was laid upon the foundation of a true Christian character, individual freedom was guarded to such an extent that many catechumens deferred their baptism until their time of death, for fear of the greater responsibility devolving upon them in the *datio nominis* at the time of entering the *competentia*. Special emphasis was laid on the *renuntiatio* before baptism and in all the acts it is evident that the catechumenate denoted the training of a real Christian life almost to the exclusion of the theoretico-dogmatical

Digitized by Google

element, and that liturgical functions served to impress this fact while they were the logical crown of the work of the stages preceding them.

In the Middle Ages much of the character of the catechumenate was lost, while the liturgical acts were retained and developed. The soil was the Teutonic world with its individually ethic propensities. The Church herself maintained herself on the basis of her traditions. Infant baptism became almost universal. The task of missions among uncivilized races, favored a catechumenate of masses, and compulsion, not free choice, was often its characteristic. It was during this period that Confirmation as such became a distinct and separate rite and was finally declared to be a sacrament. As early as the time of Tertullian, baptism is described as consisting of three parts, viz., baptism itself, anointing with the holy oil, and the laying on of hands. The last act is said to bring down the blessings of the Holy Ghost and consequently to be the culmination of the whole act. The unity of the three moments (or acts) is dependent upon the person of the bishop. As the hierarchical system was more developed, while the administration of baptism was permitted to the lower clergy and others, the laying on of hands was regarded as the special privilege and function of the bishop. This gave to the laying on of hands a sort of sacramental character, against which Jerome and Augustine inveighed in vain. The fact remained, that the child which had been baptized, needed a still higher blessing, and this was bestowed in Confirmation. In the time of Innocence I. we meet with a distinction between the anointing at baptism and that at Confirmation. The special importance gradually given to Confirmation was due to the hierarchical interests of the clergy, and the episcopal act of Confirmation was finally declared a sacrament at the synods of Lyons (1274) and Florence (1439). This sacrament is the second in order in the Roman Church. As to its object it is called Confirmation, as to its success *sigillum* or *consignatio* (sealing), as to its matter *chrisma* (anointing), as to its form *impositio manuum*. It is accompanied by a host of formalities. As to its effect it is said to bestow the Holy Ghost as an *augmentum* and *firmitas justitiæ*, as an armor in the battle of life, and in opposition to baptism as an entrance into the real activity of the *gratia gratum faciens*. This sacrament is not strictly necessary; but as giving a *character* it can not be repeated. The

Digitized by Google

Greek Church considers Confirmation a sacrament as does the Roman; but this is administered by any priest and immediately after baptism, thus retaining ancient tradition and later development in unmitigated contradiction.

Of all the ancient rites of the Church none met with such opposition at the hands of the Reformers as that of Confirmation. It was not only considered that there was too little Scriptural authority for it, but what was more, there was so much unscriptural and even superstitious ceremonial connected with it, that it was thrown overboard with other Romish rites and institutions as being equally harmful. This being the general view among the Reformers, very few Kirchenordnungen of the earlier reconstruction period of the Reformation contain any provisions for its observance. Later on a few KOO purified the rite from objectionable features and retained it. While the Lutheran church hesitated between the objections to the Romish style of Confirmation and the necessity of a regulation for the admittance to the Lord's Supper of only approved persons, they began to see the practical utility as well as the churchly suitability of a pure rite of Confirmation. During the subsequent times of the Interim, so many compromises were made with Rome, that anything originating in this period was regarded with suspicion by strict Lutherans. The disturbances of the Thirty Years' War interfered so largely with all education and also catechetical instruction, that during this time nothing was done. When the Pietistic movement brought about a revival of religious activity, Confirmation too, received more attention and gradually won its way in every land until it became an institution dear to all Lutherans and held in honor, not as a divine institution, but as a most efficient churchly rite.

Luther, as early as 1522, in his sermon on Matrimony, in speaking of the Roman rite of Confirmation (Firmelung) calls it an apish foolery and a play of lies. He concedes that we may confirm, if we maintain the rite as a human ordinance. He proves from Titus 3: 5, that the Apostle does not recognize a *sacrament* of Confirmation, but that the Holy Ghost is bestowed in baptism. Melanchthon refers to the examination of doctrine made in olden times and says it was a custom most useful for the instruction of men and for distinguishing between the evil and the pious. "After this," he says, "public prayer was made and

Digitized by Google

the Apostles laid their hands upon them and thus the manifest gifts of the Holy Spirit were bestowed. But now the rite of Confirmation of the Bishops is an empty ceremony. But it would be useful that an examination and confession of doctrine be made and public prayer for the confessors, nor would this prayer be without avail." The Augsburg Confession rejects Confirmation as a sacrament by implication, the Apology and the Smalcald Articles expressly. (Apol. Chap. 7, 6 and S. Art. App. Pt. II. 73.) At the Ratisbon Colloquium, Melanchthon, Bucer and Pistorius proposed (1541) "That Confirmation comprise reminding, admonition, prayer, blessing and thanksgiving and be administered only to those of sufficient age, who had been well instructed before their first approach to the Lord's Supper. Thus constituted, they could and would readily consent that it be retained, and also allow the imposition of hands and the use of the sign of the cross in the blessing, as both these were unobjectionable observances and might suggest many good thoughts." In the Wittenberg Reformation (1545) prepared by Melanchthon, assisted by Caspar Cruciger and George Major with Luther's approval, demand was made for a thus purified order of Confirmation and provision made for its observance.

At the Augsburg Interim (1548) Confirmation was declared a sacrament, its necessity conceded and the apostolic institution of it and the right of bishops alone to administer it, were maintained. To this the Lutherans objected vigorously and at last at the Council of Trent, Lutheran Confirmation was condemned. Naturally the Lutheran theologians defended themselves and among much written at that period, nothing sets forth the Lutheran position so clearly as Martin Chemnitz' statements in his *Examen Concilii Tridentini* (Pt. 2 L. 3 *De Confirmatione*). He declares there that the Lutherans, after freeing the rite from all superstitions and useless superstructure, insist on a thorough indoctrination of the catechumens after which they are to be presented to the bishop and the Church. Then follows first, the admonition concerning the efficacy of holy baptism and the sealing of the promises therein by the entire Trinity, by which act was included a renunciation of Satan, a profession of faith and a promise of obedience. Second, by the catechumen himself, a personal public profession of this doctrine and faith. Third, a thorough examination in doctrine. Fourth, an admonition that this implies a

Digitized by Google

dissent from all heathen, heretical, fanatical and unholy opinions. Fifth, a weighty exhortation to persevere in the baptismal covenant. Sixth, public prayer, that God should be pleased by His Holy Spirit to govern, preserve, and confirm them in this profession. To this prayer might be added the imposition of hands, without any superstition. (Schmucker.)

The Catechism was adopted in all Lutheran lands and churches. There was a diligent instruction of those admitted for the first time to the Lord's Supper and a careful examination of their preparation, but a special act of Confirmation was left among the adiaphora or matters in which evangelical liberty was allowed. By many Lutherans Confirmation was not adopted, or, on account of interimistic and adiaphoristic controversies, positively rejected. By others it was retained, or its introduction desired, either because an ancient and wholesome usage, or in order to differ as little as possible from the Catholic Church, or for the maintenance of discipline. (Schmucker.)

As early as the 16th century we meet three distinct views of Confirmation, which differ according as they view the relative importance of the sacraments between which Confirmation logically stands and which are the two biblical pillars of churchly instruction, and as they view separately or emphasize specially the three essential and component parts of Confirmation, viz., Examination, Profession and Vow, Prayer (intercession) with imposition of hands. The first view is the *catechetical.* This is most closely connected with the Lutheran doctrine of the means of grace: Word and Sacraments. On the basis of baptism, the child is to be brought by instruction and training to the ability of giving a reason for the faith that is in it and when this end is reached, it is to be examined in church, is to affirm, confess and promise what the sponsors have done for it in baptism, and if it thus be proven prepared for the Lord's Supper, it is to be admitted to the same. Among the representatives of this view there is never any mention made of a renewal of the covenant of baptism, but only of a reminding of this covenant. Another view, just as old, may be denoted as the *sacramental* one, in so far as it lays stress on the third point in Confirmation: the prayer with the laying on of hands. It looks upon this as an act that is sacramental, bestowing grace and salvation. It appeals to Acts 8: 17; 19: 6, 2 Tim. 1: 6. It arose in such German churches as witnessed in their

Digitized by Google

midst, especially in the beginning of the Reformation, Swiss Reformed ideas and German Lutheran ideas in constant intermingling, and in which beside the desire to apply grace and salvation to men by churchly means, there was a secret distrust of the complete efficiency of infant baptism. According to this view Confirmation is the completion of baptism. (Cf. Kassel KO. 1539 where occurs for the first time the formula of benediction: "Receive the Holy Ghost, protection and defence from all evil, etc., etc.") A third view, in some instances approaching the sacramental view, is called the *church-disciplinary* view. According to this special stress is laid not as in the catechetical, on the examination, or as in the sacramental, on prayer and imposition of hands, but on the profession of faith and the vow connected with it. (Hessen—Kassel—Nassau.) This view looks upon the congregation of the baptized merely as the congregation of the called, from which the congregation of believers must be segregated. Thus Confirmation becomes the act by which a Christian is received into the narrower circle or congregation privileged to administer the power of the Church. This view depreciates baptism in favor of a churchly ordinance of human election, and leads to a separation or disjunction of the Church, which can not be admitted according to Art. VIII Conf. Augsb. Schmucker, in his article The Rite of Confirmation (Lutheran Church Review, April 1883) gives a list of the various KOO which either omit or reject Confirmation and those which adopt it and make provision for it. To give these lists, which have the merit of personal investigation by their author, would unduly swell the length of the present article but the following summary which Schmucker quotes from Bachmann, may perhaps be of interest, as presenting a brief geographical survey:—

"The original Lutheran churches (gnesio–Lutheran), that is, those of middle Germany distinctively, except Mansfield, know nothing of Confirmation as a special rite; it is found only in northern, western and southwestern Germany and there is not of universal acceptance. In Austria, in addition, it is found standing alone through the personal influence of Chytræus and with much opposition from congregations and pastors. In North Germany it was carried from Pomerania by Bugenhagen to Stralsund and from Brandenburg by the relation of the reigning houses to Brunswick, where afterwards Chemnitz secured and enlarged its preva-

Digitized by Google

lence. From Brunswick it passed to Hoya (Hannover). In the western countries it owed its acceptance partly to the Reformation of Cologne, but preeminently to Hesse, which under the influence of Strasburg, and especially of Francis Lambert, tended toward a Reformed type. Waldeck, Nassau and Lower Saxony received their order of Confirmation from Hesse." (Bachmann).

"The efforts for the restoration or introduction of Confirmation began here and there early in the seventeenth century and increased in energy until in and after Spener's time, they so influenced the action of the Church as to effect its official adoption in one land after another. Among its early advocates were Teleman Heshusius, Aeg. Hunnius, Polycarp Lyser, Leonh. Hutter, Fred Baldwin, Jno. Tarnow, Jno. Gerhard, Conr. Dietrich, Geo. Calixtus, Theoph. Grossgebauer, Martin Heinsius, and preeminently in practical efficiency, Jacob Spener." (Schmucker.)

It was Spener who after the middle of the 17th century introduced Confirmation. He based his views on the pietistic view of baptism, which in connection with 1 Peter 3: 21 is regarded more as a covenant between God and men, than a laver of regeneration, so that infant baptism necessarily appeared incomplete and defective. The key-word now became "renewal of the baptismal covenant" and this was to be accomplished by means of conversion (piercing of the heart), for which the time of Confirmation was deemed to be the most suitable time. The main stress was laid on the vow, which was regarded as a sign of conversion and renewal of the baptismal covenant. The universal practice was to appeal to the emotions of the children and to work with all available means to bring about a conversion (Die Bekehrung zum "Durchbruch" zu bringen).

Rationalism finally voided Confirmation of its churchly contents. The renewal of the baptismal covenant now became an actual covenant-pledging, which the child itself performed in Confirmation. In a strange contrast to this inner voiding, the rationalistic Confirmation appeared in very pretentious garb. The inner emptiness and shallowness was concealed by outward pomp; the children were dressed up; they were marched out in solemn procession, grouped theatrically and were made to perform their vow to the covenant of virtue in the most touching manner. In this form Confirmation found its way into most congregations and became a part of their church life. But the influences of rational-

Digitized by Google

ism upon Confirmation are seen also in another direction. While it had been officially adopted in various parts of Germany from 1646 to 1724, its actual insertion into the system of church life was not completed until the period of rationalism. In this period we find the regulations of age, time of the year, etc.; in it also the connection between Confirmation, catechisation and the public schools of Germany.

With the revival of religious life in the nineteenth century, Confirmation too, has had the gain of material advantages. Through this revival it received again its original import, and its relation to the sacraments once scripturally and confessionally established, has given its important parts correctly according to this relation. Still there is not yet a uniform view of the full meaning of Confirmation. The original three views of the 16th century have again found representatives, the sacramental view is defended by Villmar, the church-disciplinary view by Schleiermacher, Hoefling, von Hoffmann, Harnack, von Zezschwitz. The latter are influenced by the desire to prevent an unworthy participation in the Lord's Supper, and to protect the church from violence by unbelieving majorities.

This closes the outline of the liturgical history of Confirmation. The writer of the article has endeavored to trace the development of the rite in its details historically and in their relation to the doctrines of the Lutheran Church. One feature still might remain for inquiry, namely, the relation of Confirmation to the doctrines of the sacraments, of catechization and of Christian life, and the successive development of each detail bearing upon these relations, but that would unduly increase the extent of the article and might best be made the subject of further inquiry.

Authorities consulted:—SCHMUCKER: *Confirmation in the Lutheran Church;* LÖHE: *Liturgische Formulare;* SCHAEFER: *Evangelisches Volkslexikon;* HERZOG-PLITT: *Real Encyclopedia;* MEUSEL: *Kirchliches Handlexikon;* PALMER'S *Katechetik;* ZÖCKLER'S *Handbuch der theol. Wissenschaften;* KURTZ' *Church History;* etc., etc.

Chief Authorities:—BACHMANN: *Die Confirmation, etc.;* KLIEFOTH: *Bd. 3;* W. CASPARI: *Die evang. Confirmation.*

C. THEODORE BENZE.

Erie, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE CHURCH AND THE LITURGY.

THE subject indicated in the title of this paper—The Church and the Liturgy—is so broad that there is need to preface the discussion of the theme, with a few words of explanation and definition.

There have been two great epochs in the history of church doctrine, the *formative*—in which the self-consciousness of the Church was developed from its rudimentary form in the minds of the Apostolic Fathers and their immediate successors with the elaborate *corpora doctrinæ* of the later Middle Ages, and the *reformative*—in which the results of the earlier period were tested and sifted, emerging finally in the three or four types of dogmatic theology which are, in the main, the recognized standards of the present day. Similarly the liturgical idea has had its two epochs, the *formative*—during which the rudimentary liturgy, the earliest indications of which are found in the Didache, grew into the elaborate ritual of the Mediæval Church, and the *reformative*—in which that liturgy—subjected to the same criticism as its cotemporary doctrine, was tested and proved, emerging finally in the forms of worship used in the modern churches. This historical parallelism is not without its significance. It is, in fact, more than mere parallelism, for the two lines of development are closely related and the general relation is one of cause and effect. Unconscious this relation may at times have been, other than doctrinal considerations have certainly had their influence in liturgical development and practice, but the underlying principles of liturgical service, the decisive factors in moulding the Church's forms of worship have been neither artistic nor æsthetic but doctrinal, and the mere circumstance that the greatest diversity in methods of conducting public worship exists among those denominations which are most radically different in dogmatical bias, furnishes convincing testimony to this fact.

Now the doctrines which have most vitally affected the litur-

Digitized by Google

gy are four, viz., the Word, the Sacraments, the Church, and the Ministry; which fall into two groups, the first containing the logically precedent but historically subsequent pair—the Word and the Sacraments; the latter containing the logically subsequent but historically precedent pair—the Church and the Ministry. It is with this latter group that we shall attempt to deal, merely touching on the former when its importance is too great, or its bearing on the subject too obvious to be disregarded. The subject of this paper may, therefore, be more definitely stated as—"The Doctrines of the Church and the Ministry in Relation to the Liturgy." That such a relation actually exists and is widely recognized is shown by a practice current among the unthinking and theologically ignorant—unfortunately also among some who should know better—I mean the practice of using the term "High-church," the significance of which is essentially doctrinal, to denote a distinction in mere elaborations of ritual observance. The true relation, however, is an historical relation and must be treated as such. We shall therefore discuss our theme under the three heads:—A. The Formative Epoch, B. The Reformative Epoch, C. The Outcome.

A. THE FORMATIVE EPOCH.

I. THE DOCTRINES.

1. The Church.

a). It is doubtful whether in the earliest times there existed any clear conception of a universal church. Certain is it that for a long while there was no definitely stated doctrine of the Church in our modern sense. The unit of church organization seems to have been the individual Christian congregation, these congregations recognizing the right of other similar congregations to the name Christian, but acknowledging, after the death of the Apostles, no authority higher than that of their own local officers. What the exact form of organization in these churches may have been is yet to be determined and is a matter of small importance except as it throws light on the development of the doctrine of the ministry. This much, however, we do know: 1). In each congregation there were two classes of ministers, the bishops or presbyters, terms used interchangeably in the New Testament and earliest sub-apostolic writings as names for the

Digitized by Google

superior officers of the congregation, and deacons whose office was subordinate.*

2). In course of time there arose a distinction between the bishops and the presbyters, the name of Bishop being applied to only one man among the presbyters of each congregation.

b). In the conflict with Gnosticism the emphasis laid on purity of doctrine caused the first great advance in the doctrine of the Church. Faith in the truth becoming the important thing, all those who believed the truth as handed down from the Apostles were to be considered members of the Church, and thus the way was opened for a broader conception of church unity. At the same time the authority of the Bishop was extended, for he was designated the officer of the congregation whose special duty was to guard the pure doctrine of the Apostles. Thus a beginning was made in the gradual advancement of the Bishop to the chief place in the congregation, over which he became pastor, and the subordination of the presbyters to the secundary position of assistants.† So we find that early in the 3rd century the ruling conception of the Church was "the community of those who believe the truth," the Bishops, in addition to their pastoral office, standing as sponsors and guarantors of that truth.‡

c). The next considerable change in the idea of the Church was brought about by Callistus, Bishop of Rome 217–222, who asserted the right of interpreting and limiting the discipline of the Church as he saw fit, thus making membership in the Church to depend exclusively on the toleration of the Bishop, and the Church itself instead of the holy people of God became known as the society ruled by the Bishop who was now lord over life as well as over faith. It remained, however, for *Cyprian* (†258) to carry this idea to its conclusion and it was his view that proved the deciding factor in moulding the old Catholic doctrine of the Church into its final form. His doctrine may be briefly summarized as follows:—

1). The Bishop is the successor of the Apostles. §

* A full discussion of the ministry in the Early Church is to be found in Lightfoot, Appendix to *Comm. on Phil.* to which cf. Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, and Allen, *Christian Institutions*, Book I; Rothe, *Anfaenge d. Christenthums*, though old (1837) is still valuable.

† Cf. Hatch, in *Dict. Chris. Ant.* Art. *Priest.*

‡ Cf. Seeburg, *Dogmengeschichte*, I. 133.

§ The view of Irenaeus.

Digitized by Google

2). According to Matt. 16: 18, the Church is therefore built upon the Bishop, who is both a priest and "a judge in place of Christ." As priest he conducts service and offers sacrifice on the altar, and as judge decides on all questions of church membership and reinstatement.

3). The Bishops form the *collegium episcopatus* in whose unity consists the unity of the church. In this *collegium* the Bishop of Rome holds the highest place as he is successor of St. Peter.

4). Rebellion against the Bishop is therefore rebellion against God. *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.*

Thus obedience to the Bishop, not faith in Christ, is made the condition of membership in the Church, and the Church itself becomes an institution founded on law instead of a community based on faith. There needed only Augustin's distinction between the visible and invisible Church to silence critics and afford theological justification, and the conversion of an Emperor to give an opportunity for the advance of Rome and Constantinople, and the hierarchical system was ready for occupancy, the "Catholic" doctrine of the Church was practically complete.

2. The Ministry.

The doctrine of the Ministry, as we have seen, was closely connected with the development of the doctrine of the Church, each step of that development being, in fact, the result of a preceding advance in the conception of the Episcopate, but there is one important feature on which we have barely touched. We have seen that Cyprian made much of the idea that the Bishop was a priest. The sacerdotal idea was not new with him, however. Clement of Rome had previously compared the Christian minister to the Old Testament priest, and Origen and Tertullian had applied the term *sacerdos* to Bishops and Presbyters, but there is nothing to show that they regarded the clergy as a separate class, and the original idea of the priesthood of all Christians still maintained itself, preventing any sharp line of distinction between clergy and laity. But Cyprian declared the Bishop to be a priest in a special sense. All the ministerial functions, therefore, belonged of right to him, and without the express authorization of a Bishop no one could hold office in the Church or perform any official acts. Such authorization, however, was conferred in *ordination*, by which men were set apart for those duties, and ordi-

Digitized by Google

nation thenceforth became the line of distinction between clergy and laity, the clergy being thus constituted a separate class and the convenient analogy of the Levitical priesthood was used to legitimate this new Christian order. From this time on the Christian minister was a "priest," and the doctrine invented by Augustin, of a *character indelibilis*, conveyed in ordination was later used to give material ground for the distinction.*

3. Sacrifice.

The sacrificial is a necessary corollary of the sacerdotal idea. The sacrificial conception contained in the doctrine of universal Christian priesthood was of course eucharistic. The Christian sacrifices were faith, obedience and righteousness, which attained visible expression in prayer and charity. That there was from the first a special sacrificial idea connected with the Lord's Supper is undeniable. The congregations brought to the Agape its "oblations" of bread and wine—the offerings for charity were also included in the oblations—and the bread and wine so offered were then used in the Lord's Supper, but the "sacrifice" was made by the congregation as an expression of thanks, symbolic of the yielding to God of heart and life commanded by St. Paul (Rom. 12: 1). The idea of propitiatory sacrifice found its first clear expression in Tertullian's conception of asceticism as an atoning sacrifice, but it remained for Cyprian's doctrine of the priesthood to give the Church a new sacrificial idea. If the priesthood is a specific order it must offer a specific sacrifice. This sacrifice, which the layman cannot offer, is the Mass, and the Mass is the *passio domini*, even the *sanguis Christi* and *hostia dominica*. Though Cyprian, and even Augustin, was not quite clear as to the real object in the sacrifice the natural outcome was to regard every celebration of the Lord's Supper as a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ and to attach to it a full propitiatory value. † When the doctrine of transubstantiation had been adopted to justify this view the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Mass was essentially complete.

Throughout this line of development there runs one consistent idea. It was all a part of that process of externalization

* Cf. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* I. 420 ff. Hatch, Art. *Ordination* and *Priest*, Dict. Christ. Ant.

† Cf. Harnack, DG. I. 422. Seeburg, DG. I. 153 ff. *Real-Encyclopedie*, Art. *Messopfer*, also Hoefling, *Die Lehre d. aelt. Kirche v. Opfer*, Erlangen 1851.

Digitized by Google

which was to mean so much for the subsequent history of the church, exalting its temporal power at the expense of spiritual life, sacrificing the pure ideal for a glittering but empty reality. It belonged to what Harnack has well called the "*Ethnisirung*" of the church.

II. THE LITURGY.

We pass, next, to the influence of these doctrines upon the liturgy, and here we meet a much mooted question:

1. *What was the earliest form of worship?* *

a). It is quite impossible to answer this question explicitly, for our knowledge of the most ancient rituals depends entirely upon a few brief fragments, but from the traces of liturgy in the Didache and Justin Martyr we know that the formal Christian worship was at first an accompaniment of the Agape or evening meal, and that it must have been, in the main, an adaptation of the Jewish synagogue service with the addition of the Lord's Supper. It seems to have comprised the following elements:—Reading of Scripture, Sermon, Prayer, Consecration by Εὐχαριστία, or Prayer of Thanksgiving, of bread and wine selected from the oblations, Distribution and Communion.

b). In course of time the Lord's Supper was separated from the Agape, and as the Christian communities increased in numbers it became necessary to guard the Communion more closely. Bearing originally the name "Mystery," it is likely that the example of the Greek Mysteries, from which the uninitiated were excluded, had some influence on the Christian practice,† but, at all events, only those who had been baptized and were not under discipline were allowed to be present at the celebration, which was known as the *missa fidelium*. But in order that those under discipline and those who were candidates for baptism might not be entirely deprived of participation in the service, the *missa fidelium* was preceded by a homiletic and didactic service known as the *missa catechumenorum* at which all were present.

This is the form that is found in the earliest complete litur-

* A list of works bearing on this subject is to be found in Allen, Lect. on *Primitive Liturgy* in *Christian Worship*, Scribner's, 1897.

† A full discussion in Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures for 1897*, Scribner's, though Hatch is an extremist on this point.

Digitized by Google

gies that have come down to us. When the liturgy assumed this form we cannot say definitely since until after the conversion of Constantine the liturgy belonged to the *disciplina arcani*, and was held a profound secret, but it is likely that some such form had been reached by the year 250—the time of Cyprian.

2. *The influence of Church Doctrine.*

a). The "Catholic" conception of the Church directly established the theory that whatever liturgical form authorized by the Church—i. e. by the Bishops—might be, that form must be *jure divino* binding. Thus Christian worship was deprived of one of its greatest prerogatives, the freedom to choose the medium of expression best suited to its own spirit, and while the consequences of this deprivation may not have been immediately apparent they were far-reaching, and to the present day this theory remains the root of ritual formalism.

b). The "Catholic" conception of the ministry as a priesthood had a still greater effect, which made its appearance in three prominent ways:

1). It made public worship a ceremony performed exclusively by the priest in which the people were allowed only the part of silent spectators.

2). It caused all the emphasis of the public service to fall upon the sacrifice of the Mass, forcing the reading and preaching of the Word into the background.

3). Making of the Lord's Supper a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ it opened the way for the introduction of Pagan and Jewish elements into the service. The ceremonies borrowed from the Temple service, prominent among which are the vestments of the priests, carried of course, the authority of the Old Dispensation, but in the "Catholic" theory there was no pomp or ceremony of Pagan sacrifice which could not be introduced into the ritual for Christian worship, since the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ so far surpassed in dignity and meaning the sacrifices to the heathen gods. Where no analogy could be found in the Old Testament these practices were legitimated by investing them with some symbolic meaning. Thus the Mass became laden with unchristian and anti-christian elements centering around the doctrine of the priesthood, and the result was the Mass of the Middle Ages which differs in no essential feature from the Roman Mass of the present day.

Digitized by Google

B. THE REFORMATIVE EPOCH.

I. THE DOCTRINES.

The completion of the course of doctrinal development the beginnings of which have been sketched was a slow process. It took a thousand years to carry the premises of Cyprian to their logical conclusion. But after Ecumenical Councils and Church Synods had converted earlier doctrine into dogma and the scholastic theologians had elaborated and interpreted these dogmas into imposing systems, the result was only a stronger indorsement of the position of Cyprian, reinforced by the theology of Augustin and still further clinched by the acknowledged supremacy of Rome. Along with a theoretical distinction between the visible and invisible Church went the practical contention that the visible Church possessed by virtue of divine institution all the characteristics and prerogatives of the invisible. The Church was conceived as a divinely appointed earthly organization administered by a priesthood, whose forms were practically unlimited. This priesthood formed a hierarchy in which the Pope was the high-priest, to whom, as the representative of God and the earthly vicar of Christ, the individual was in all respects absolutely subject, not only in matters of faith and doctrine but in every thing that had to do with his daily life.

The Reformation was in this respect a protest against this conception of the Church, and stands for the emancipation of the individual from the domination of the institution. It brought to light an idea of the Church, new and yet closely approximating the most ancient conception of the Church as the holy people of God. Time forbids detailed discussion of all the factors which entered into the Reformation doctrine of the church and we shall content ourselves with a brief sketch of Luther's doctrine which, though differing in detail from those of the Swiss Reformers, may be considered essentially representative. On the doctrine of the ministry, however, the divergence is so great as to call for separate treatment.

1. The Church.

a). Luther begins with the Augustinian doctrine of an invisible Church, which is the Church in the proper sense of the word,—the *essential* in contradistinction to the *empirical* Church. It is invisible only in the sense that the members of this essential

Digitized by Google

church are unknown to all but God. Is it, therefore, no earthly organization and contains no hierarchy; it is the "communion" or "congregation of saints," and the saints are those who in true faith receive and acknowledge Christ as their Lord. There are only two factors necessary to the existence of this Church—the Word of God and individuals to receive it—and individual reception is the sole condition of membership.

b). On the other hand, since the Word is necessary to the existence of the essential Church there must be some means of preserving and communicating the Word. This is the function of the visible or *empirical* Church which is the congregation of confessors of Christ, to which is committed the oral and sacramental administration of the Word. The existence of the Church in this sense depends not on form or continuity of organization, but solely on the fulfilment of its original purpose—i. e. the application of Christ to individuals through the medium of Word and Sacraments.*

Where these means are rightly used the Church exists regardless of form of organization; where they are neglected the Church does not exist, the organization may continue but it is no longer the Church. The "marks" by which the true Church—empirically considered—is to be known are therefore the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments.

c). Furthermore, since the Word of God is always efficacious, the presence of these "marks" of the empirical Church is the guarantee of the presence of the essential Church. There has been no age in which the Church has been without the guidance of the Holy Spirit. One result of the Spirit's guidance appears in the tradition of the Church, but that tradition must be tested by the Word of God. All that is found to be contrary to the Word must be rejected as human invention, but that which is not contrary to the Word should be received. It is this doctrine that makes Luther's Reformation so essentially conservative, forbidding the wholesale rejection of the legacy of the preceding centuries of Christianity.

2. *The Ministry.*

Luther's doctrine of the Ministry develops logically from

* An admirable outline of Luther's doctrine of the Church is to be found in Seeburg, DG. II. 277 ff. to which cf. Koestlin, *Theology of Luther* (Eng. trans.) II. 538 ff.

Digitized by Google

his doctrine of the Church. Since the Word and the Sacraments —which are significant only as they apply the Word—are put into the hands of the Church they are the property not of any one class of the Church's members but of the whole Church. By virtue of his faith in Christ every Christian is a priest, whose duty is to proclaim the Word, but in order that the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments may not suffer, it is necessary that men properly qualified shall be appointed in due order by the Church, to whom shall be committed the duty of representing the congregation in public functions—the public preaching, administration of the Sacraments and pastoral duties. These men are to be looked upon not as an order, a separate class who derive from ordination a specifically priestly character, but merely as the office holders or properly authorized public servants of the congregation, from which alone they derive their right of ministration. This conception of the Ministry as an office meant of course the absolute denial of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the priesthood and all that went with it.

3. Before concluding this survey a word is necessary touching the Calvinistic doctrines which bear on our subject.

a). Calvin insisted strongly on the distinction between the invisible Church—which he called the congregation of the elect—and the visible or empirical Church. Holding as he did the possibility of the ineffectual preaching of the Word, he could not make the existence of the empirical Church depend entirely upon the presence of the Word of God, as did Luther, and was obliged to fall back upon a divinely instituted ministry to ensure the existence of the Church. He rejected the priesthood of the clergy—maintaining the divine institution of the presbyterate instead—and affirmed emphatically the spiritual priesthood of the elect, but never disassociated the empirical Church from the idea of the institutional ministry.

b). There is also one other doctrine of Calvin's which touches closely on our subject and that is his conception of the Word of God. Starting as he does with the idea of God as absolute, sovereign Will, he is obliged to regard the Scriptures primarily as the revelation of God's Will, therefore God's Law, and this legalistic conception pervades his entire system.*

* Cf. Seeburg, DG. II. 398 ff.

Digitized by Google

II. THE LITURGY.

The question now arises, what influence had these doctrines on the Reformation of the liturgy? And the question is not easy to answer. The Reformation in doctrine and liturgy was a process differing radically from the process which formed doctrine and liturgy. The formative process was evolution. Starting with a mass of comparatively vague ideas, the conditions of the Church's life rendered the definition now of one, now of another phase of doctrine necessary, and thus the emergence of the doctrine and its assimilation into a system was the work of centuries. The formation of the liturgy was a similar process. Small and simple in its beginnings, each succeeding age added its contribution to the forms of worship until the sum was complete. The reformative process however, was criticism. Starting with one or two fundamental principles which were treated as criteria, it applied them in rapid succession to every feature of the Catholic system. Every truly reformative conception, therefore, either in doctrine or practice, bears the marks of those doctrines which were used as the standards of criticism. The great criterion with all the Reformers was the Word. Luther began with Justification and by it his conception of the Word is conditioned; Calvin began with the doctrine of Predestination, and with that in view formed his conception of the Word. Both Luther and Calvin then applied the latter doctrines to the Church as they found it. Thus, as we have seen, Luther's doctrines of Church and Ministry are the direct outcome of his doctrine of the Word and the same is true of his conception of the liturgy. He believed that every public service had but one aim—the proclamation and application of the Word—to which all else was subordinate, but despite the direct influence which this doctrine had on his liturgical conception we find indisputable traces of the doctrines with which we are dealing.

That this may be more fully apparent it may be well to state briefly Luther's idea—which remains the Lutheran idea—of the service:—The service is a service of the congregation, led or conducted by the representative whom they have chosen, in which all the members are not only privileged but bound in duty, as one of the functions of spiritual priests, to take part. The essential factors of the service are the Word and the sacraments, the ritual setting in which they are placed belonging to the non-essentials, to be determined by the time, place, circumstances and

Digitized by Google

leeds of the congregation. The Church has no authority to command the observance in the service of anything save what God's Word expressly commands, i. e. Word and Sacrament; on the other hand the Church has no authority to forbid the observance of any ordinances save such as are contrary to God's Word or tend to obscure and obstruct the pure administration of Word and Sacraments; but it is the privilege of the Church to recommend for use those forms of public worship which history has developed as expressions of the idea of worship, and which are found to be not contrary to the Word of God.

What place Luther's doctrines of Church and Ministry have in this theory may be clearly seen:

a). His rejection of the specific priesthood of the clergy and his affirmation of the priesthood of all believers is evidenced in the importance he attaches to the fact that the service is the service of the congregation and the large significance he lays upon their participation, a pertinent illustration of which is found in the stress which he laid on the hymn in the service.

b). His rejection of the formal idea of the Church appears in small emphasis which he lays on the rigidity of the forms of service. The Church, he believes, depends on no form of organization for its existence but only on the presence within it of Word and Sacrament; so the service is a true service without the use of prescribed forms, if only the Word and Sacraments are administered.

c). The essential conservatism of Luther's doctrine of the Church is seen in his liturgical conservatism. If the Church has always had the Spirit of God then the forms of worship long used by the Church are not to be lightly cast aside merely because they have been misused or have been covered over with false ideas. They are to be tested and proved by the Word of God. If contrary to the Word of God they must be rejected; if not, they should be retained.

d). Finally Luther's doctrinal position is reflected in his absolute disregard for rules of liturgical practice. The kind and extent of ceremonial usage practiced in any congregation was a matter of utter indifference to him. Personally, he could not conceive that such accessories as incense, tapers, vestments and processions could affect the purpose of the service in any way so long as the pure Word was preached. It remained for the adia-

Digitized by Google

phoristic controversy to discuss, and the Formula of Concord to decide the principle that such ceremonial might have a serious effect on the service, but that where it did not tend to interfere with the pure Word or obscure the pure conception of the Sacraments, its use was optional with the congregation.*

So much for the influence of Lutheran doctrine on the liturgy. Space forbids a similar treatment of the Calvinistic influence which will, however, be touched upon later. We pass on to a view of the latest development of the liturgy.

C. THE OUTCOME.

The real meaning of the Reformative epoch can only be understood after a survey of its results. The criticism of the Reformative time furnished the Protestant Churches with an aggregate of doctrine and practice which the intervening centuries have busied themselves with assimilating and interpreting. The results have been similar to those which attended the development of the formative period, in so far that the doctrines have been crystallized into dogmas, and the dogmas elaborated into systems, while the practical life of the Protestant Churches,—one side of which the liturgy represents—has also attained fairly definite form. Excluding the Greek Church, which followed an independent line of development, the liturgical result has been to give the world four distinct types of Christian worship.

1. The first of these is the Roman Mass which retains all the distinctive features of the Middle Ages. It is based on the same externalizing conception of the Church which permits it to prescribe invarying forms for even the smallest parts of the liturgy; it centers around the same doctrine of priesthood of the clergy and exhibits the same pagan attitude toward the sacrifice of the Mass. It is enriched with all the beauty of symbolic art and surrounded by all the pomp and ceremony of the empire under which it grew. It is artistically beautiful and æsthetically impressive, but it is a spectacle rather than a form of worship.

2. The second type is that which finds its expression in the ideal Lutheran service. It centers around the Word of God, and rests upon the conception of the Church as the congregation in

* On this subject see *Formula of Concord* Chap. X, and Frank, *Theologie d. Concordienformels.*

Digitized by Google

which every member is a priest, who has his part in all the service. It lays all the emphasis upon the two essentials—Word and Sacrament, and while providing the forms which the constant practice of a thousand years has shown most helpful and the rigid test of God's Word has sanctioned, it allows the widest liberty in the use of whatever forms may be best suited, in any given case, to the fullest expression of the idea and the most perfect fulfilment of the purpose of public worship. It lacks the artistic symbolism and sensuous ceremonial of the Roman Mass, but in simplicity, unity of purpose, and power to express and satisfy the needs of the heart, it is the nearest approximation to what we believe to be the highest ideal of Christian worship. Doctrinally it differs from the Roman Mass in its fundamental conception of the unity and authority of the Church and in the conception of the clerical priesthood and the sacrifice, no less than in the estimate it places on the Word.

3. The third type is the so-called "non-liturgical," and is the child of Calvinism. Following Calvin's legalistic conception of the Word of God to which reference has previously been made, it disregards set forms of worship because it fails to find them expressly commanded in Holy Scripture. Emphasizing the divine institution of the ministry but affirming the universal priesthood, it makes the pleasure of the minister the rule of the liturgy and subordinates everything to the sermon, sacrificing depth of feeling, beauty of meaning and unity of worship—everything to the pedagogical element. Its great doctrinal anthesis to Rome is the doctrine of the Church; to Lutheranism its doctrine of the Word.

4. A fourth type remains. It is the Anglican. What it represents is difficult to say, for it represents so many things. The doctrine of the Church and the liturgy are in fact the only basis of unity in the Anglican Communion, and both are differently interpreted by the two great Anglican schools. To the Low-Church Anglican the liturgy means very nearly what the Lutheran liturgy means to us. He holds a doctrine of the Church that is "Catholic" in the sense that it lays stress on the external form of the Church; he holds, in theory at least, a doctrine of the priesthood of the clergy which he fails to carry consistently into his liturgy; he retains the ancient forms of worship purged of their non-Christian elements and believes them binding because they are the latest authorized by his Church. But his Church

Digitized by Google

doctrine and his liturgical practice are inconsistent, and his practice is better than his doctrine.

The High-Church Anglican, on the other hand, is more consistent, but he presents a peculiar problem. To what extent is his doctrine the result of his liturgical practice, and conversely, how much of his practice depends directly upon his doctrine? He holds with great tenacity to the Cyprianic conception of Church and Ministry. "The Church" is the Church founded on the successors of the Apostles, who are the Bishops; the clergy is an order, a specific priesthood offering the specific sacrifice of the Mass; the fact that the Church in its formative period surrounded the Mass with high ceremonial affords him abundant reason for using the same ceremonies; he fills his service with the same symbolism and strives for the same imposing æsthetic effect that is seen in the Roman Mass; he puts the Word of God into the same relatively unimportant place and reads his lessons in Latin when he dares. His liturgy is in fact the Roman Mass with Rome left out. He has long since discarded his Church's doctrinal confession and professed to find his doctrine in his Prayer Book; now he has altered the liturgy of his Prayer Book and appealed to the Ecumenical Councils and the "unbroken tradition of the Church." Laughed at by Rome, disowned by his own denomination, he is consistent with himself but with nothing else under Heaven. These are the two extremes and the Anglican Church exhibits every shade of doctrine and practice which can exist between them.

If the limits of such a paper as this were coextensive with the limits of the subject it would be interesting to go a step farther and note how closely the worship of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the present day corresponds to type, and in what degree variations are due to doctrinal influence, but space and time forbid. Permit me, however, in conclusion to touch upon a very important question that connects directly with the subject in hand and is a matter of practical moment to all of us.

It is evident to all that the Lutheran Church in America is leaving the period of liturgical infancy and will soon enter the stage of adolescence. As the appreciation of our liturgy broadens and deepens, its use becomes more wide-spread and more intelligent. The question, Shall we use the liturgy?—a burning question within the memory of all save the youngest of us—is pass-

Digitized by Google

ing, and in its place the question is rising,—How shall we use the liturgy? There are some who feel that the liturgy should be used in its simplest form, with as few accessories as possible; there are others who believe that the use of such accessories as may serve to interpret and emphasize its meaning is a distinct gain; there are some who would make use of every ceremonial precedent which the Lutheran store-houses of Germany, Denmark and Sweden—and they are capacious—contain. There is a strong feeling in certain quarters that a limit should be set. Who is to set the limit? Consistently with Lutheran doctrine the Church has no legislative jurisdiction in the matter. It dare not prescribe a minimum limit save that prescribed in its doctrine, i. e., the presence of Word and Sacrament, and just as little has it authority to say: "Thus far and no farther." In either case it trespasses on Christian liberty by making an issue of an adiaphoron and so does violence to its own doctrine. But there is a limit and it is already set. It lies in the doctrine of the Word. All that is contrary to God's Word must be summarily rejected; and whatever tends to cover over the clear teaching of the Word or to interfere with the pure conception of the Sacraments is, in effect, contrary to God's Word. If liturgical practice needs regulation let it be governed by a few safe rules. 1) No accessory of the liturgy should be used unless it has a clear meaning. 2) That meaning must be understood by the congregation; 3) must bear directly upon the interpretation of the liturgy, and 4) must be consistent with Lutheran doctrine. Uniformity of practice cannot be enforced, nor is it desirable, since the varying needs and circumstances of different congregations call for a diversity of administration. In uniformity of doctrine and in that alone the Church finds its true unity—that unity of the Spirit which is the bond of peace.

CHARLES M. JACOBS.

North Wales, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE CHURCH PRAYER.

THIS title sufficiently denotes that the object of our paper is to examine and describe the prayer of the believing people of God in their assemblies for Christian worship, and not the general subject of prayer, or its particular use in relation to the individual disciple. It is not the question of how "*thou* when thou prayest" art to enter thy closet and shut the door and pray to the Father in secret, but the question answered by our Lord when He said, "when *ye* pray, say, *Our* Father."

The distinctive grounds for Christian public or common prayer are to be found in the giving of the injunction and the form for such prayer by our Lord, in Matt. vi, and Luke xi, and in the passages Matt. xviii, 19, I Tim. ii, 1–4, and the several instances of the practice of united prayer found in Acts i, 13, 14; ii, 46, etc.

It will be interesting and instructive to look with some detail at the earliest examples of the use and place of prayer in congregational worship.

THE GENERAL PRAYER.

The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians * presents, at some length, the prayer of the Roman congregation at Rome about the year 96 A. D. The prayer is not presented as a mere incident of the Epistle, but has an important relation to the whole, which may be said to lead up to it. It bears all the marks of a careful composition. Balance and rhythm are carefully studied, and almost every alternate expression is selected and adapted from some part of the Old Testament. It is distinctly a general prayer. Beginning with an elaborate invocation of God, arranged, for the most part, in antithetical sentences, there follow special intercessions for the needy, the wanderers, the hungry, the prisoners, etc.

* Appendix, Lightfoot, p. 269.

Digitized by Google

After this comes a general confession of sins and prayer for forgiveness and help. It closes with a prayer for unity, (especially appropriate in view of the tone of the whole Epistle), "Give concord and peace to us and to all that dwell on the earth, as Thou gavest to our fathers when they called upon Thee." After this comes an intercession for rulers. The whole closes with a doxology.

The prayer, again, may be analyzed as consisting of two parts, each beginning with a hymn to God. The first part has ten petitions, for the needy and suffering of every sort. The second part has nine petitions, essentially related to the development of the moral life, through the forgiveness of sins, and increase of spiritual strength.*

Lightfoot concludes from the examination of the prayer that "there was at this time no authoritative written liturgy in use in the church at Rome, but the prayers were modified at the discretion of the officiating minister. Under the dictation of habit and experience, however, these prayers were gradually assuming a fixed form."

As the prayer is found in an Epistle, and not in connection with any account of the regular order of worship in the Church, we have no indication of its place in the liturgy.

Justin Martyr, (b. 114, d. 165 A. D.), living at Rome when he wrote, gives an account in two passages, of the worship of the Church at his time. The liturgy, as he describes it, consisted of 1. The reading of "*the Memoirs of the Apostles or the Writings of the Prophets.*"

2. *The Sermon*, "the president verbally instructs."

3. *Prayer*, "then we all rise together and pray."

4. *The Oblation*, "bread and wine and water are brought to the president."

5. *Prayer of Thanksgiving*, "the president, in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability, and the people assent, saying, Amen." †

The prayer following the sermon, of whose contents nothing is said in the connection above, is further described in another place, ‡ where he tells of the welcome given to the newly baptized, who is to be brought to the place "where those who are

* Meusel's *Handlexikon, sub. v. Kirchengebet.*

† *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. I. p. 186. ‡ Ibid, p. 185.

Digitized by Google

called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for the baptized person and for all others, in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our works also to be good citizens and keepers of the commandments so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation." After the prayer the kiss of peace is given, and then the order of the service is identical with that just given.

In the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, ch. 10, a work ascribed to a period as early as 120 A. D., the order of the celebration of the Eucharist is described as including first, a prayer of thanksgiving concerning the cup, then concerning the broken bread. Then, "after ye are filled," (an expression which seems to render it evident that the Agape is understood as preceding), another giving of thanks takes place. The form here supplied includes thanks for God's name, for knowledge, faith and immortality made known through Jesus His servant, for the creation of all things, for spiritual food and drink, and concludes, "Remember Thy Church, deliver, make perfect, gather it from the four winds, sanctified, into Thy Kingdom."

The Apostolic Constitutions, (from the close of the third century, but undoubtedly representing largely the usage of an earlier date), offer us the "earliest form in which liturgical arrangement, to any extent, is found." In the second book of the *Constitutions*,* one account of the Eucharistic liturgy is found.

The order given is, first, the Scriptures are read. Then the presbyters and bishop exhort, and after this, all rise, and looking toward the East, after the penitents and catechumens have gone out, pray to God, eastward. The oblations, the announcements, "Let no one have any quarrel against another," "Let no one come in hypocrisy" and the kiss of peace follow, and then the deacon prays for the whole Church, for the whole world and the several parts of it, and for the fruits of it, for the priests and the rulers, for the high priest and the king, and for the peace of the universe. After this the "high priest" prays for peace upon the people, and blesses them with the O. T. benediction. Then the bishop prays for the people, and says: "Save Thy people, O Lord, and bless Thine inheritance which Thou hast obtained with the precious blood of Thy Christ, and hast called a royal priesthood

* *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, pp. 421, 422.

Digitized by Google

and an holy nation." "After this let the sacrifice follow, the people standing and praying silently. And when the oblation has been made let every rank by itself partake of the Lord's body and precious blood in order, and approach with reverence and holy fear, as to the body of their King."

The eighth book is regarded as of later date than the others, but in the character of its material and the influence it had upon later forms of devotion, it is of great significance. It presents a much fuller form of worship, in which the exceedingly large place given to prayer, and the great length of many of the prayers is very noticeable. It may be thus summarized:

1. *Scripture Reading*, from the "Law, Prophets, Epistles, Acts and Gospels."

2. *Salutation*, in the form of the N. T. Benediction, and *Response*, "And with thy spirit."

3. *Exhortation.*

4. *Dismissal of the Unbelievers.*

5. *Bidding Prayer for the Catechumens*, who are then dismissed.

6. *Bidding Prayer for Energumens.* Both these prayers are to be said by the deacon. After each is a prayer by the bishop, and the dismissal of those prayed for, the following prayers after the same manner.

7. *Bidding Prayer for the Baptized.* Prayer by the bishop. Dismissal.

8. *Bidding Prayer for the Penitents.* Prayer by the bishop. Dismissal.

9. *Bidding Prayer for the Faithful.* This is a truly General Prayer. The people are called upon to pray for the world, all the holy churches, the Catholic and Apostolic Church, the parish in this place, every bishop and our bishop, other bishops and parishes named, for presbyters, deacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows and orphans, for all in the Church, for those in marriage and child-bearing, the sick, those that travel by water or by land, those in the mines, in banishments, prisons or bonds, in bitter servitude, for enemies and persecutors, for wanderers, for infants of the Church, and for one another.

10. *The "High Priest" Prays.* His prayer, however, not being nearly so long as the bidding prayer, nor taking up its objects in detail.

Digitized by Google

11. *Salutation*, "the peace of God be with you all," *and Response.*

12. *The Kiss.*

13. *Salutation and Response* as at first.

14. *The Sursum Corda.*

15. *The Preface*, continuing without interruption into the *Thanksgiving*. Of extreme length, containing within it, and as a part of it, the Consecration and Oblation.

16. *Another Bidding Prayer for the Faithful*, general in its character, followed by prayer by the bishop.

17. *Distribution.*

18. *Bidding Prayer.*

It is noteworthy, in comparing this liturgy with later ones, that it lacks the Lord's Prayer.*

The liturgies of St. James, (Palestine), of St. Mark, (Alexandria), of St. John, (Gallican, Mozarabic and Ephesian), and of St. Peter, (Roman), all begin with a prefatory prayer; the first two provide for a prayer after the Lections, and the first three put the prayer variously referred to as the "prayer for all conditions," the "prayer for the Church Militant," or the "prayer for the Church," in much the same relative position in reference to the whole service.

A glance at the material cited indicates that in the early worship of the Church common prayer had a recognized and prominent place. Its purpose and spirit were fully apprehended. Cyprian's statement, "*Publica est nobis et communis oratio, et quando oramus, non pro uno, sed pro toto populo oramus quia totus populus unum sumus*" is exemplified in all the forms which have remained to us. "The Church prayer always regards the need of the whole congregation, and therefore maintains a certain spiritual tone. According to their content and form the oldest congregational prayers that have come to us bear this character, as well as those in the agenda of the century of the Reformation. Not until the time of Pietism was the appreciation of the distinction between the subjectively-christian, and the churchly prayer gradually lost. The Illumination, however, no longer had any idea of what true prayer is." †

The distinction, referred to in the quotation, between the

* *Apostol. Const. Ante-Nicene Fathers*, book VIII, p. 483, ff.

† Harnack, in *Zoeckler's Handbuch*, Vol. IV. p. 432.

Digitized by Google

subjective prayer of the Christian, in his private devotion, and the prayer of the collected congregation is one that is of essential importance if this part of the public service is to be rendered in appropriate form and spirit. To confuse the scope and object of the two sorts of prayer is to impair seriously the beauty and fitness of our worship. Nothing can be more necessary than private prayer. Where there is no true, spontaneous reaching out of the inner life toward God, telling Him of the burden and trial, beseeching Him for the relief and defence needed, imploring His grace and goodness, laying before Him the perplexities and asking Him to give the promised guidance, there is no true life of the soul.

But there is a life of the Church which is as true and as much to be recognized as the life of the individual. The Church is an organism not an organization. It is the one body of the One Head. It has its own needs, its own duties, its own necessity for worship. Hence have arisen its own forms of worship, for it is evident that the Church as such cannot worship acceptably and unitedly through any form which is not framed to suit its needs, but which is merely the expression of the subjective condition of the one who leads its devotions. Hence the value of the fixed forms which have been subject to criticism and have been proven by the test of actual use, which being known to the congregation, and before their eyes, enable them to follow and to participate, as they could not do in any form of words arising in the mind of the person who was directing their worship. An extemporaneous phraseology has no advantage, because, for the most part, the things for which the Church is bound to pray are the same from time to time. The need of confession, of thanksgiving, of intercession, of supplication for the welfare of God's people, for the ingathering of the wandering, for the rulers, for the distressed and the oppressed, is a constant need, and cannot be voiced in more beautiful and appropriate language than that in which for centuries the Church has given it expression. The distinction must be made between the Christian in his closet praying, pouring out before God, in spontaneous speech, all his private fears and hopes and needs, on the one hand; and, on the other, the worshipping congregation, uttering its common supplications, and it is the failure to make this distinction, that so often results in the entire lack of a true General Prayer, and in

Digitized by Google

the painful spectacle of a pastor ignoring and misinterpreting his office and duty, as the mouth-piece of the congregation, putting some desires and hopes of his own, or even some moralings over the Sermon he has just preached, in the place that belongs to the people for their common prayer. And it is the ignorance of this distinction on the part of the people that is the ground for whatever prejudice may yet be found against a form of prayer for congregational use. In the closet we could never consent to confine our prayers to forms. There the heart must speak out in the words that the changing circumstances and duties and sins of every day suggest, there is the place for our personal entreaties and for the utterance in His sympathizing ear of what we could say in no human ear, and of what none else could say for us. God forbid that we should underestimate or fail to use that precious privilege. But when we assemble as the Church,

"Our hopes, our fears, our aims are one,
Our comforts and our cares,"

and we lose much if we do not understand the meaning of our common worship, or if we throw away the perfect forms in which our fathers have enshrined the common aspirations of the Church in the past, and the present and the future, until Jesus comes again.

The ancient authorities also indicate, as the proper place for the General Prayer, that which it holds in the Common Service, between the Sermon and the Communion. The posture was that of standing.

From the time of Gregory the Great the Church Prayer as an especial act of worship disappears, having been pushed close to the Consecration and offering of the Sacrament, under the influence of the development of the sacrificial idea of the Mass and of the thought that prayer offered in the offering of the Mass would be sure of an answer.* The Reformation brings back the Church Prayer into the chief service, and, with few exceptions into the proper place, providing different forms when the Lord's Supper was celebrated and when it was omitted. The Reformed Churches, in their Orders, without exception prescribe that a formulated Church Prayer be read from the pulpit at each service. In the *Deutsche Messe* Luther gave a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer which the Pastor was to read at the altar, after the Sermon and

* Cf. Horn, *Liturgics.*

Digitized by Google

before the Consecration. Almost all the Lutheran Orders give a form of the General Prayer, to be read from the pulpit, while a few, only, leave it to the pastor to extemporize. This is in case the Lord's Supper is to follow. When there are no communicants the Prayer is to be read at the altar and in a form in which the congregation actively participates; praying with the pastor, the Litany, (in Luther's improved form), or the Da pacem, or, in special cases, singing the Te Deum.*

THE LITANY.

The term Litany, (from λιτὴ, λίσσομαι), used by the pagans for a supplicatory form of worship, was early adopted by Christian writers. It was applied to earnest prayer arising from special necessities. Early litanies are connected with such trials as earthquakes, droughts, etc. Fixed litanies are first found in France in the fifth Century. An earthquake in 450 A. D. gave occasion to Bishop Mamercus of Vienna to appoint the three days before Ascension, *dies rogationum*, for processions through the fields, with supplications to God. Palmer † says that the form in which the prayers of the Litany are conveyed, is plainly derived from oriental models, and again that the "litaneutical form," common in the East was sparingly used in the West. But it is to be noticed that as early as Justin Martyr the general prayer was responded to by the people with *Kyrie Eleison*, and that the Apostolic Constitutions give a prayer in which the resemblance in form to the Litany is very marked, the Deacon announcing the prayer, *Prosphonesis*, and the people responding, *Kyrie Eleison*. The *Litaniæ Minores*, supposed by Bingham to consist only of a repetition of *Kyrie Eleison*, may well have been the original from which the *Litania Major*, developed, and if form, rather than the peculiar processional use, is to be regarded as the mark of identification, the beginning of the Litany must certainly be put back much earlier than the fifth or even the fourth century, the dates most generally accepted.

As has been suggested, the litanies were appointed for particular times. Rome fixed April 25, for the regular use of the Litany, the *Litania Scptiformis* of Gregory the Great. The Council of Orleans, 511 A. D. appoints them permanently for the use of the Gallic Churches preparatory to the celebration of a

* Meusel, *Handlexikon*, *sub. v. Kirchengebet.* † *Origines*, Vol. I, p. 267.

Digitized by Google

high festival. In the Spanish Church they were observed in the week after Pentecost. Other Councils appointed them for various other seasons, till, in the seventeenth Council of Toledo, in 694 A. D. the use of them was decreed once each month. By degrees, they were extended to two days in each week, and Wednesday and Friday, being the ancient *dies stationum*, were set apart for that purpose. This usage was characteristic of the Western Church, the Eastern Church of ancient days and of the present not appointing stated seasons for their use, but confining such services to extraordinary occasions.

The text of the Litany was never directed to the special occasion. Hymns, the seven penitential Psalms, and the simple Kyrie were the basis. Later their use was so extended that the clergy intoned the single petitions and the people responded with, "*eleison, miserere, exaudi, libera nos, parce nobis.*" So the Litany received more and more the form of a general prayer.

A Fuldensian Codex offers the oldest form of the text of the Litany. It has no invocations of saints, (these, also, are not found in any of the Eastern litanies), and remembers the catechumens and penitents, as well as the Roman Emperor and army. A second form, from the ninth century, directs petitions to Mary, the angels and saints, and concludes with the *Agnus Dei.*

The full Roman Litany has, after the *Kyrie*, the invocation of Mary and the saints, and after this the petitions, deprecations, etc., concluding with the *Agnus Dei.* Then follow different responsories and prayers. It is to be noted that the response of the congregation to the invocation of saints is "*ora pro nobis.*" A large number of litanies also arose in the Roman Church which were directed only to Mary, or even to the heart of Mary, or to other saints. After the Reformation the Romanists prayed special litanies *adversus hæreticos.*

Luther simply took out what was unsound and unscriptural in the Roman Litany, changed the order of some of the petitions and added others, enriching the ancient prayer. He prepared and published it in Latin and German. The two are not essentially different. The German Litany was taken up by almost all the Lutheran orders, with slight changes.

From an early period the litanies had been used in the Matins, Vespers and Hours. After Gregory the Great they had a place also in the Chief Service, at the beginning, after the Introit,

Digitized by Google

on the Sundays of the Passion season, when the Gloria in Excelsis was omitted. This usage still exists in the Milan Church.

After the Reformation the Litany is found appointed for stated times, Rogation Sundays, prayer-services in the week, *dies stationum*, and also for special occasions, e. g. Ordination. But it also finds a place now in the Chief Service, as a general Prayer. This, according to Lutheran conception and practice, it properly is, and ought not to be conceived of as merely a prayer of repentance as the Church of Rome considers it.

The Reformed Churches entirely rejected the Litany. In the time of liturgical destruction, also, the use of the Litany as a General Prayer was almost entirely abandoned. But the appreciation of this prayer which Luther expressed, and the correct conception of its meaning and purpose, with the peculiar propriety of the active participation of the congregation in its common prayer, has brought this historically given form into ever increasing favor. Up to the 18th century the Litany was highly esteemed, so much so that in the 17th century several commentaries on the Litany appeared. After that it fell into disesteem. Its length was criticised. Its objective character was displeasing to the subjectivism of Pietism. In South Germany it was used without responses *in uno tenore*. The petitions were grouped together. It disappeared entirely from some hymn-books. Rationalism put it aside. The method is aptly described by Kliefoth, and has its counterpart in some experiences in our own land. "First they would not have the congregations sing the Litany with the necessary result that it became unfamiliar. Then they used the ignorance of it on the part of the congregation as a reproach against it." To the liturgical awakening due so largely to Kliefoth and Schoeberlein we owe it that the value of the Litany has again been brought to the attention of Lutheran congregations, and that it has regained its due position.

Luther's Latin Litany was used in Wittenberg, and was sung by two choirs of school-boys. The German Litany was also rendered by the leadership of two choirs of school-boys, one choir in the middle of the church intoning the single petitions, and the congregation led by the other choir, singing the responses. Another method was to have the pastor, facing the altar, intone the petitions, the congregation and choir responding.*

* For the whole treatment of the Litany see Meusel's *Handlexikon*.

Digitized by Google

THE COLLECTS.

The origin of the Collects is involved in obscurity. Dr. Horn * conjectures that their model may have been given by Acts i. 24, 25 and Acts iv. 24–30. Their name denotes that they are prayers in which the wants and perils, or wishes and desires, of the whole people or Church, are collectively presented to God. They are comprehensive prayers, changing with the seasons and festivals of the Church Year, many of which our Church has adopted from the ancient liturgies, and some which she has formed for herself. They are either penitential or supplicatory Collects which as introductory prayers, (read before the Epistle and Gospel), express the fact of the day or the thought of the season and connect with it a supplication for appropriate grace; or they are Collects of praise and thanksgiving, which as closing prayers begin with thanks for the gift of grace received and end with a prayer to be kept in the same. They were used from a remote period in the Western churches, and are found in the earliest monuments of the Roman liturgy. † Most of those which we use are taken from Gregory the Great, or the Sacramentaries of Gelasius or Leo. The latter was used in the Roman Church, A. D. 483, and, according to Palmer, its Collects are much more ancient than those of Gelasius, (A. D. 494) and may be referred to the end of the fourth century.

The Gregorian Mass gave a special Collect to every principal Service. Later the multiplication of Collects caused complaint. Löhe says: "the Lutheran Church retained in her most ancient liturgies the custom of praying a collect *de tempore* before the Epistle. She arranged festival collects for the first half of the Church Year, but made no provision for the second half, except to leave it to the ministers to select one of the common collects according to the character of the Sunday."

Luther restricted the use of collects before the Lection to one, but favored the change of collect with the varying season. The Brandenburg-Nürnburg Order has fifteen common collects and one each for the festival of Christmas, the Passion season, and the festivals of Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday and Trinity; one for the coming of God's Kingdom, one for the doing of God's will and two *Pro Pace*. Nearly all the other Orders followed the same

* *Liturgics*, p. 72. † Palmer's *Orig.*

Digitized by Google

plan of giving a small number of collects. The objection to a change of collect for each Sunday and festival was that the people ought to be able to follow and pray them with the pastor, an objection which has no force when every member of the congregation has a book containing the appointed collect which is easily to be found. The sources of the collects given in the Common Service may be found in "The Lutheran Movement in England."*

The Church has ever used and provided for the united supplication of her worshipping people, and our forms of prayer are scriptural, historical and in fullest accord with the best traditions of the purest days of the Church's life. Hallowed by the use of the centuries, tested and approved by their perfect adaptedness to bear the devotion of the saintly generations to the throne of grace, fragrant as the incense of the Temple with the odor of sanctity and with the associations that cannot be separated from them, they are vital to-day, to every devout spirit, and bear us backward in sweet communion with the Church of all ages, while they lift us Heavenward, in our purest aspirations.

"O where are Kings and empires now,
Of old that went and came?
But, Lord, Thy Church is praying yet,
A thousand years the same."

C. ARMAND MILLER.

New York, N. Y.

* Jacobs, p. 297.

Digitized by Google

THE VALUE OF LITURGICAL STUDY FOR ORGANISTS.

THE church organist, by virtue of his position, is a person of more than passing importance, for upon him is largely dependent the proper expression of public worship, and in him is vested an educational power, which is wielded, not only over a few individuals, but over the entire congregation. It is true in case of necessity, we may be forced to ignore him, yet we all feel, under normal conditions, the value of his presence and services. From the organ-loft he rules, for weal or woe, over the most subtle influence temporally speaking, that is brought to bear upon the people. While in all else listlessness may be in control, yet music may permeate quietly and unobtrusively into the soul with the gentle touch of revivifying power. Gladness ought to be expressed and from the organ comes the jubilant invitation to "Rejoice all ye believers." Penitence is to take possession, then by the plaintive sighings of the organ our emotions are led in the proper way. So, to all intervening states music adapts itself, and readily lends its power and influence to obtain the desired results. Unless deafness be our portion we can scarcely escape its influence, for where it is heard, there it takes quiet possession. How essential is it then, that this power should be properly and judiciously exercised; that its influence should be understandingly utilized and made most effective. In the church such understanding is of vital necessity to its proper use. Hence arises the question concerning the value of liturgical study for organists.

The value of such study is plainly evident to all who are interested in any way in the proper comprehension of the subject under consideration, and of these none should be more interested than organists. They, by their very position, are constrained to follow such lines of study. They are continually confronted by

Digitized by Google

liturgical questions, theoretical and practical, and should be in a position to properly deal with them. This necessitates study, and study which is not of the superficial type, for here as in other relations

> "A little learning is a dangerous thing;
> Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring."

To do this they must step backward into past ages, yea even beyond the dawn of the Christian cultus, for in the Jewish ritual we find the first established form of worship to the only true God. And as the prophecies preceded the Son of Righteousness and found in Him their fullest expression, so has the ancient Jewish ritual yielded to the spirit of Christian worship. This ancient worship of the Jews however, was not entirely destroyed but only superseded, and we find it in many ways coloring the more enlightened worship of the new era. This condition we note in the transfer of the Psalter bodily to the new form of worship,—in the merging of the Passover into the Festival of Easter,—of the Festival of Harvest or Pentecost into the Christian Pentecost or Whitsunday. Thus is seen the inception of the new cultus of worship, meagre in point of details, yet carrying over the Holy songs of the temple worship and infusing them with renewed life. Man realizes with pleasure that the Master Himself sang thus with His Disciples at their last Passover. And from the heathen Pliny in his letter to the Roman Emperor, we learn that the early Christians were wont to come together to sing their "psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs." Soon certain great truths came into clearer light and about them were clustered forms of expression. These integral parts readily found points of contact and thus the liturgy was gradually woven into one harmonious whole.

The attention of the organist will then find an abundant field of operations in tracing the growth of the liturgy until it became overweighted and was returned in the Reformation among the Swiss Reformers to a bald, bare type of worship, and among the Germans to a conservative mean. In tracing the growth of the liturgy the organist, if he is thorough, will be led into a consideration of the ramifications of that growth as they group themselves into families, e. g. the Eastern and Western Church; and as these are again subdivided in the East into the Greek, Armenian, Nestorian, etc.; and in the West into Roman, Gallican, Ambrosian, Mozarabic and others. By thus approaching the

Digitized by Google

subject in its broadest and most general aspects, the ground plan is laid according to an ample measure and of substantial material, so that the superstructure will not be endangered by the weakness of the foundation.

In this way is gained not simply knowledge but a glimpse is also obtained of the animating spirit of liturgics generally, and of its different manifestations. Liturgics is simply engaged with the proper setting forth of the worship of the Eternal God. It aims to put that worship in the most chaste form, to beautify it, as the Psalmist has said to "worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness," to invest every act with fullest significance, to impress the great truths of Christianity, to declare unto man in many ways that he worships, that he is in the presence of the Most High. The spirit of liturgics is essentially the spirit of worship. With organists, in a greater degree than with most men, should this spirit be present, that God may be worshipped in spirit and truth, and that all things may be done decently and in order. This spirit goes much further than simply to follow rubrical directions, but is a spirit moving upon the face of the waters bringing order out of chaos. It is a guardian angel protecting us from excrescences, from mutilations and extraneous matters. It guides and directs where there are no written laws and at all times and under all conditions it exerts its powerful, even if silent, influence.

It will not be long before the student organist will find that the liturgy is not simply a form of worship but is essentially a confession of faith. We see this in the differences between the Greek and Roman Church, and find it especially marked in the Nestorian liturgy where its parts are adapted to meet the arch-error of Nestorianism, namely, its Christological doctrine. The Reformers found abundant error in the Roman liturgy and among their early tasks was the necessity of purging and purifying the liturgy that it might give proper expression to the true faith. This confessional character of the liturgy must be ever kept in mind, so that we may not only possess the spirit of worship but also the spirit of *true* worship.

A general knowledge of liturgics, however, is not sufficient, for, as we intimated above, there are many digressions and many animating spirits. This should lead organists to more specific lines of study, that they may learn to know the animating spirit of each church body, the significance of their forms of worship,

Digitized by Google

and the general trend of their teachings and practice. This will be especially valuable in the consideration of such church bodies as are immediately about the organist or even those of the same country. Each body will have distinctive characteristics and will disseminate its particular influences in a narrow sphere by its practices and in a broader sphere by means of its publications. Organists should know them well in order that they may avoid their extravagances, profit by their shortcomings, escape their weaknesses and not be led astray by the passingly beautiful. Rather be strong enough to influence them or they will surely influence you. This means that of all churches you must be best acquainted with your own. Information that is general should be reinforced by that which is specifically to your purpose. Here there enters that study of the church of the Reformation with her conservative tendencies, yet strongly contending for the truth; the central position she gives to the Word and at the same time not neglecting the place and power of the Holy Sacraments; the retention of much that was proper, lawful, beautiful and not contrary to Scripture—as opposed to iconoclasm,—her animating spirit should be thoroughly imbibed if we would comprehend her liturgy.

If we stop to compare the different church bodies we will find further reason for thought connected with our subject. In the non-liturgical church bodies we find the controlling power to be exercised mainly through the emotions. This naturally affects whatever form of worship they may have and has its influence over all that pertains to public worship, notably over its music. Hence we must not be too quick to adopt music which has sprung from such a source. The liturgical church bodies ordinarily adopt the educational mode of indoctrination and this is reflected in their sober forms of worship. But here again distinctions arise according to doctrine and according to the dominating spirit in worship, whether of display or of devotion. Thus by a comparative study we may know how to act judiciously. And here permit me to add we have a strong argument for distinctively Lutheran organists, i. e. organists imbued with the Lutheran spirit of worship.

The spirit of liturgics being the spirit of worship we can readily imagine that the best results will only be obtained by those who approach the subject with true Christian feeling.

Digitized by Google

How an infidel or unbeliever can gain the best results is inconceivable. At the best it would be simply an intellectual process which could not adequately comprehend the hidden beauties alone revealed to believers. The mysteries of the Christian faith as expressed in the liturgy should be received into sympathetic minds and hearts, or else we will have nothing more than the senseless verbiage of lip-worship. This condition being present, it can not help but show itself practically.

As the organist proceeds in his study, he will learn that the liturgy does not stand alone, an isolated, forsaken creature, but is intimately bound up with many avenues of church activity, and has continually exercised its influence over them. Thus the cruciform style in church architecture arises from a liturgical consideration. The position of the altar, the painting of windows, and the other symbolical creations have sprung largely from this same consideration. But, what is more to the point of our subject, is the influence exerted by the liturgy over church music. If we step back again into the temple at Jerusalem we will find that the music is principally vocal, sustained and accompanied by instruments such as the harp, psaltery, horn, trumpet and cornet. Undoubtedly, the sweet singer of Israel in providing for the courses of priests to take charge of the temple worship, made ample provision for the musical portion of that worship. Music that would be adapted especially for the services of the temple to set forth the glory and honor of God. In the number of instruments, in the multitude of singers we see the indications of this elaborate musical arrangement. When we enter the Christian era we do not have this elaborate ritual, but it would be most natural for us to think of the Christians as appropriating some of the temple music. And, in that age of purity we would expect the thoughts of their hymns and spiritual songs to influence and modify their musical settings. A large repertoire of music they undoubtedly did not have, but what they did have we would expect to be marked by chasteness and simplicity. In the quickly succeeding centuries we have seen the growth of the liturgy and it is reasonable to suppose that its musical accompaniment did not lag far behind. When we come to clearer historical light we learn that music had become a very necessary part of worship and special efforts were made to properly render it by establishing schools for singers whose spheres of activity were

Digitized by Google

within the church. At about the same time, and perhaps resulting from the special interest awakened in the subject, the ecclesiastical modes were established. These modes, ascribed partly to Gregory the Great and partly to Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, are the links uniting ancient and modern music. The modes were, without doubt, influenced by the liturgy. They seem to have been the special property of the church as they are to this day. Their use was to render vocal and more impressive the subject matter of the liturgy. From this we readily infer that music was not the dominating power but rather the liturgy, and that music was the obedient servant of a most worthy mistress, seeking to serve her to the best of its ability. This truth we see again exemplified in the productions of the classic period of figurated church music. When music had sunk so low as to give cause for serious consideration of its abandonment in connection with the liturgy, Palestrina arose, imbued with the spirit of the liturgy, which threw its influence about him to such an extent as to thoroughly permeate his works by its devotion. "This was the commencement of a revolution in sacred music, which by his influence became simple, thoughtful, aspiring, sincere and noble but destitute of passion and tenderness. The most spiritual of all arts it raised the heart into immediate communion with the Infinite . . . it found opportunity to express and to elevate by its various combinations of sounds every kind of Christian feeling." Hence a proper understanding of the liturgy is essential to the proper and full understanding of church music.

Such liturgical knowledge proves its value when organists seek to express the liturgy in the best way possible. Music, be it remembered, is the most acceptable and effective means by which to obtain this end. For "a fervent spirit of devotion instinctively seeks to express itself in song. On the strains of poetry," or prose, "joined with music it finds an easy and natural utterance of its elevated emotions." This leads us to the thought of the purpose of music in the church. In the liturgy we render the sacrifices of prayer, praise and thanksgiving and receive the ministrations of the Word and Sacraments. The music of the liturgy should be expressive of the same emotions which are expressed in the liturgy itself. Such music should be able to express devotion, a devotion which reaches the heart of the believer and stirs it with the thought of God. It should be ex-

Digitized by Google

pressive of praise which arouses the soul to honor God. Its ministrations should deepen the impression of prayer. And in thanksgiving it should find no difficulty in rendering vocal the outpourings of the appreciative heart. Whatever the liturgy demands that is the province of church music to express. If the piercing sorrows of Good Friday encompass us, to this the music is to adapt its cry; but if the joys of Easter strive for expression then shall the music break forth in joyful tones. Thus church music must first of all express the varying changes of the liturgy and in such a way that the thought of the liturgy is exalted and not the music alone as such. Such music must as well fill the requirements of devotion for its very purpose is to enhance, not to detract from the spirit of worship. In this connection we are reminded of Augustine's definition of a hymn. "Know ye what a hymn is? It is a song with praise of God. If thou praisest God and singest not, thou utterest no hymn; if thou singest and praisest not God, thou utterest no hymn; if thou praisest aught else which pertaineth not to the praise of God, although thou singest and praisest, thou utterest no hymn. An hymn, then, containeth these three things, song, and praise, and that of God." And thus does the proper expression of the liturgy contain these three things, song, and praise, and that of God.

The rigid requirements of devotional propriety will not relieve the organist from liturgical inquiry, but will rather enhance the necessity for such investigation. For only thus will he be in a position to make such a selection of music as will meet the requirements. By his researches he will find that liturgy and music have long been wedded, and in worship one is scarcely complete without the other. He will find what he may deem a peculiar kind of music but which has been in the sole possession and use of the church—music, which, as we have seen, has responded to the strong influence of the liturgy and thus is eminently fitted to express all the liturgy's varying moods. To this source he will turn for his choicest settings of the liturgy, settings marked by simplicity, yet capable of utmost grandeur.

The worshipful spirit should as well be present in the hymn tunes, so that here the organist's liturgical animus renders valuable aid. The tunes will thus be adapted to the thought of the hymn and will be selected from the very best sources made available by research. The major mode will not be made to express

Digitized by Google

that for which it is not intended, but will be ably seconded by its sister, the minor mode whose plaintive strains will give voice to our feelings of penitence and sorrow. Neither will the one and same tune be made to do an endless multitude of tasks, now tripping along gladly, again suddenly assuming a dignified, sober countenance, then presumptuously called upon to wail forth in a funeral dirge, and in the next attempt rebounding to the first extreme of joy. Nor do we advocate an endless number of tunes, but at least one for the distinctive character of classes of hymns, suited to properly express that distinctive character. In the selection of responsories and anthems the same judicious care will be exercised by the organist who is liturgically instructed and he will allow nothing to find place which does not add to the devotional plan of that particular service.

In his individual work upon the organ in prelude, interlude or postlude the same rule will confine him within the bounds of the proprieties of the worship of the Eternal One. Where there is a proper liturgical spirit on his part we will scarcely be called upon to listen to one of Rossini's overtures as an accompaniment to worship, a selection from some symphony, an adaptation from Cavaleria, Rusticana, or, as is frequently the case, to find Wagner doing service through the medium of one of his operas which can scarcely be said to revel in a worshipful spirit. Quietly the music transports you from your pew to a large building filled with Grand Opera enthusiasts. You hear their comments on the singers, the orchestra, the managers, the unfortunate neighbor who has excited their curiosity or ire. A prelude is being played, you enjoy it, yet you are waiting patiently for the curtain to rise. The closing cadences fall upon your ears. Your eyes seek the stage. But—what meaneth that dark-robed figure. —Ah! it is the pastor and you are returned rather hurriedly, undecorously, and a trifle shamefacedly to your pew, to find the scattered threads of worship as you may.—Or perchance a living scene is conjured up before you, and you behold Lohengrin and his promised bride slowly moving along to the entrancing strains of music. You are ready to offer your congratulations.—But something has gone wrong, the music stops, the delusion vanishes.—The deacons have with becoming dignity collected the offerings of the congregation, and the organist has steadily marched them along to the strains of the Bridal chorus from Lohengrin.

Digitized by Google

Enough is said to indicate the absurdity of such situations, which would scarcely be brought to pass by an organist who had been liturgically trained.

We, however, of this age are not alone in having suffered from the perversion of church music for even in the early centuries debasing influences were soon at work. We quote a passage dealing with that period as being not inapplicable to our own times. "It must have already become a matter of complaint, however, as well in the Western as in the Greek Church, that the ecclesiastical music had taken too artificial and theatrical a direction, and departed from its ancient simplicity; for we find the Egyptian abbot Pambo, in the fourth century, inveighing against the introduction of heathen melodies into the church psalmody. 'The monks,' says he, 'have not retired into the desert to sing beautiful melodies, and move hands and feet;' and the abbot Isidore of Pelusium complaining of the theatrical style of singing, particularly among the women, which instead of exciting emotions of penitence, served rather to awaken sinful passions; and Jerome in remarking on the words of the Apostle Paul in Eph. 5: 19, says, 'Let our youths hear this; let those hear it whose office it is to sing in the church. Not with the voice, but with the heart must we make melody to the Lord. We are not like comedians, to smooth the throat with sweet drinks, in order that we may hear theatrical songs and melodies in the church; but the fear of God, piety, and the knowledge of the Scripture should inspire our songs; so that not the voice of the singer, but the divine matter expressed, may be the point of attraction; so that the evil spirit which entered into the heart of a Saul may be expelled from those who are in like manner possessed by him, rather than invited by those who would turn the house of God into a heathen theatre."

Upon the proper rendition of even the best of music depends largely its effect. We recall the story related of the world renowned Miserere as sung in the Sistine Chapel at Rome. A copy of this famous music was at one time sent to a specially favored church, but the attempt to render it was so disastrous that accusations were made that the copy was not an authentic one. The cause, however, of its failure was finally located in the manner of rendition. Thus the entire musical part of public worship depends very much on the *manner* of rendition for its proper ef-

Digitized by Google

fect and for this the organist is held responsible. Here again appears the value of his liturgical study coupled with his musical knowledge in properly adjusting the forces of the organ and choir to meet the requirements of the situation. And if he is wise, he will endeavor to inspire his choir with the same general liturgical spirit in order that they may co-operate with and not unknowingly oppose him.

A further value to the organist of consistent and constant liturgical study, is that it gives to him a proper appreciation of the dignity and power vested in his position. Not that the individual is to become puffed up in his own conceit, rather that his attitude should be one of humility. He is the leader of the congregational musical and liturgical life and may, in a large degree, form a proper spirit of worship. But he first of all should be a devout worshiper or how can he properly form the worship of others. "Can the blind lead the blind? Shall they not both fall into the ditch?"—Having understood the responsibility of his position, the organist should earnestly seek the knowledge necessary to the proper discharge of his duties. This will give him a correct spirit of worship and will give him the power to properly express the same. A spirit of worship, however, which is not that of the individual but the "geist" of the church body, whose animating spirit he seeks to express. His ministration will not then be ruled by caprice but a masterful hand will rest upon the helm to guide the ship into the peaceful waters of devotion. No longer will he be imbued with the idea simply to entertain, even if the less enlightened would thus be pleased. He will rather elevate them than pamper to a taste vitiated by unwholesome food. His study will give him the necessary command of resources which will enable him the better to meet the obligations of his position. These sources are not all at hand but are coming to the light. The progress may be slow on account of the less studious and more effeminate influences which are all about us, but we bespeak success and a return to a robust, healthful spirit of worship.

To the church one of the greatest reasons for thankfulness will be the homogeneity of the service as a result of liturgical study among organists. No longer then will the organist be going in one direction, the pastor in another and the congregation, perhaps, in still another, but there will be unity of aim and pur-

Digitized by Google

pose. The opening part of the service will be a gradual unfolding of spiritual worship until it reaches the climax, then gradually subsiding receives the word of peace. The Sermon will thus reach the hearts of the people who have been prepared to receive it, and its effect will not be nullified by the vagaries of an organist who is unable to rise to the dignity of his position. The thematic arrangement of the changeable portions of the services will not remain a matter of theory but will be reduced to practice. The liturgical beauty and consistency we have, but many musical excrescences and outrages are with us. The remedy lies largely with organists who have proper liturgical taste and feeling. Then their endeavor will be to give proper expression to every part of the liturgy and the much desired result will be unity and homogeneity of the services, liturgically and musically.

The advantage to the congregation can not help but be marked where served by such a consistent combination of forces. It will be as a strong lever uplifting the devotions of the people, while where this is not the case the lever is unable to sustain the weight and when it breaks returns the participants to their ordinary level. The heart of man seeks to be elevated to the proper plane of divine worship, and the higher that plane is, so is the greatness of his spiritual enjoyment. All matters, not leading to that end or distracting the attention, are out of place. Man's sense of worship should be increased not diminished, and that sense should not be simply sentiment but a true relation to God, truly expressed in a true spirit of worship. The result will be a positive, beautiful, uplifting sense of the spirit and privilege of worship, which is to commune with God as becometh the sons of God. Hence the value of liturgical study for organists that, having obtained a proper comprehension of the subject, they may give an adequate and soulful expression to the spirit of true worship as incorporated in our liturgy,—that God may be honored in the hearts of men.

GOMER C. REES.

Chestnut Hill, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

LITURGICAL orders are as truly confessional as properly designated and regularly received confessions of faith. The Liturgy is the expression of the faith. It is the creed translated into terms of worship. The relation between confession and Liturgy, however, is far closer and more intimate than that of cause and effect. The Service, it is true, grows out of the confession but the longing of the heart after God and its crying out in prayer and praise and thanksgiving for the living God, resting its plea on His sure promises, certainly precede the formal expression of that belief in carefully-defined, logically-distributed terms and phrases constituting an ecclesiastical symbol. The heart's worship is simultaneous with the heart's faith. Just as the child lisps its prayers long before it realizes their meaning, so by sacrament and prayer and Christian fellowship did the Apostolic Church express its devotion to the risen Lord many years before the completion of its first formal confession.

These facts of Christian experience in no wise depreciate the value of ecclesiastical symbols. They simply bring vividly before our minds the truth that the heart's faith expressed in worship is its earliest confessional act and that in the growth of this faith and its constantly-increasing appropriation of revealed truth lies the beginning of the later scientific statement in the confession of faith. The symbol is the product of a historic crisis, laying hold upon the strength of the past in order to meet the dangers of the present, and in its determination no thoughtful student will deny that the Service, the expression of the common creed, has a recognized value. Many features of the Liturgy, especially the mystery surrounding the celebration of the Sacrament of the Altar resulting from the highly-developed sacerdotal doctrine, prepared

Digitized by Google

the way for the formulation of the dogma of transubstantiation. Reverence for the saints and the Virgin Mary; the constant repetition of their names in the hearing of the people; the legends of miracles which soon grew up about their persons and appealed especially to the credulous; the chivalry of mediæval knighthood and the poetry and romance gathered about the crusades; the hero-worship natural to every age but appealing with the greatest power to the childlike imagination of pre-Reformation times; and, above all, the almost total lack of the Holy Scriptures in their entirety in available popular form—how blessed the fragments in the pericopes, the very saving salt in the body of corruption!—all of these indicated the widespread belief in the invocation and the intercession of the saints and the clemency and protection of the blessed Virgin Mary hundreds of years before the ecclesiastical promulgation of these facts as dogmas. A number of the Lutheran Orders, including Luther's own liturgical reforms, preceded the Augsburg Confession just as later the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. anticipated the Thirty-nine Articles.

The above facts not only emphasize the close connection between Liturgy and confession but also illustrate the truth that the attitude and spirit and life of a Church as expressed in its Services may differ widely from the statements of its received confession. The Thirty-nine Articles are far less the symbol of the Anglican communion in Great Britain, the United States and other parts of the world to-day than is the Book of Common Prayer. "The glory of the English Church," the Book of Common Prayer, is still loved, quoted, referred to and used both in public and in private by probably a larger number of Protestant Christians than any other post-Reformation work of devotion. This is not an extravagant statement when we remember that the thirty million adherents claimed by the Anglican Church throughout the world use no other services and acknowledge in life and practice no other standard differentiating them from other Christians than this book, sanctified by the love, the faith, the prayers, the holy lives, of true believers during the past three centuries and a half.

Whence does this Book of Common Prayer derive its power? Wherein lies its widespread and constantly-increasing influence? Various answers may be given these questions, but passing by all other points of view, we believe that its power lies in these three facts: its large infusion of Scriptural material, its general harmo-

Digitized by Google

ny with the ancient liturgies of the Catholic Church and its singular adaptability to various theological teachings. The first of these facts any one acquainted with the contents of the Book will at once acknowledge, for the pericopes, the Psalter and much of the other liturgical material are of course taken directly from the Holy Scriptures. The discussion of the second will take up a large part of the present paper, but the third is the *unique* fact. In regard to the first two the Book of Common Prayer does not stand alone. The Lutheran orders have always had that which is of the very essence of the true Liturgy, a large infusion of Holy Scripture, and our Service we are abundantly justified in believing, expresses the pure worship of the Church of Christ from the very earliest ages. As to the marvelous adaptability of the Book, its doctrinal elasticity, so to speak, we need hardly do more than observe that it is the common platform of Churchmen, High and Broad and Low, so little stress is laid on doctrine in comparison with the imperative requirement of liturgical uniformity. This has always been the most marked characteristic, we may almost say the genius of the English Church.

To the truth and fairness of this characterization the Westminster Assembly, with its logically-elaborated Confession, its Larger and Shorter Catechism and greatly simplified Directory of Worship, eloquently testifies. Those Presbyterian divines, gathered in the Jerusalem Chamber, realized from their own experience the doctrinal indefiniteness and unsatisfactoriness of the Book of Common Prayer and presented to the Assembly a confession so positive and decided as hardly to be capable of misunderstanding, still worthy of respect and to-day the subject of much controversy and theological debate. Because of the externalism of eighteenth century religious life the Wesleys sought to enjoy a deeper spiritual experience and the work inaugurated by the "Holy Club" at Oxford spread with amazing rapidity and success throughout England and America. A century later the Tractarian Movement started from Oxford and its great leaders, Pusey and Newman and Keble, endeavored to attain not only greater richness and fulness in the Service but especially a surer doctrinal position in closer harmony with patristic teachings and as far as possible, removed from dependence upon the Reformation. Had the Reformation in England been less involved in political meshes and more surely guided by the Word of God and

Digitized by Google

its power upon the individual heart and life, the whole subsequent course of the English Church would probably have been changed, and there might have been no need for these goings-out of thousands of her noblest children from her sheltering care.

The theology of the Book of Common Prayer, whatever it is, and it is almost impossible to characterize it, is the theology of the English Church. A product of the Reformation era as the Book is, showing decided Lutheran as well as Calvinistic influences, there is much of the old Romanism still clinging to it, good in so far as it harmonizes with the Word of God and tends to preserve unbroken the historic continuity of the Church but dangerous because of its indefiniteness and capability of strange and almost unlimited contortion. Thus the teaching of prayers for the dead, of an intermediate probationary state and of the sacrifice of the Mass are based upon or perhaps rather read into certain brief and somewhat obscure statements of the Book by extreme ritualists who, in extenuation of their methods, lay great stress upon the hypothetically *implicit* teachings of the Book. According to such a method of interpretation a book may mean anything and everything and we can place but little value upon the doctrinal position of the Book of Common Prayer. Stretched to accommodate ultra-Romanistic teaching as well as the preaching of a religion sometimes little more than ethical and idealistic, the significance and power of the Book of Common Prayer to-day lie in its *sterling devotional worth*. That it echoes the very words of Holy Scripture and confesses in the ancient œcumenical creeds the incarnate, atoning, risen, glorified Jesus as the Lord, the Christ of God, these after all are the forces that have made it quick and powerful and salutary to loving, trusting, hopeful souls, age after age bearing their devotions Heavenward to the throne of grace and bringing them help from the mercy-seat.

Just as varied as are the views concerning the doctrinal teachings of the Book of Common Prayer are the explanations and applications of its liturgical rubrics. Congregations of the Low Church type, which usually celebrate the Holy Communion at least twice a month and on festival days, generally combine three distinct services into one on the morning of the Lord's Day, thus making the so-called "long Service of the Episcopal Church," against which we hear so many complaints. Beginning with Morning Prayer, often with an elaborate musical setting to the

Digitized by Google

Te Deum and on festival days to the *Venite*, the Psalter and the *Benedictus* also, after the collects *de tempore*, for peace and for grace, instead of concluding Morning Prayer, the Service continues with the Litany—itself a distinct order—and then effects the transition to the Communion by the singing of a hymn. If the Holy Eucharist be celebrated, all except those who desire to receive the sacrament are dismissed after the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant."

In ritualistic churches, on the other hand, so strange a liturgical Service is not met with. Morning Prayer is always kept distinct from the numerous celebrations of the Holy Communion and the Litany is not used just before the Divine Office. In churches of this type many additions are made to the Services and the rubrics are strangely twisted in justification of the innovations. By this process candles, vestments, incense, processions, the stations of the Cross, private Confession and Absolution, Lady-chapels and altars to the Virgin, the teaching of the seven sacraments, prayers for the dead, the sacrifice of the Mass, the reservation of the sacrament for the sick, extreme sacerdotalism and various other features abhorrent to the perhaps ultra-Protestant sense of Low Churchmen are declared right and proper. Many of them are covered by the frequently-quoted "vestments' rubric," not found in the American Book but repeated in the various editions of the English Book from that of 1559 to the last revision of the Book in 1661 and printed in a prominent place in the Prayer Book of to-day. This rubric reads: "And here is to be noted that such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their ministrations, shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI." No rubric, probably, has ever aroused so much discussion and certainly no liturgical system so elaborate as that of the High Church party ever rested to so great an extent on the basis of a more slender fabric.

In his excellent book, "The Lutheran Movement in England," Dr. Jacobs refers to the mistaken conception that there was a general uniformity of worship in the Western Church prior to the Reformation. The uniformity in the Roman Church today is in large measure due to the work of the Council of Trent. In England just as in Germany before the Reformation various

Digitized by Google

dioceses had their own orders, the most prominent of which and the one most frequently referred to was the Missal according to the use of Salisbury (the "Sarum Use"). Upon the ancient sacramentaries, the Leonian, the Gelasian and the Gregorian, as well as upon the numerous local modifications or "uses" of those old orders, the Church of the Reformation in England like the Church on the continent had to base its revision of the services. Many liturgiologists trace the orders of the so-called Gallican group to which the British uses belonged, back to the Eastern Church, especially to Ephesus, and English writers are very fond of attributing as much as possible of their services to this source in their desire constantly to affirm the greatest possible pre-Reformation independence of the see of Rome on the part of the British Church.

Very little was done by way of purifying the services during the reign of Henry VIII., always a good Romanist in many respects. Only the Litany, purged of Roman errors, was translated into English by Archbishop Cranmer who followed Luther very closely, probably, through the Reformation of Cologne in which the Litany of Luther appeared. But from the very beginning of the reign of Edward VI. efforts were making for liturgical reform until the First Prayer Book, which bears his name, appeared in 1549. This Book to which so many of the High Church party both in England and in our own country long to return, is of great interest because of the Lutheran origin of many of its parts and its close adherence to the ancient liturgies. It retains the Introits in the form of the entire Psalm and directs that the *Agnus Dei* be sung during the distribution of the Holy Communion. Its other chief points of difference from the present Book are the retention of the *Gloria in Excelsis* in its old place before the Epistle and the position of the Confession, the Absolution, the Comfortable Words and the Prayer of Humble Access after the Consecration and just before the distribution. In the Second Book of Edward VI. (1552), the book to which the gravest deviations from the ancient liturgical standards are traceable, the Decalogue was introduced into the Communion, probably because of Calvinistic influences, the Introits, the prayer called the Oblation and the *Agnus Dei* were wholly omitted; and the Confession, the Absolution and the Comfortable Words were placed before the Consecration. One of the strangest and most unac-

Digitized by Google

countable changes was that of placing the *Gloria in Excelsis* after the distribution, a change wholly without liturgical precedent and robbing the early part of the Service of one of its most beautiful and appropriate features. All of these changes were followed by the Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth (1559), and by the final revision of the Book in 1662 and are incorporated into the present Book in England. With regard to the points enumerated the American Book differs from the English only in the use of the so-called Oblation in the Communion, following the Scottish Book which, of course, is based on the First Book of Edward VI.

The orders for Matins and Vespers in the First Book of Edward VI. were almost identical with the old Lutheran Matins and Vespers restored in the Common Service. In the Second Book (1552) the General Confession and Absolution were prefixed to Morning Prayer and the Sentences at the beginning were added both to Matins and Vespers. The Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth retained these forms but the General Confession and Absolution were not prefixed to Evening Prayer until 1662. The Scottish Book of 1661 gives the old Invitatories. Writers on the Book of Common Prayer always speak of the Sentences as substituted for them. The present Morning and Evening Prayer follow all these changes.

We notice then that the Introits are entirely lost to the Book of Common Prayer. The Invitatories, Antiphons, Responsories and Graduals which, like the Introit, the Collect and the Lessons, always strike the keynote of the church festival, never found any place in the Book nor was the *Agnus Dei* ever restored after its omission from the Second Book of Edward VI. In America the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis*, which the English Church had never lost, were not restored to Evensong until 1892 when the Suffrages, omitting the *Miserere* and a number of the Versicles, were again added to Evening Prayer. They were first inserted in the daily services in the Second Book of Edward VI. In the English Book the Athanasian Creed is used on Christmas Day, the Epiphany, Easter Day, the Ascension, Whitsun Day, Trinity Sunday and other festivals.

Besides showing the close similarity of the Holy Communion and Matins and Vespers in the First Book of Edward VI. to corresponding German orders, Dr. Jacobs traces the connection between the forms for Confirmation, Marriage, the Visitation of the

Digitized by Google

Sick and the Burial of the Dead and previously-published Lutheran orders. It is not within the scope of this paper to take up these services but the writer desires to call attention to the indisputable facts which Dr. Jacobs has so admirably presented, because they are usually either altogether overlooked or else very unfairly stated by writers of repute on the Book of Common Prayer. Dr. Blunt, for example, in his exhaustive and very interesting Commentary, never seems able to speak kindly or even fairly of the vast German liturgical development in the sixteenth century and whenever at a loss how to explain either what is of Lutheran origin or what is practically an innovation in the Book as the result of Calvinistic influences, always finds the Sarum Use very convenient as a last resource. In that spirit and with so unscientific a method it is not difficult to find suggestions of almost anything almost anywhere and to imagine adaptations wherever such suit convenient hypotheses and pleasing prejudices.

The orders for the Daily Morning and Evening Prayer in the English Book differ slightly from those in the American Book. In structure both services are similar save that the *Venite* precedes the Psalter in Morning Prayer. The General Confession and the Absolution here, just as in the Holy Communion, are unliturgical and some churches are going back to the old usage of beginning Evensong at least with the Lord's Prayer. This prayer occurs twice in the services, here and again at the same place as in the Lutheran orders, before the collects at the close. The versicle *Deus in adjutorium* follows the *Domine labia mea*. A canticle follows each of the lessons. Only the Apostle's Creed is used but for certain festivals the Athanasian Creed is prescribed. Besides the Lord's Prayer the Kyrie and the Suffrages precede the collects. The Morning Prayer of the First and Second Books of Edward VI., of the present English Book and of the American Book is exhibited by the side of our own Matins in the First Table at the close of this article.

The Holy Communion in the present Book of Common Prayer begins with the Lord's Prayer and the incomparable Collect for Purity, the one the divinest of prayers, the other in its form, its contents, its spirit, as nearly perfect as any prayer of man can ever be. These were originally the private prayers of the priest in the sacristy or before approaching the altar to offer

Digitized by Google

incense at the Introit. Can any other prayers more appropriate and more helpful be suggested to our own ministers to-day?

The use of the Decalogue or our Lord's Summary of the Law, of which only the former is found in the English Book, and the two prayers for the sovereign are wholly unliturgical. The *Kyrie* is broken up into ten responses, one after each of the Commandments. In the American Book when the Summary is used, the simple threefold *Kyrie* follows.

After one of the two collects for King Edward VII., the collect *de tempore*, the Epistle, the Gospel with the *Gloria Tibi* after its announcement, and the Nicene Creed follow in regular order. The distinction between the Epistle and the Gospel side of the altar is observed as in the Roman Church and the people always stand at the reading of the Gospel. The announcements, the publication of the Bans of Marriage and the sermon or homily here find their proper place.

At the Offertory the minister repeats appropriate sentences and places the offerings of the congregation upon the altar. If the Holy Communion is to be celebrated, the rubric directs the minister then to place upon the altar "so much Bread and Wine as he shall think sufficient," after which he offers the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant." Three exhortations in regard to approaching the Holy Communion are given, one in anticipation of the Sacrament with notice of its celebration, another in case of the people's neglect thereof, and the third to be used at the time of the celebration.

At this point of the service when Morning Prayer, the Litany and the sermon have immediately preceded and the congregation has grown wearied—as people so easily become in God's house—many leave the church and sometimes only a few worshippers remain for the Communion. This annoying distraction is not customary in ritualistic churches even though only a few persons approach the altar.

The preparation for the Communion in the call to confession, the General Confession and the Absolution follow. These correspond to the Lutheran orders of Private and Public Confession and Absolution but, like the Litany, are altogether out of place from a liturgical point of view, at the joyous Eucharist of our glorified Lord. With the exhortations and the "Comfortable Words" (St. Matthew xi. 28; St. John iii. 16; I St. Timothy i.

Digitized by Google

15; I St. John ii. 1) these forms are a novelty in liturgical usage and were adopted from the Reformation of Cologne in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. Their present position of course is preferable to their earlier place after the Consecration and the *Pax Domini*, a strange liturgical sequence.

Then begins the Canon of the Mass. Of the Preface Dr. Blunt says: "It is found almost word for word in every known liturgy in every part of the Catholic Church from the earliest times and there can be no doubt that it is a correct tradition which assigns it to the Apostolic Age." There are five Proper Prefaces, for Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, Whitsun Day and the Feast of the Holy Trinity. Those for Christmas and Trinity Sunday differ from the Lutheran while we have shortened those for the Ascension and Pentecost. The Easter Preface is identical. The *Sanctus* immediately follows the Preface. It omits the *Benedictus qui venit in Nomine Domini* and has changed the *Hosanna in Excelsis* to the words, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord most High," just as the place of the Hallelujah in the daily services is taken by the words, "Praise ye the Lord," with the response, "The Lord's Name be praised."

The prayer of Humble Access beginning, "We do not presume to come to this Thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness," very beautifully placed just before the distribution in the First Book of Edward VI., has preceded the Consecration since the Second Book of 1552. In the present English Book the Consecration consists of a prayer and the use of the Words of Institution together with the customary manual acts, followed immediately by the distribution. This is in exact correspondence with the Second Book of Edward VI. In the First Book the Prayer for the Church occurred here and was followed by a commemoration of the blessed Virgin Mary and the saints, a prayer for the departed and the Consecration in which the Oblation, the Lord's Prayer and the *Pax Domini* as well as the Words of Institution were used. The American Book contains the Oblation which is not objectionable and the Invocation of the Holy Ghost before the distribution. In the English Book the Lord's Prayer and the Oblation follow the distribution and the service closes with the *Gloria in Excelsis* and the Blessing. The Thanksgiving from the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Agenda of 1533 is found in both books. The occasional collects to be used after the Offer-

Digitized by Google

tory and before the Blessing when there is no Communion are well-known and require no comment.

The Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer is not a unity. It is marked by unwarranted additions, unjustifiable omissions and unliturgical changes. Its harmony and its presentation of the great central truth of redemption, the one, all-sufficient, prevailing sacrifice of the Incarnate God, and its direct communication of redemptive grace in the mystery of the Real Presence are seriously impaired by the introduction of the Decalogue, the lengthy Exhortation and the Confession just before the Communion. The omission of the Introit, the Hallelujah, the Sequence and Gradual, the *Benedictus* and the *Agnus Dei* is a loss which English liturgical scholars keenly regret and which ritualistic rectors do not hesitate to make good in their services. There is so much to be said and done in the services of the English Church that in order to finish them in reasonable time their reverent use seems almost impossible at the rapid rate usually followed. Their beauty would be much enhanced were their excrescences lopped off and their omissions made good and in so far the work of liturgical reform in the use of the Book since the Puseyite movement and directly resulting therefrom is only commendable.

The Litany whose Lutheran source has already been referred to is considerably fuller than the Lutheran but does not gain thereby because of its redundancy of expression. It is used regularly on Wednesdays and Fridays and frequently on the morning of the Lord's Day, sometimes at a special service on Sunday afternoon, at the Ordination of Deacons and Priests and the Consecration of Bishops.

The Gospels and Epistles have always been printed as an integral part of the Book of Common Prayer. The entire Psalter which is read through once every month, the Commandments and the Comfortable Words are still used in the words of the Coverdale Version.

The chief and distinguishing feature in the Lutheran Liturgy is its clearly-drawn distinction between the sacramental and the sacrificial acts of divine worship. That which God offers and really gives us is the sacramental element. Acts of this nature are the reading and preaching of the Word, the Absolution, the Salutation, the *Pax Domini*, the Benedictions and the administra-

Digitized by Google

tion of the sacraments. That which we offer to God is the sacrificial element. Prayers, the Litany, the Suffrages, confessions of sin, hymns, canticles, praises, thanksgivings, acts of adoration and of faith, these are acceptable offerings, sacrifices well-pleasing to God, our reasonable service. Not that there is always a hard and fast line of demarcation between the two, as certain acts such as the use of the Psalter and the preaching of the Word through the power of the Holy Spirit bear our praises and confessions Heavenward simultaneously with our reception of the divine gift of grace. Clearly to illustrate this principle in the use of the services at sacramental acts the minister as the representative of the Lord, turns to the people to declare to them the Divine will and promises while in performing sacrificial acts as the representative of the Church and the leader in the devotions of the priesthood of all believers, he turns to the altar to offer their eucharistic sacrifices to God. In the Book of Common Prayer while both elements are present the distinction is not appreciated and Blunt speaks even of the reading of the Holy Scriptures as an offering of praise to God in the words of inspiration. There must of course always be a holy joy and reverent thanksgiving in the performance of all sacramental acts but we wish to emphasize our belief that this is truly the means whereby God brings us grace and the power of an endless life. So also in the Holy Communion the Book of Common Prayer lays such stress upon the offering of the consecrated elements to God, the memorializing of the Passion, the presentation of ourselves, our bodies and souls, as a reasonable service, and the prayers for the Church—all of which are excellent and in no wise to be depreciated—as often to cause the people to lose sight of the main things in the sacrament, the Body and Blood of the incarnate Lord and the precious words of forgiveness and peace.

The whole consideration of any religious service depends upon our point of view and this again rests upon a clear apprehension of this distinction or the failure to recognize it. It is to be feared that the Romish error of the justifying power of good works may be latent in the tenacious adherence to set forms and the scrupulous observance of rubrical prescriptions characteristic of the devotees of the Book of Common Prayer even to the underestimation of the Word of Truth itself. The sacrificial element pervades not so much the letter as the spirit, the real genius of

Digitized by Google

the system of Christian doctrine contained in the Book of Common Prayer.

As English Lutherans we should always be willing to acknowledge our debt of gratitude to the Book of Common Prayer for the beautiful rhythmical English into which the old Latin services were translated more than three centuries and a half ago. It is difficult to conceive of translations in the main more admirable—the collects are a notable example—so perfectly do they reproduce the innermost spirit of the originals. If the influence of the Lutheran movement in England is clearly evident in the original formation and the present contents of the Book, the whole English-speaking Protestant world is indebted to the Book of Common Prayer for its choice diction, its thoroughly devotional spirit and its glorious "form of sound words."

Ours is a rich liturgical inheritance, a very treasure trove of inestimable worth, long unappreciated and neglected, it is true, but providentially preserved to us that in these latter days we may worship the one Lord not only in the beauty of holiness whose elements are truth and love, but in the holiness of a beautiful spiritual worship, expressing the loftiest truth of our faith. Let us then study our own Services so as to know them better; let us endeavor to bring our people to a clearer conception of their liturgical inheritance, and let us realize our personal accountability to God for our approach to the throne of grace in the services of His house, whether it be cold and careless and ill-informed or intelligent and reverent and all aglow with love divine. We need more daily services, the more frequent celebration of the Holy Communion, the more general use of the Litany and the Suffrages. We learn from the loving, intelligent use of the Book of Common Prayer by its faithful adherents many lessons as to the use of our own Services. May God use the Book, purified and clarified if need be, in the generations to come as He has so signally honored it in the ages past, to His glory and honor and the continued spread of His Kingdom among men.

SAMUEL A. BRIDGES STOPP.

Lutheran Theological Seminary,
Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

Digitized by Google

TABLE No. I.

MORNING PRAYER.				MATINS.
The First Book of Edward VI.	The Second Book of Edward VI.	The Present English Book.	The Present American Book.	The Lutheran Order.
	The Sentences.	The Sentences.	The Sentences.	A Hymn of Invocation of the Holy Ghost or another Hymn.
	The General Confession.	The General Confession.	The General Confession.	
	The Absolution.	The Absolution.	The Absolution.	
The Lord's Prayer.	The Lord's Prayer.	The Lord's Prayer.	The Lord's Prayer.	
The Versicles:	The Versicles:	The Versicles:	The Versicle:	The Versicles:
Domine, labia mea.	*Domine, labia mea.*	*Domine, labia mea.*	*Dominus, mea Labia.*	*Dominus, mea Labia.*
Deus in adjutorium.	*Deus in adjutorium.*	*Deus in adjutorium.*		*Deus in adjutorium.*
Gloria Patri.	*Gloria Patri.*	*Gloria Patri.*	*Gloria Patri.*	*Gloria Patri.*
Hallelujah.	Praise ye the Lord.	Praise ye the Lord.	Praise ye the Lord.	Hallelujah.
				The Invitatory.
Venite Exultemus.	*Venite Exultemus.*	*Venite Exultemus.*	*Venite Exultemus.*	*Venite Exultemus.*
				The Invitatory.
Certain Psalms.	Certain Psalms.	The Psalter for the Day.	A Portion of the Psalms.	The Hymn.
The *Gloria Patri* after each Psalm.	The *Gloria Patri* after each Psalm.	The *Gloria Patri.*	The *Gloria Patri.*	The Psalms with Antiphons and the *Gloria Patri.*
The Old Testament Lesson.	The Old Testament Lesson.	The Old Testament Lesson.	The Old Testament Lesson.	The Lessons with the Response after each.
The *Te Deum Laudamus* or the *Benedicite.*	*Te Deum Laudamus* or the *Benedicite.*	*Te Deum Laudamus* or the *Benedicite.*	*Te Deum Laudamus* or the *Benedicite.*	A Responsory or a Hymn.
The New Testament Lesson.	The New Testament Lesson.	The New Testament Lesson.	The New Testament Lesson.	(A brief Exhortation or Sermon.)
The *Benedictus.*	The *Benedictus* or the *Jubilate Deo.*	The *Benedictus* or the *Jubilate Deo.*	The *Benedictus* or the *Jubilate Deo.*	The Canticle. The *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus* or another Canticle.
The *Kyrie.*	The Creed.	The Apostles' or the Athanasian Creed.	The Apostles' or the Nicene Creed	The Litany, the Suffrages or these Prayers.
The Creed.				
	The Salutation.	The Salutation.	The Salutation.	The *Kyrie.*
	The *Kyrie.*	The *Kyrie.*		The Lord's Prayer.
The Lord's Prayer.	The Lord's Prayer.	The Lord's Prayer.		
The Suffrages.	The Suffrages.	The Suffrages.	The Shorter Suffrages.	The Salutation.
The Salutation.				
Three Collects:	Three Collects:	Three Collects:		
For the Day.	For the Day.	For the Day.	The Collect for the Day.	The Collect for the Day.
For Peace.	For Peace.	For Peace.	For Peace.	Other Collects.
For Grace.	For Grace.	For Grace.	For Grace.	The Collect for Grace.
		The Anthem.	A Prayer for all in Authority.	The *Benedicamus.*
		The Litany, or	The Litany, or	A Closing Hymn.
		Prayers for the King and the Royal Family.	Prayer for the Clergy and People.	
		A Prayer for the Clergy and People.	A Prayer for all Conditions of Men.	
			A General Thanksgiving.	
		A Prayer of St. Chrysostom.	A Prayer of St. Chrysostom.	
		The Apostolic Benediction.	The Apostolic Benediction.	The Apostolic Benediction.

Digitized by Google

TABLE No. II.

THE HOLY COMMUNION.

The First Book of Edward VI.	The Second Book of Edward VI.	The Present English Book.	The Present American Book.	The Present Lutheran Order.
The Lord's Prayer.	The Lord's Prayer.	The Lord's Prayer.	The Lord's Prayer.	*In Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*
The Collect for Purity.	The Collect for Purity.	The Collect for Purity.	The Collect for Purity.	Versicles, the Confession of Sin,
	The Decalogue.	The Decalogue.	The Decalogue, or	the Declaration of Forgiveness.
			The Summary of the Law.	
A Psalm for the Introit.				The Introit.
Gloria Patri.				The *Gloria Patri.*
The *Kyrie.*	The *Kyrie.*	The *Kyrie.*	The *Kyrie.*	The *Kyrie.*
The *Gloria in Excelsis.*				The *Gloria in Excelsis.*
The Salutation.				The Salutation.
		Collect for the King.	Prayer for Grace.	
The Collect for the Day.	The Collect for the Day.	Collect for the Day.	Collect for the Day.	The Collect for the Day.
Prayer for the King.	Prayer for the King.			
The Epistle.	The Epistle.	The Epistle.	The Epistle.	The Epistle.
				The Hallelujah and Gradual.
The Gospel.	The Gospel.	The Gospel.	The Gospel.	The Gospel.
Gloria Tibi.			*Gloria Tibi.*	The *Gloria Tibi.*
				The *Laus Tibi.*
The Nicene Creed.	The Nicene Creed.	The Nicene Creed.	The Nicene Creed.	The Nicene Creed.
				The Hymn.
The Sermon or Homily.	The Sermon or Homily.	The Sermon or Homily.	Sermon.	The Sermon.
The Exhortation.				The *Votum.*
The Offertory.	The Offertory.	The Offertory.	The Offertory.	The Offertory.
	Prayer for the Church.	Prayer for the Church.	Prayer for the Church.	The General Prayer.
	Exhortation.	The Exhortation.	The Exhortation.	The Hymn.
	Confession and Absolution.	The General Confession.	The General Confession.	
		The Absolution.	The Absolution.	
The Salutation.	The Comfortable Words.	The Comfortable Words.	The Comfortable Words.	The Salutation.
Sursum Corda.	*Sursum Corda.*	*Sursum Corda.*	*Sursum Corda.*	*Sursum Corda.*
The Preface.	The Preface.	The Preface.	The Preface.	The Preface.
The *Sanctus.*	The *Sanctus.*	The *Sanctus*	The *Sanctus.*	The *Sanctus.*
Prayer for the Church.	Prayer of Humble Access.	The Prayer of Humble Access.	Prayer of Humble Access.	The Exhortation.
				The Lord's Prayer.
The Consecration.	The Consecration.	The Consecration.	The Consecration.	The Consecration.
The Oblation.			The Oblation.	The *Agnus Dei.*
The Invocation of the Holy Ghost			The Invocation of the Holy Ghost	
The Lord's Prayer.			Hymn.	
The *Pax Domini.*				The *Pax Domini.*
Confession, Absolution, the Comfortable Words, the Prayer of Humble Access.	The Distribution.	The Distribution.	Distribution.	The Distribution.
	The Lord's Prayer.	The Lord's Prayer.	The Lord's Prayer.	The *Nunc Dimittis.*
	The Thanksgiving.	The Oblation or the Thanksgiving	The Thanksgiving.	The Thanksgiving.
The *Agnus Dei* during the Distribution.	*Gloria in Excelsis.*	*Gloria in Excelsis.*	*Gloria in Excelsis.*	The Salutation.
				The *Benedicamus.*
The Thanksgiving.				
The Blessing.	The Blessing.	The Blessing.	The Blessing.	The Benediction.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

MEANS OF LITURGICAL REFORM.

As Christians we all believe in the service and worship of God. We believe in public worship and in the "communion of saints." From the earliest days there has ever been such public worship among the people of God. This worship has always assumed some form. All substance is at present manifested to us, to our senses and perceptions in some form. Even the very substance of God was revealed in the form of words, or of the Word of God, in conjunction with certain experiences which could impress the senses. The Divine substance is especially revealed to us in the form of Jesus, the Son of God, Who was "God manifest in the flesh." We must have form: and our worship must assume some form. This constitutes a Liturgy or a Liturgical Service, more or less developed or elaborated.

Even so we believe in reform. The Church of the Reformation, in fact, the Church of Protestantism believes in reform. We believe in liturgical reform—if that is necessary. Perfection is our goal in every respect; so also in the liturgical service rendered unto God. In the Reformation of the 16th century this reform manifested a two-fold tendency; the one was destructive and radical, which could hardly lay claim to the title of reform; the other was eliminating and constructive—exhibiting the character of true reform. There is no particular reason why this work should cease. But there is every reason why it should be encouraged. Now the question arises, how shall this reform be effected?

I.) Some might reply—in whatever way possible, that is right and proper. But what is right and proper? The particular reform might be very much needed. Through an adherence to old forms the worshippers might be experiencing a serious loss. But the sudden introduction of a new and improved form might

Digitized by Google

cause such a shock to sensitive natures as to produce more harm than good. Here of course we must make a distinction between matters that are essential and unessential. In essential matters of reform the truth must be proclaimed at once, and proper means must be employed to effect the reform as speedily as possible. But in matters which have not the same essential significance it is proper to pursue another course. And the course that is recommended by the writer of this paper in what follows is strictly educational, because he believes that the forms for which contention is made in our day, and especially in our own Lutheran Church, are largely of the latter class.

II.) Education is needed among our people and congregations and pastors.

1) With the Church at large. Here there are two important channels of reform. The Church Press should be employed to set forth the principles of true reform and the elements in which the worship might be improved. And in this particular as well as in those efforts yet to be mentioned great care should be exercised by all concerned that what is proposed be done in the spirit of patience and love. Great care should be exercised to avoid bigotry, censorious criticism, narrowness of view, and downright error through the undue emphasis of what is unessential. General services, held under the auspices of a Synod, Conference, League or some other general body of the Church, as well as the services of worship conducted in our Theological Seminaries, should be, as far as possible, models in their arrangement of propriety and in their spirit of edification.

2) With the individual congregations. In the Lutheran Church, even as in the Church of Apostolic days, the local congregation representing the Church of that particular place—the assembly in the name of Christ with the promise of His presence, cannot surrender its responsibility, nor can it be deprived of its spiritual privileges or authority. The Pastor is the Bishop of his people. Reform in the Roman Catholic Church, and to a large extent in the Episcopal Church, proceeds from above downward; in the Lutheran Church, though some reforms might take that course, in the great majority of instances they must proceed in the reverse direction. We are here speaking of liturgical reform in matters that are not regarded as absolutely essential. And though the Pastor be first on the field of reform in his congrega-

Digitized by Google

tion, it will be the evidence of wisdom on his part to make that reform proceed in the way indicated. The view here presented is not a theory, but one that will make the Pastor practically more efficient. Whether the reform come through the minister or through intelligent, educated laymen in the congregation, the greatest tact and care must be employed, because though a large and important part of the work must be done from the pulpit, and in special services, and with lectures and addresses both by the pastor and by those who can speak with special authority, yet individuals must be dealt with. Here a leaflet, there a Church paper, a personal friendly interview and an exhibition of Christian self-submission in precept and example—all may be needed. "A bruised reed shall he not break."

3) With the Ministry. Effective reform certainly must reach the minister himself, if it would affect his congregation. And he, with his superior education and training in such matters, should be more susceptible of reform. He has more opportunity to become acquainted with the significance of these things through his reading, by frequent intercourse with other pastors, attendance upon the general services of a typical character, and through interest in the proceedings and results of such a Liturgical Association. But it is exceedingly important that before he has entered upon his public ministry, he shall have received an acquaintance with the principles underlying all reform, and the spirit that must pervade all reformatory movements, and the elements in which, in any particular day, there is need of reform. This work is to be accomplished in his course in the Theological Seminary. Somewhere and somehow in the Seminary this elementary work should be done in the name of the Church so that the Church's adherents shall not be left to the whims and notions of every new minister who may not have any fixed principles of the proprieties of public worship. Of course where it is possible and where the institution is of such development as to warrant it, a liturgical chair might be established with great profit. The Seminary in furnishing a satisfactory equipment of the young pastor cannot send him forth into that important part of his ministry, namely, the conduct of public worship, without a knowledge of sound liturgical principles. But there is the practical difficulty of adjusting in the Seminary all these various sub-departments, so that each shall have its due share of attention, and

Digitized by Google

that no department shall be slighted. There are some departments which should receive the special attention of every theological student; and there may be others which should receive the general attention of all and the special attention of some. The greater institutions of learning recognize this principle, so that with the general culture of all, there is specialization of each according to his special aptitude and desire. Such work in a Theological Seminary might cost much labor and require much discretion, but it would be of inestimable benefit to the individual student and to the Church. It is impossible that all shall be specialists. There is not the time, nor sufficient aptitude to justify the expenditure of so much time. But we believe the time will come when the Theological Seminary will provide for the selection of specialties, Homiletics, Liturgics, Old Testament Hebrew, New Testament Greek, Missions (with special preparation for work in home and foreign fields), and special subjects in other departments.

We can never forget that the prime purpose of the Theological Seminary is to train pastors and not to turn out specialists. Such specialization of a scientific character must be reserved for a post-graduate course. There is, however, no reason why in some part of the regular theological course there should not be given to every student the opportunity of doing some special work in some selected department under the direction and instruction of his theological professors, whose object shall not be necessarily scientific specialization, and certainly not the development of a ministerial hobby (which may seriously affect the effectiveness of his ministerial labors). The fact is that almost every student in his own mind and work selects his specialty. And the contention of the writer is that the student should not be left to himself in the formation of the principles to govern him in his subsequent work, but he should have the special guidance of the Theological Seminary in his chosen specialty.

With such guidance in liturgical reform, the Church may be protected against excess and extremes in reformatory efforts. It is not suppression of individual effort for which we contend, but the guidance thereof by those who, by individual labors and by the call of the Church, are fitted for such work.

In conclusion let us not forget that God desires the spiritual worship of the heart, which may be encouraged by the use of ap-

Digitized by Google

propriate forms. And if such forms hamper the soul's fellowship with God, (for all souls are not of the same disposition and inclination) we dare not, in a spirit of Pharisaic holiness of formalism, condemn such souls to a life of hard ecclesiastical and liturgical bondage. Let us educate and lead the people and show by our spirit of liberality and concession in regard to the less essential, the appreciation of the need of spiritual fellowship with God. Rather the simplest service of devout praise from the heart, than the most sublime service of formal worship with or without the understanding but not from the heart!

T. W. KRETSCHMANN.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Note.—The writer of this paper is exceedingly grateful to the Liturgical Association for the privilege of expressing his views on the above subject. He desires each one to supply for himself the material of history and of experience for further illustration. It was his purpose to state as concisely as possible facts and principles which might be easily recognized, and which he regards to be at the very foundation of all liturgical reform. They deserve to stand out in bold relief: and they should not be hidden by a wealth of other material, interesting as it might be.

T. W. K.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LITURGICAL EDUCATION OF THE CHURCH'S YOUTH.

To comprehend the nature of Christian worship as a whole, and the elements constituting the same, and by which modified in particular, and directed in general, is the task of those who minister to the youth of the Church. Upon the manner, method and line of procedure in which the worship by the youth is performed, conducted and taught will depend a correct, stimulating and edifying form of worship in the congregation that develops from the youth in the schools of the Church.

The non-liturgical Sunday School grows the non-liturgical congregation. This is under the law "that which ye sow ye shall also reap." It is a well established fact that "men do not gather figs from thistles." Recognizing this law how can a liturgical congregation, one in full sympathy and spirit with every scriptural element in the liturgy, help being the outgrowth of a correctly taught liturgical youth?

There are several sides to every child that may be recognized: the subjective, the objective and the physio-psychological basis. These several sides enter into the growth of every child. In the subjective aspect it draws in, absorbs and appropriates ideas, notions, customs and practices which it applies objectively as the mode of expression; as the thought in action; as the feeling performed; as the deeper experiences developing his consciousness of God.

The average pupil in the Sunday School has not arrived at the mature age of reasoning, but accepts in pure faith that which is placed before it. The memory holds whatever may be taught, and the necessary action required in the mode of worship will be most readily acquired and utilized with utmost ease until it is part of the pupil's life to "rise" in repeating those parts of the

Digitized by Google

Sunday School Service that demand "rising," and to participate in the parts that are "said" or "sung." This "saying," "singing" and "rising" have become parts of the child's life when engaged in worship in either the Sunday School or that of the congregation.

The child has a sense of things orderly. The Sunday School being conducted along lines of good order and decorum soon impresses this sense of order upon the psychical side of the child and it learns orderly methods and with growing years becomes impressed with the deeper meaning of song, prayer and Scripture teachings.

Through its objective sense it may quite unconsciously learn to approve and accept the purest form of worship and could give no intelligent reason why it would feel spiritually wronged to be asked to use any form with which it was not familiar.

It is well known that where there is physical order there will the more readily follow mental order. The mentality is affected. When this is done the lower basis for order is left, to enter a higher, the realm of mind, soul. From the sphere of mind it is but a step to the metaphysical, realm of pure spirit, the spiritual domain. Here again enters the law of good order which directs the spiritual man to the presence of Him Whose demand is that He shall be worshipped in the beauty of holiness.

There is a tendency to repeat the acts which have often been done. Herein lies the power of a fixed service in the schools of the Church. Services wrought out of the Scriptures, tried by centuries of usage and found helpful and edifying when once woven into the inmost nature of religious life by constant practice during the appropriating age of youth in the Sunday School will give zest and spiritual power not otherwise obtained in the congregation.

Habit gives facility in doing acts which have been often performed. At first it is quite a difficult task to repeat the multiplication table rapidly, but the habit of repetition produces the momentum that gives the velocity or rapidity. In the Sunday School the constant repetition gives the momentum required to render an acceptable service. Then back of it all lies the fact that the nature and character of the Service has become ingrained into the life, conscience and individuality of the pupil until the spiritual essence pervades his very being when he engages in the

Digitized by Google

solemn acts of worship in either school, home or congregation. This law of habit was appointed for good by Him Who made all things and pervadeth all things.

Those ideas which are attended with deep feeling are called up more readily. The child that has learned its lessons at home, in the Church's school, will, when at mature age, learn the meaning of the "Confession of sins," sorrow and contrition, with pardon through the tender mercies of Christ the Redeemer.

It is another well established fact that the easily recited lesson is as easily forgotten and those retained longest required the greatest amount of intellectual energy. The song ditty, sung to "quick-step" time, vanishes with the martial music which is played to be forgotten. But the hymn, psalm and canticle that required time and energy to master will endure while life endures. When the principle of right worship and scriptural practice is carried through the very life of the Church's school, it will grow into one of higher ideals, loftier conceptions of the dignity and spirit of holy worship.

It is important that the directors of thought in the Sunday School teach their pupils word for word the significance of every act in the performance of the different parts of the Service and the source and meaning of all the words in the Service in both Church and Sunday School Services.

As the Sunday School age of children is the recognized "memory-age," it would be well to constantly keep in mind the fact that this is the golden age to teach all the truths of our holy religion. When once the form has been learned it leaves no room for those of an unchurchly and unscriptural character.

It is the duty of all parents to educate their children. Specially so with Christian parents is it to train them in "the fear and admonition of the Lord." How, when and why to worship is a part of the training children should receive at home and in the Sunday School, and the catechetical class. Make the Lutheran Service an intellectual endowment and a spiritual possession more to be desired than "fine gold."

We plant and water, but it is God that giveth the increase (1 Cor. 3: 7), and this saying is applicable to the teachings of the pupils in the Sunday School and class, and of their growth in a knowledge and practice of pure liturgical principles.

The psychic side of the child must not be forgotten. It is

Digitized by Google

from this side the spiritual growth comes. Through this side the child is approached with a proper conception of liturgical development and orderly life in its acts of devotion both public and private.

There is a psychic power that lies in wonder, reverence and awe. It begets reverential attitudes of the mind toward the house of God, its altar, its lectern, its pulpit and its religious acts and sacred associations that appeal to its sub-conscious feelings, sentiments and emotions which are motor forces that grow into the acts of worship by the child, the man.

Christianity being life, its acts are exhibited in the moving springs of that life; its feelings. These, again, are seen in the orderly manner, the liturgical concept of religious devotion. The attitude toward the holy place of worship differs from that toward the public hall, as its use and purpose is different. In the approach to God's house the modes of procedure are deferential, reverential. The advance to it is from the human side toward God. It begins in earliest sacred impressions and ends when life here ends.

The laws of repetition, of attention, and of reproduction fix the form and content of the Service in the Sunday School, also the Church Service, and exhibit themselves in religious action. These Services have become parts of the life that is full of faith and reverence.

By observing these laws and principles the Pastor will be able to develop the youth in a knowledge not only of Christian doctrine, as set forth in the teachings of the Church, but also in the meaning and significance of the great Festivals of the Church Year: Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter and Pentecost, and to impress the nature, character and peculiar feeling attached to, and connected with, each of these festival seasons, with the distinctive type of worship most suitably adapted to each period and best calculated to make a lasting impression and bring out the deepest and most heartfelt praise and devotion.

He will thus be able to teach those whom he is preparing for active membership in the Church, the hymns designated for each season of the Church Year; the use of the Psalter; the design of the Chief Service and the Minor Services; the purpose of the Confessional or Preparatory Service; the object of the Communion Service and the significance of each act in the Service, with its distinct meaning, scriptural authority and evident spiritual neces-

Digitized by Google

sity. Also the distinguishing marks between the Church prayer and free, or private prayer; the object and place for art in developing and applying the different acts in worship; the arrangement of the church furniture within the chancel—of the pulpit, for proclaiming and teaching the Gospel; the lectern, for reading the Scriptures; and the altar, with its coverings, their colors and import, from which is the dispensing of the holy sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord; the setting forth of the marks of difference that distinguishes the sacred edifice dedicated to God's service from one of secular use,—that "from its foundation-stone to the cross upon its spire, a church ought to produce the impression of a grand symphony proclaiming the great central truths connected with the redemption of man."

Thought and language are mysteriously connected. Right use of liturgical language helps to develop correct liturgical concepts. It is the office of the teacher to convey and impress such forms of right use of liturgical language that correct liturgical ideas, concepts and essence of biblical truth shall be stamped indelibly upon the memory of youth that they remain as an enduring and blessed heritage.

The teacher should urge a search of the inner consciousness, that in worship may be found God's highest expression of truth; that as beauty is seen in the flower, glory may be seen in the heavens; that as they sing of Divine love, they may possess Divine aspirations.

The mighty engine may have within it the potency of great work, yet it may remain idle unless the right means are employed to utilize it. Likewise the agency through which God is worshipped in spirit and in truth may lie dormant until it is awakened and directed into the best ways of making it tell for the highest usefulness to the soul.

"Progress is the condition of life." Education and training, acquisition and utilization fill out the condition. "Childhood and youth is the period when tendencies are most easily established." The mind is teachable and receives impressions readily; around those cluster kindred impressions, which if Christian, form Christian character and life.

It is said "To prepare for the highest moral life and a persevering religious life, early habits of the right kind are the only secure foundations." Then to prepare for highest devotional

Digitized by Google

life, and a constant religious life, should demand of the youth early training of his soul in all the elements of worship and the teachings of the Word connected with religious action.

Let the youth be taught that "if nature is a congeries of metaphors arrayed in a system of relations and constituting a sublime allegory, and we being the offspring of God, may interpret this allegory and thereby come to a consciousness of its verities, if there is a spiritual sense that may feel the presence of great truths and of a personal God"—then man pursuing his search, through the laws of his spiritual nature, for the pure and true expressions of holy worship through the words of Scripture and the beauty of its forms which have come down through the world's history and the Church's literature, finds the goal in an exalted and spiritual Service.

The love of art is necessary to the complete man. He sees a higher meaning than mere color in the rainbow. It speaks of God's promise and love. The tints of faded leaf reminds him of God's order in the universe. The sparkle of the limpid rill tells him of the river of life and God's eternal fountains of love. He is taught to see the real spirit shining through material forms, and architecture, sculpture, painting, music and poetry follow with their interpretations and portrayals of the deeper and spiritual insight. Noble thought and action, right and truth of Divine things enables the soul to partake of holy draughts of pure worship from the stream of spiritual life.

The liturgical education is the development of a liturgical ideal, purpose and marshalling of the devotional forces for active service in the Church's inner life. The liturgical ideal is needed.

"The Gothic cathedral, with its mullioned window, tapering spire, and upward-running lines, indicating the hope and aspiration of the middle ages, with its cruciform shape, typical of the faith of the Christian, is more than the stone and mortar of which it is constructed. The truly educated man in art perceives the adaptation, polish and perfection in literature; discovers the grace, the just proportions, the ideal form and typical idea in sculpture; views the expression, grouping sentiment, coloring, and human passion in painting; enjoys the harmonies, movements, and ideas in music, that combination of effects that makes subtile and evasive metaphors; discovers the conventionalized forms and mute symbols, the 'frozen music' of architecture; finds grandeur in the

Digitized by Google

mountains, glory in the sunset, laughs with the morning breeze, finds strength in the giant oak, and sorrow in the drooping willow."

The foresight of the Heavenly beauty is caught and transmitted to this earthly sphere, and taken up to be given back in highest forms of praise.

The spirit of this holy worship must be first caught by the teacher. This deeper nature, aye, spiritual feeling must be in the heart of the instructor. When he reaches beyond himself and sees in the Gothic building with its pinnacles, arches and curves of beauty an attempt, at least, to imitate the lines of beauty, grandeur and deeper feeling of adoration and sublimity in the heavens—creative handiwork of Him Whom men are taught to adore and worship in the most appropriate and soul-elevating manner possible.

The teacher possessing this spirit and mind will be able to lead his pupils out through the merely formal down into the very depths of heart to heart praise in the very essence of Scripture words, embodying the life of the Church doctrines of the Word of God. The very saving truths of Christianity will appear in every liturgical act of the youth, and thus will be founded upon the faith of the Word, but they will also be grounded in the vehicle and agency of that Word, that life in Christ, and their every thought will be developed from holy and established usage, consecrated by centuries of use in the Church's growth and life. He will possess a concensus of the very best that has come down as a heritage. He early learns that the formularies of worship are but the expression, by the soul, of the faith, teachings and life of the Church. By connecting this fact with that other of the golden memory age will he prepare himself to make the most of his opportunities in fixing the truths of holy religion firm and deep in the minds of his class; knowing it is the seed, which is the Word, he is sowing into a soil that will be productive of a rich fruitage in days to come.

Primarily it rests upon the Pastor to lead, direct and instruct all who teach in the schools of the Church, and upon these teachers, secondarily, is the duty to study the nature and deeper spiritual meaning of the Church's worship, and to invest themselves with the heartfelt devotional attitude toward true worship and be filled with its deeper spiritual feeling so they may "out of the

Digitized by Google

abundance of the heart" speak sound words of life, and by precept and example show their pupils the "more excellent way."

The instructor of youth being full of his subject, and feeling its importance, will the more readily teach the sacred song which soothes the sorrows, assuages pain, encourages the disheartened and lifts the soul God-ward. He will have his class commit to memory those standard hymns with which the battles of the Church have been fought and through which souls have been drawn to Christ, as also the psalmody of the inspired writer of Israel for soul strengthening and prayer. He will analyze and explain the hymns for the several seasons of the Church Year. Each part of the Catechism or statement of Christian doctrine, will be set forth and its relation to each part as an act of worship be fully defined.

In fact he will teach that every doctrine and every liturgical act have an inner harmony and unity, creating one beautiful and complete whole as the offering of the heart to God in solemn worship and praise.

"Here Thy praise is gladly chanted,
Here Thy seed is duly sown:
Let my soul, where it is planted,
Bring forth precious sheaves alone."

R. E. McDANIEL.

Springdale, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE SACRIFICIAL IDEA IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

OVER against all other forms of worship, Christian worship has a character of its own, the true realization of the communion between God and man. This character, although formally related to the worship of the temple and the synagogue, is distinct from them both as to its principle and its contents. Christian worship has all its springs in the person and work of Jesus Christ. The atoning sacrifice of our Lord is so clearly the centre of His person and work as to constitute the vital source of the two great elements of Christian worship, the sacramental and the sacrificial. Christian worship is a communion between God and man, based upon Divine communication of grace, followed by responsive acceptance of the Divine gifts. In the order of actual worship, the sacramental element of communicating grace has the precedence, and the responsive sacrificial human element follows. But both as constituent parts of the Service flow from the fountain of Christ's sacrifice. In this Divine-human sacrifice, the two parts of the Christian worship have their original and originating point of union. The two essential factors of worship are to find their formal external manifestation in harmony with the rule laid down in Scripture: "Let all things be done decently and in order." 1 Cor. 14: 40. How this principle has been applied, as regards the sacrificial element, will become apparent as we proceed. In this connection, it may be remarked, that this principle requires an official leadership of the congregation, which the Lord has provided for by instituting the office of the Holy Ministry.

THE PERIOD OF NORMAL APPLICATION OF THE SACRIFICIAL IDEA.

The New Testament requires the whole man as a sacrifice,—all that he is and has by God's grace. As a priesthood of believ-

Digitized by Google

ers, enabled by grace to serve God acceptably, we are by Jesus to offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to His name. But to do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. Heb. 12: 28; 13: 15, 16. The Apostle Paul, writing to the Philippians, rejoices at the prospect that he may perhaps be offered upon the sacrifice and service of their faith—Phil. 2: 17, and he beseeches the Romans by the mercies of God to present their bodies a living sacrifice. Rom. 12: 1. St. Peter also says that this holy priesthood is to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. 1 Pet. 2: 5. As the entire man is to present himself as a sacrifice, so the whole of his life is to be the sphere of his offerings. But the individual is not to isolate himself in this regard. There is a communion of saints, a fellowship of believers, a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, enjoying sacramental blessings in common, and uniting in the sacrificial expression of gratitude as a congregation. All the spiritual sacrifices of Christians, specified in the New Testament may be divided into two classes: on the one hand, the fruit of the lips, prayer, confession, praise, thanksgiving, and on the other, the fruit of activity—a holy walk, good works, the consecration of all one is and has to the service of the brethren.

The worship of the Pentecostal Church is described in Acts 2: 42—"And they continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers." Interpreting the word Κοινωνία, fellowship, in accordance with its use in 2 Cor. 9: 13 and Heb. 13: 16, we have one of the elements of New Testament sacrificial worship, communication, liberal distribution, giving to those in need, an expression, a result of fellowship, of communion. This act includes the offering of the general prayer, in addition to which we have the prayers, προσευχαὶ, which accompanied the other parts of the Service of the Pentecostal congregation. The Services which were held in the temple, were public Services apparently coincident with the usual hours of prayer, while the meetings held "from house to house," were private gatherings. There is no reason to think, that the meetings in the temple, apart from the mere association with the place and the hours of prayer, indicate a distinction between Jewish and Gentile Christian forms of worship. All the elements of Christian worship named in Acts 2: 42, were observed in the

Digitized by Google

congregational gatherings in private houses. In all probability sacred song, at least the psalmody, and that in all likelihood antiphonal, formed a part of the Service, Eph. 5: 19; Col. 3: 16; James 5: 13. There is here no confusion or perversion of the relation between the sacramental and the sacrificial elements of the Service. The first hint in this direction occurs in the "Shepherd of Hermas" where gifts to widows, orphans and the poor are spoken of as propitiatory, meritorious: "*Tua hostia erit accepta Domino.*" Justin restricts the sacrificial phase of the Eucharist to the offering of bread and wine for the Sacrament and before the consecration of the elements, but he does lay exceptional stress on these offerings over against prayer and gifts for the poor. There is no departure from the lines laid down by the Apostolic Church until we reach the Old Catholic Period.

THE DETERIORATION OF THE SACRIFICIAL IDEA.

The pioneer of the tendency toward confusion by perversion is the man who stamped the impress of his powerful personality on the language of the Western Church: Tertullian. At the close of the second century, however, we meet with a Church Father, who belongs to the East and the West, and who serves to a slight extent as a connecting link between Justin and Tertullian, namely Irenæus.

His position is essentially, one might say, dogmatically speaking, equivalent to that of Justin. Irenæus knows nothing of a sacrifice of the body of Christ or of a priesthood on which that sacrifice depends. He distinguishes three forms of sacrifice: first, the fruit of the lips; secondly, gifts of charity to the needy; thirdly, bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, as the first-fruits of God's creatures, to be consecrated by the eucharistic prayer. They are consecrated by the prayer to their sacramental use, after which they are eucharistic, i. e., the communion of the earthly and the Heavenly. But, at the same time, the confusion of the sacrificial and the sacramental elements is noticeable in Irenæus, and it is even more pronounced than in Justin. Irenæus terms the entire Service of the Eucharist, from the prayer addressed to the *Fabricator mundi*, to the consecration inclusive, the *Novi Testamenti nova oblatio*, *νέα προσφορὰ εν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ*. He does not confine himself to such expressions as "we offer to God bread and the cup of benediction." He goes a step farther,

Digitized by Google

and views the act of consecration as a sacrificial act, the prayer of consecration as a sacrificial prayer, thus drawing the sacramental act in the narrower sense, into the sacrificial sphere. Further, he states that the Lord taught Christians to sacrifice, when He said: "This is My body, My blood."

Finally, in his desire to prove that Christian sacrifice is not carnal but spiritual, he points out how Christians, after they returned thanks over the bread and wine for the gifts of God in creation, call upon the Holy Spirit to make this sacrifice as the body and blood of the Lord prove a spiritual blessing to those who partake of it. The consecration becomes a part of the sacrificial action. Yet all this must not lead one to infer that Irenæus has in mind a sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ. Not in the least. The Eucharist is only a sacrifice, because it is accompanied by prayer, and all prayer is sacrificial. But in emphasizing the subjective side of the Eucharist, human action and prayer in such a way as to place the Sacrament on the same line with our thank-offerings, he goes beyond Justin. There is an advance in the general direction of confusing the sacrificial and the sacramental. In this particular instance, the Sacrament, notwithstanding the fact that it is known and appreciated, is put into the background compared with man's function in connection with it, and human thanksgiving and prayer is the leading object of consideration. We notice that the sacrificial idea is being warped. Such expressions as: "*Is, qui offert, glorificatur ipse in eo, quod offert, si acceptetur munus ejus,*" and, "*Deus in se assumit bonas operationes nostras ad hoc, ut præstet nobis retributionem bonorum suorum,*" indicate that the pure, unselfish spirit of responsive gratitude is being alloyed by the introduction of human merit. Before leaving Irenæus our attention may be directed for a moment to the antiquity of the expression, "world without end," εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας των αἰώνον, which was then already used as a concluding formula of prayer in the administration of the Holy Communion.

In Tertullian the Eucharist from the sacrificial point of view, controls the whole situation, the entire Service. The sacrifices, indeed, are prayers, thanksgiving, alms, good works, and bread and wine. He knows nothing of a sacrifice of the body of Christ. But he looks upon the entire celebration of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, and the idea of the Service, and that of this eucharistic

Digitized by Google

sacrifice are practically identical. We must not forget that the *disciplina arcani* originated at this time, and that the line was drawn between the homiletic-didactic Service to which non-Christians were admitted, and the eucharistic sacramental Service which was private, and restricted to those who were baptized. Tertullian is very guarded in his allusions to the Lord's Supper. The comprehensive view taken of the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice is best illustrated by the advice he gives to those who are fasting. He advises them to be present during the celebration of the Communion, but not to partake of the bread at that time, but later in their homes, that in this way the participation in the sacrifice would be assured, *participatio sacrificii salva*. Thus the whole act belongs to the sphere of sacrifice. Besides the sacrificial idea is applied to matters outside the Service, such as fasting and penitential observances. The notion of merit has infected the entire Church in the time of Tertullian. Prayer, fasting, alms, as works of penitence, possess a meritorious power and significance. They are works of satisfaction. According to Tertullian: "*Non enim oramus tantum, sed et deprecamur, et satisfacimus Deo Domino nostro.*" No Roman mass as yet, no sacrifice of the body of Christ for the forgiveness of sins,—but prayers and oblations are offered to obtain the forgiveness of sins and every needed grace. Why not apply the meritorious power thus connected with the Eucharist to the martyrs and others who had departed this life? The step which leads to this goal is not a long one. Ignore the sacramental, regard the Service chiefly as worship, overemphasize the sacrificial, and the way to Rome is open.

Up to this time we have heard nothing of sacerdotalism in its relation to the sacrificial element. How does Tertullian view this relation?—In the first place he lays great stress on the universal priesthood of all Christians. Clearer and stronger language than his is not found. "*Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est: regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes deo et patri suo fecit,*" and, "*Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici.*" All Christians are priests, and as such originally authorized to exercise the functions of the priesthood, and in case of necessity may do so, but for the sake of order in the Church, one takes the place of all, and does that which all are entitled to do. If the office of the ministry is an outflow of the universal priesthood, if his functions are sacerdotal, if the minister of the Word, only officiates

Digitized by Google

as the organ of the priestly congregation, then the office of the ministry is a priesthood, a *sacerdotium*. The idea of a minister of the Word and Sacraments, a dispenser of the means of grace, is foreign to his conception; but the one who presides is a *sacerdos*, a priest, and *offerre*, to bring sacrifice, is his office and his service. Here, again, in the office of the ministry, we have the sacrificial point of view made prominent over the sacramental.

The sacerdotal character of the ministerial office retains its paramount position in the view taken by Cyprian, but the bearers of the office are not regarded as priests because they bring the prayers of the congregation before God in its name; they are not the priests of the congregation; they do not officiate before God in the name of the congregation; on the contrary they are the priests of God, who act in the name of God for the good of the congregation. The prayers they offer are not the prayers of the congregation, but rather acts enjoined by God, for the spiritual welfare of the congregation, for the forgiveness of their sins, and their reception into the good will of God. Cyprian voices a false realism in his estimate of prayer, which in itself is too spiritual, lacks contents, and must be supplemented in order to be a true offering. Gifts, alms, fasting must be added, and fill up the void. Moreover Cyprian extends the sacrificial view of the Eucharist so as to include the passion of our Lord. The old view that bread and wine are offered by thanksgiving before the consecration as the *primitiæ creaturarum* disappears entirely. "*Passio est Domini sacrificium, quod offerimus.*" Again in the institution of the Holy Supper the Lord as the High-Priest offers up His body and blood to the Father, under the bread and wine which is an *imago dominicæ passionis*. The institution of the Sacrament is a part of the passion, and is termed "*Sacrificium quod Christus obtulerit*," and the Lord Himself is "*Sacrificii hujus auctor et doctor.*" The passion of our Lord was accomplished once for all on the cross, but the celebration of the Sacrament is a constant repetition of the sacrifice of Christ, a commemoration, in which the Lord's passion is offered, presented, brought before the Lord. This view is not identical with the doctrine of the Church of Rome. Cyprian places a part of that which belongs to the death of Christ into the institution of the Lord's Supper. The death of Christ includes both the presentation of Himself by Christ, and the sufferings of the Lord in His sacrifice. Cyprian

Digitized by Google

separates the former from the death of the Lord, and includes it in the Sacrament, hence our Communion is only a repetition of the first, and of the High-Priestly self-presentation which took place on that occasion, but not yet a repetition of the sacrificial death of Christ.

A detailed discussion of the development within the Greek Church is unnecessary. Our object is to trace the perversion of the sacrificial sphere, and its reformation. Suffice it to say that the Greek Church has, in this regard, taken essentially the same course as the Latin, which has surpassed it in logical thoroughness, dogmatic precision, liturgical fulness, and formal development. The difference in the liturgical evolution of the Greek Church begins to show itself already after Cyprian and the Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitution. The language of Cyril of Jerusalem, and especially of Chrysostom are indicative of the increasing confusion respecting the character of the Sacrament.

The line of Latin continuity lies in the North African Church, and Augustine is the next to take up the thread. How does Augustine differ from Cyprian? In theory, or rather by his deep knowledge of sin and grace, Augustine stands in opposition to Cyprian, as the representative of the prevailing ideas of merit and satisfaction. In practice, however, he was not always consistent. Not infrequently we find him yielding to the popular practice, upholding, extenuating, defending it. This accounts for the limitation of his salutary influence on the development already in progress. Hence his deep and often correct views, compared with those of his time, have no immediate future. Cyprian and Augustine start from different points of view. Cyprian's view of the Service begins with the sacerdotal office, whose essential function it is to offer sacrifices for the congregation. Augustine here interposes the idea of the Sacrament. He holds that every Service is carried out by means of sacrifices, which we offer to God; but every sacrifice, in so far as it does not stop with the inner offering of the heart, but expresses itself in external acts, is a sacrament; in other words, every Service, in so far as it is not purely internal, is rendered by means of sacraments, which are sacrifices. Thus Augustine views the idea of the Service from the subjective point of view, a human function before God, service and reverence shown to God. The other side, the dealing of God with man by means of the Word, Bap-

Digitized by Google

tism and the Lord's Supper, is not ignored, but is simply regarded as the prerequisite of worship, in which the Service consists. The means of grace are virtually outside the conception of the Service as such. Divine Service is not God's doing in relation to man, but man's doing before God. This is his argument: God is the highest good; only by a vital connection with this highest good can man find the salvation he craves; and the worship of God consists in all that man does in order to put and maintain himself in vital communion with God.

And this constitutes his conception of sacrifice: All that man does in order to bring about and preserve his living communion with God is sacrificial. *Deum colere* and *Deo sacrificare* are synonymous. The Divine side is almost lost from sight. One might think that Augustine's subjective conception of the sacrificial would find a corrective in the fact that he terms every sacrifice a sacrament. But Augustine's definition of a sacrament includes every visible and real manifestation of spiritual and Divine things. Of course the sacrifice, in order to be called and to be a sacrament, even though it be only an offering brought by man, must have and present something Divine and spiritual. "*Etsi enim ab homine fit vel offertur, tamen sacrificium res divina est.*" But this need not be a Divine act affecting man; it need only be an act of man directed toward God; it is sufficient if man's sacrifice is offered for God's sake,—to make the sacrifice a sacrament. For example, a work of mercy done from a mere philanthropic motive, would not be a sacrifice, because it is not a *res divina*, but a work of mercy done for God's sake, is a sacrifice. Accordingly a sacrament does not necessarily imply a Divine act, but even a mere human act becomes a sacrament when it is done with reference to God. In this sense Augustine is to be understood when he says: "*Sacrificium ergo visibilis invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est sacrum signum est.*" The result is that by this peculiar combination Augustine preserves a sacramental idea in the Service, and in a new way lets the sacramental be absorbed by the sacrificial, the act of God by the act of man. If we now enter into the extent of the sacrificial sphere as viewed by Augustine, we find that fasting, ascetic acts, martyrdom, are sacrifices as well as the works of mercy and love, as they are all done for the good of one's own soul. All must be done for God's sake, for His glory, if they are to have any sacrificial value. All

Digitized by Google

these works are sacrifices because they proceed from within, are external signs of our internal consecration to God. The real sacrifice consists in the complete consecration of ourselves with all that we have and are to God Who has redeemed us through the one Mediator and High-Priest, and all those external acts, alms as well as prayers, the fruit of the lips as well as the fruit of works, are only the individual signs and activities of this real and true sacrifice. Herein Augustine reaches back with depth and decision to the older views of Christian sacrifice, which in Cyprian, had already fallen into the background. But Augustine does not continue in this right path, but departs from it in two directions. First, he makes all that transpires in the Christian Service to belong to his conception of sacrifice. Every act of the Service is viewed from the standpoint of the self-consecration. Even the celebration of the Christian festivals. His view of the character of such a festival is not that God, on those days by His Word, renews the memory of His great deeds and faith in them, but that we celebrate those great deeds of God, and offer thanks to God for them. And this applies to the Lessons, and the Sermon, and the Sacrament of the Altar. Here believers offer themselves up to God by offering up the body of Christ. The sacramental yields to the sacrificial. (*De Civ. Dei*, X. 6.) In the second place, we find that all the offerings of prayers, good works and the like are instances of devotion, but not a responsive yielding up of ourself to God, but when man has been born again by baptism, are of an atoning character, man offering up himself in Christ to God, as Christ has offered Himself to God by the complete sacrifice of our nature as the atonement and propitiation. In the Eucharist the Church offers itself up to God.

In the Church of Rome at the time of Innocent I, according to a letter written by him in 415 to a bishop named Decentius, we find in the Roman liturgy a conscious, logically consistent formal application of the sacrificial theory as applied to the Lord's Supper, at a period when the liturgies of all other churches were still oscillating between the old forms and those which corresponded to the sacrificial theory. Half a century later Leo I. holds that consecration effects, brings about the body and blood of Christ: "*Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere.*" What took place in the death of Christ, the sacrifice of Christ, is repeated in the Lord's Supper. Gregory the Great, (590–604),

Digitized by Google

concludes the theory as such even in its practical bearings. He applies the efficacy of the sacrifice of the Mass to his doctrine of purgatory. The conclusion is evident: If the Holy Supper availed for the dead, the presence of those who were to be benefited by it was unnecessary, and the Sacrament was simply a sacerdotal, atoning act, performed by the priest for man, however distant, reaching even into the depths of purgatory, if it were only done in behalf of the person whom it was intended to aid. The sacrificial idea had reached the climax of its distortion, and the misdirected current flowed on in unchecked force throughout the entire mediæval period.

THE RESTORATION OF THE SACRIFICIAL IDEA.

The Lutheran Reformation of the sixteenth century paid due regard to the historical continuity of the Christian Church. Where the correcting touch of revision was needed the work of restoration was conducted deliberately and carefully until the result was reached. As early as the year 1518 Luther begins to develop the principles on which the restoration of the Service depended. In discussing the existing arrangements he uses the Word of God as the guide and touch-stone. His tractate on "The Ten Commandments preached to the people at Wittenberg," gave him the opportunity to refer to the Service in treating of the third Commandment. With increasing clearness he continues along this line year after year, until he could embody the results in his "*Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdienstes*" in the year 1526. Most of the Lutheran orders of Service in the first half of the sixteenth century are based on Luther's "German Mass." The principle which dominates the entire Lutheran cultus is this: Every Service must contain a sacramental element; no Service dare consist of the purely sacrificial element; the sacramental is the fundamental; the sacrificial is the accidental element. The sacramental leads the way; the sacrificial follows. Luther expresses this very clearly: "If man desires to be in touch with God, and to receive aught at His hands, this is the proper course: Man dare not begin and lay the first stone, but God alone must first come, without any quest or desire on the part of man He must first come, and give man a promise. This same Word of God is the first thing: the foundation, the rock, on which the works, words and thoughts of man are built; this

Digitized by Google

Word man is to receive with thanks and to believe the Divine assurance with a true heart, and in no wise doubt that it is and comes to pass, in accordance with the Divine assurance." The two elements of public worship are here recognized together with their relation. The Service is a responsive one. In some acts the two elements are found together: hymns are not always purely sacrificial, nor are sermons always exclusively sacramental. The reading of the Word, on the other hand, and the administration of the Sacrament are entirely sacramental, while the offering of prayer is solely sacrificial. Bearing this qualification in mind it will be easy to distinguish those parts of the Service, whose distinguishing character is the expressive attitude of the recipient worshiper to the Divine Giver of grace. The distinction is as obvious as the difference is real and one might say necessary in the nature of the case. The false sacerdotalism of the deterioration disappears, and the congregation resumes its proper functions in the entire order of worship.

A glance at the constituents of the sacrificial sphere impresses one with the fulness of the responsive opportunity. All mutilation is at an end. The Sacrament is administered in its completeness, and the Sacrament itself marks the completeness of the full Service. Reverently we enter the vestibule of sacrificial worship. The Introit has its devotional culmination in the *Gloria Patri*, and prepares the way for that cry out of the depths, the supplication for mercy addressed to the Lord in the *Kyrie* filled with the same burden as the *Agnus Dei*. And now arises the great *Gloria in Excelsis*, an angelic outburst of adoration and prayer to the Triune Source of grace. The brief prayer for the presence of the Lord with the minister is followed by the collective presentation of all the wants of the Church in the Collect for the Day. The note of joyous praise is continued after the Epistle and the Gospel, the hallelujah of the Old, akin to the victorious shout hosanna, and the New Testament ascription of praise to Christ. Faith, the centre of the human movement throughout the Service, finds special utterance in one of the Creeds, and then the hymn, representative of that wealth of responsiveness in which the Reformation Church abounds and rejoices. After the offertory, the General Prayer, so comprehensive, so majestic in its simplicity, so beautiful in its dignity. The model prayer given by the Lord is the fitting conclusion of this sacrifice. Nor

Digitized by Google

dare the Litany be forgotten, that gem which Luther says is the best after the Lord's Prayer, that has come upon earth, or that may be thought out by man. Before the closing hymn the material offerings are placed upon the altar, denoting the consecration of the least as well as the greatest. All thought of merit, of atoning efficacy is absent from the sacrifices thus offered, and the Service has been restored to its original purity. All in all, the Service shines out in the beauty of holiness, radiant in all its many jewels of praise, whether of intonation or responsory, from the *Adjutorium* to the *Nunc Dimittis*, so suggestive of the sacrifices of the Church on high.

Principal Source:—KLIEFOTH, *Liturgische Abhandlungen.*

G. F. SPIEKER.

Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE PLACE OF LITURGY IN THE CHURCH'S THOUGHT, LIFE AND ART.

It is of no small importance to attempt an outline of the place of liturgy in the whole sphere of the thought, life and art of the Church. Such an attempt will indicate the wide relationship, the far-reaching dependence, and the deep and necessary influence of liturgy. Perhaps it may serve to impress some, to whom liturgics appears as one of the appendices of practical theology appealing to certain æsthetic souls but of very minor value to the whole Church, with the error of their position. Others, in becoming more fully conscious of the dependence of liturgics and seeing it in the whole organism of Christian theology and life, may be prevented from an enthusiastic overestimation and an excessive emphasis of liturgy in practise.

If liturgy is considered in its place in the Church, it is with no necessary theory of the Church as a presupposition, but simply for the reason that in the Church liturgy has its place. This is to be marked in the thought of the Church, i. e., its theology; in the life of the Church, which theology comprehends in its intellectual unfolding and which it influences through its divine content; and in the art of the Church, which, in the beautiful, gives expression of the truth of thought and life.

The thought of the Church arises from the *interpretation* and *understanding* of the *message* given her by her Founder and Corner-stone, and His Apostles, guided and led by His Spirit. Whatever preparatory and prophetic message the whole and the parts of the Old Testament contain, is normative only in the light of the fulfillment of the New Testament. The shadows of the old covenant are determined by the substance of the new, but the new covenant is not to be interpreted by the forms of the old. But the New Testament contains the germs of new fixed forms.

Digitized by Google

Christ, Who fulfilled the law and the prophets, not only reveres the Old Testament forms and the Old Testament Temple-service, but He also indicates that the new wine of the Kingdom is not to be without vessels, but is to be found in new skins. (Matt. 9: 17; Mark 2: 21; Luke 5: 37). The new spirit of the Kingdom is not to be formless, but to have new, adequate forms. Jesus looks forward to the worship in spirit and truth (John 4: 23), and yet He teaches His disciples upon their request, not simply a model but also a form of prayer. (Luke 11: 1 ff. cf. Matt. 6: 9 ff.). And the very "Abba" of the Spirit in the heart of believers (Rom. 8: 15; Gal. 4: 6) is the echo not only of the Lord's own prayer (Mark 14: 36), but of the Lord's Prayer given the disciples. The Spirit takes Christ's form of "Our Father" and uses it to move the heart to cry out in childlike confidence. And is it not an indisputable fact, that the most anti-liturgic churches have kept the very words of this form of prayer, and contend for the words "debts" and "debtors" as against "trespasses" used by liturgic churches. This simply proves that the Lord's Prayer is universally accepted as a form. In baptism the command "in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt. 28: 19) has been and is generally received as a formula. The free homiletic utterance of Peter, "in the name of Christ" (Acts 2: 38) is neither the starting point of Matt. 28: 19, which is textually so well established, nor its abrogation. The other institution of Christ, His Supper, to be held in remembrance of Him (Luke 22: 19; 1 Cor. 11: 24), is the nucleus for a form, and the prayers and celebration which grew out of it are indicated in the word "testament" and furthered by the command "this do."

If we enter the assemblies of the early Apostolic Church, we find the disciples met for "the prayers" (Greek text, Acts 2: 42), which seem to be not Jewish prayers, though these and their hours were still observed (Acts 3: 1), but the new Christian prayers, connected with "the fellowship" and "the breaking of bread," i. e., the Communion. The more certain are we of this as the congregation at Jerusalem "with one accord lifted up their voice" to what is the earliest known psalm of Christian thanksgiving, kindling the new praise by the old promise as they said: "Lord, Thou art God, Which hast made Heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is; Who by the mouth of Thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people

Digitized by Google

imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against His Christ. For of a truth against Thy holy child Jesus, Whom Thou hast anointed, both Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever Thy hand and Thy counsel determined before to be done. And now, Lord, behold their threatenings: and grant unto Thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak Thy Word, by stretching forth Thine hand to heal; and that signs and wonders may be done by the Name of Thy holy child Jesus." (Acts 4: 24–30.) Could this beautiful psalm have been prayed in common, unless it had been a form commonly known and prayed by the body of believers? Did the Holy Spirit ever produce psalms and hymns and prayers through the voice of a multitude, or not always through the individual? The further development of the liturgy of the Apostolic Church is not merely indicated by "psalms, hymns, spiritual songs" (Eph. 5: 19; Col. 3: 16), pointing to the retention of Jewish psalmody and the beginning of Christian hymnody, but there is evidently in the announcement of the mystery of godliness (1 Tim. 3: 16) the rhythm of an early hymn to Christ, (cf. Pliny's letter: a hymn to Christ as God). There is in this hymn the ring of confession. The confession at baptism is beginning to grow into a creed. And it is highly probable, as Theodore Zahn contends, that in the light of subsequent history we may conclude from the comparison of 1 Tim. 6: 12, 13; 2 Tim. 2: 8; Rom. 1: 3; 2 Tim. 4: 1; Acts 10: 42; 1 Pet. 4: 5; 2 Tim. 2: 2; 3: 10; 1: 13, 14, that Timothy confessed Christ is a creed, which contained according to clear evidence "of the seed of David," standing "before Pontius Pilate," and to come "to judge the quick and the dead," and probably it contained more, if we give due consideration to the researches of Kunze. At this same time of Paul's late labor we can also note the growth of the general prayer as seen in 1 Tim. 2: 1.

All these exegetic facts placed in the light of New Testament freedom furnish the foundation as well as the norm for liturgy.

But not only does the whole liturgy rest on such proofs, but individual parts are exegetically defensible. If we take "The Kyrie" of the Morning Service and the common objection to its place, we shall find upon examination, that the liturgy has kept

Digitized by Google

the primary meaning of "Kyrie eleison," as a cry for mercy in bodily misery. (Matt. 9: 27; 15: 22; 17: 15; 20: 30; Mark 10: 47; Luke 17: 13; 18: 38). Though other individual features may not show such literal usage, yet in the freest sacrificial echo of the Word there is an aptness and correctness, which often has not at all, or at least very slightly, been touched by exegetic aberrations. The truth is kept much more correctly than in the freedom of homiletical employment. There is a large opportunity for minute investigation and proof of this fact in showing the correct transmission of much Bible truth embedded in the liturgy, which was kept during the darkest period of the Church's deformation. Therefore the Reformers, despite their fundamental change of attitude, could use so much of the liturgic material of the Roman Church.

It has become evident, that the interpretative thought of the Church, showing the inception of development, leads into *history*. The Church's thought was unfolded in time. Liturgics cannot be understood unless we trace its growth; how it developed to the third century as a Service of the congregation, prayers and hymns first clustering about the Lord's Supper, and how, soon after, the degeneration begins with the growth of the hierarchic idea, the change of the sacrament into a sacrifice, the introduction of heathen ideas of mysteries, and how, later, the written fixation takes place in the fourth century, and the priestly cultus is gradually developed into the rich symbolism of the Eastern and the present Russian Church, for which liturgy is a constituent exponent of its elemental ceremonialism, or how it degenerated in the West where the idea of sacrifice gains even larger practical import, and where the Service must also lend itself to express the Latin rule of the Latin priest. In this history it is of interest to note the influence of Gregory I. in wedding most closely the growing liturgy to the growing *Church Year*. Both belong together, both co-work. The truth and justification of one implies that of the other. Gregory with all his errors has in this helped to shape a true union and given a proper impulse. But the Church Year and the liturgy in their interrelation of development and character have not yet been adequately described. The coming back of the old Gospel necessitated the removal of many unevangelical barnacles in liturgy, but it as such was not repudiated at Wittenberg or Geneva. Later, radicalism from Zwinglian impulses,

Digitized by Google

one-sided spiritualism, leveling rationalism have given many a wrong conception of the attitude of the Reformers and the necessity of evangelical truth, and these and cognate influences still enable uninformed and prejudiced men to interpret the evangelical freedom of the Reformers as rejection of the historic Service of the Church, while here as everywhere the programme was: reformation, not revolution; purification, not rejection.

Liturgy was conserved by the Reformers as a legacy of history, as a gift of the Spirit leading into truth despite error. All those rites were to be kept, which could be kept without sin. Evangelical truth cleansed, it did not destroy the historic liturgy. It has been, it appears to me, one of the errors of later systematization to place the historical study of liturgics into the practical department. On the basis of its direct practical application and its use in the congregation it has been subjected to much disfigurement. The present demand is made regulative of liturgy. Some late writers on liturgics, influenced by the conception that the liturgy is predominatingly a practical science, are beginning to suggest changes in the essential elements and thoughts of the Service, because their conception of evangelical does not measure up to that of the Reformers. This is a part of that individualism which still claims large rights in determining liturgic questions and usages on the plea of the present condition and state of the churches. Individual choice adds, removes, transposes with the claim of the right of individuality in practical theology. All this flows from the erroneous position of liturgics. If it were assigned to the historic department, it were not only removed from these dangers, but it would be where it belongs by its genetic, determinative, and characteristic principles. These principles and not the application determine the place of a science. In our land the Lutheran Churches, who have adopted the Common Service, have virtually been moved thereto by historic reasons. The fundamental rule for the formation of this Service, the common consensus of the pure liturgies of the 16th century, is a historical rule. Why do we hesitate to emphasize in thought what we have affirmed in practise? Historical character does not mean archæological exactness. The truly historical in Christianity ever influences the living present and has never been impracticable. The conservation of the great, fundamental, historical principles means no slavery to antiquated forms, but it guarantees

Digitized by Google

for the present the objective majesty and power of the grand old forms and prayers, which still appeal to the human heart and by their very dignity and simplicity stand for the unchangeable verities of Christianity. Whatever minor changes may be contemplated can only be made by those, who, understanding fully the historical character of liturgy, are also competent to judge of the practicability not by the standard of defective conditions but of educative possibilities.

The historical character of liturgics is *irenic*. It voices the harmony of the great common centre of faith. In it saints of every age have prayed, and it expresses a wonderful communion of saints. *Polemics* may have their place in the sermon, but the language of the liturgy, the language of devotion, does not attack. It cannot, when true to its principles, permit the sanctity of the Communion to be marred by any formula like "this is the *true* body of the Lord," which savors of discussion and controversy. Nevertheless it is not undecided. It is a clear expression of the *symbolic* position of a Church. In the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds the old common rules of faith voice the faith once (ἅπαξ) delivered to the saints. In the very Holy of Holies, the sacrament of the altar, definite formulas give forth a clear sound of a definite faith. It is this confessional import, this living impress of faith and creed, which the liturgy bears, that explains how it can be attacked by those, whose difficulty finally is not with the liturgy but with the creed upon which it rests.

This symbolic value of liturgy, especially when seen in the historic development, at once shows how the full understanding of liturgics necessitates a knowledge of the *History* of *Dogma* and *Doctrine*. In this its own history is fully bound up. The doctrine of the Church and the ministry have ever influenced worship. The sacrifice of the Mass, the invocation of saints, the purgatory and other wrong doctrines, beside the true, have always acted and reacted upon the liturgy.

The whole historic character of liturgics forms its *theoretical apologetic*. This derives its force when compared with the forms of other religions. The most corrupt form of Christian liturgy will be found immeasurably above the ceremonies of all other faiths. Apologetics has not yet begun to use this argument together with other lines of reasoning, as cumulative in the defence of Christian faith.

Digitized by Google

The truest apologetic within Christianity was given by the *doctrinal impress* of the Reformation. Its reconnection with the original faith made the liturgy correct and put it on the proper doctrinal foundation. Three great evangelical doctrines serve to explain it. The doctrine of the *Word of God*, the Word as it lives in the Gospel and as the sacraments individuate it, while resting on its power, is the truth and strength of the sacramental side of liturgy. God's gifts come through His Word. Whatever is imparted of grace, forgiveness, faith, is through the Word, in which the Spirit dwells and through which He works. There can be no difficulty in understanding the sacramental, the God-giving, side of liturgy, where the doctrine of the Word is really believed. The second great doctrine is that of the *priesthood of believers*. The evangelical Service is that of the congregation. The royal priesthood prays, responds, sings. This thought of the right of the believer, as a priest, in the Service was very fundamental with the Reformers. Because of it the Service was rendered into the vernacular, and the people were given back their ancient privilege. Wherever this truth is really alive, there can be no misunderstanding of the sacrificial, the man-giving, side of the Service. It is only where it is perverted in a Romish manner, or where the Reformed minister usurps the right of the people in worship, that it is objected to. The priesthood of believers is the safeguard against liturgy being imposed as a yoke. But it must be clearly determined, that royal priesthood does not mean the right of majority, the Messrs. Omnes, as Luther called the indiscriminate and indiscriminating mass. The true priest is only the believer. Not the whole, actual congregation, but the spiritual core of the congregation is the priesthood. Even this may be weak and its weakness must be respected. Yet the more a believer out of faith grows in love he will be ready upon information to surrender individual preferences and to receive a common Service even when he does not at once fully see its bearing, as long as he is assured that the faith is pure. Intermediate and connecting the doctrine of the Word and the priesthood of believers is the doctrine of the *ministry*. It was given to the Church with the Word and for its preaching, with the sacraments and for their administration. But it is filled from the spiritual priests, who elect to the ministry those whom Christ marks by His gifts of grace. When the minister announces the Word,

Digitized by Google

whether in preaching or sacramental administration, he is carrying out the sacramental part of the Service. Christ speaks through His servant. Whoso heareth the minister heareth Christ, provided that the minister announce only Christ's message. When the minister confesses sins, prays, he is carrying out the sacrificial side of the Service, bringing the spiritual sacrifices of the people as one of the spiritual priests, at times speaking for them, at times only with them. This conception changes much, which in Roman and Anglican liturgy has a different meaning. In such an incidental matter as the attitude of turning to and from the people the evangelical doctrine gives the true explanation. When the minister turns to the people, he speaks as the messenger of God. How the meaning of this attitude is misconceived; for while it elevates the minister it is commonly regarded as Protestant co-ordination. On the other hand, when the minister as one of the spiritual priests turns to the altar, bringing at this symbolic place the sacrifice of prayer, the dignity of his office is not at all emphasized. This turning to the altar is in evangelical liturgy a sign of the very freedom, which some fear to lose in this symbolic act. Thus in a very minor point we can note the influence of doctrine upon evangelical liturgy.

Nor does the dogmatic alone influence liturgy. It is finally in its totality prayer. But the whole subject of prayer is an *ethical* question. Ethics determines the source of prayer, it shows its freedom, it unfolds the necessity of the use of forms, and portrays by psychological analysis the growth of a form out of the ethical life, which in prayer but specializes the formative character of virtue in the whole of ethical life. Ethics develops in its communal part the relation of the Church in its prayers as well toward God, as toward itself. The edification which liturgy offers, in the whole edification of the body of Christ, is an ethical question. Errors in understanding liturgy very often arise from a lack of thorough and balanced study of the subject of prayer and its place in Christian life of the individual and the Church.

The *practical part* of theology also stands in closest relation with the liturgy. *Homiletics* is determined by the fact that the sermon follows the creed, and that it must express the faith confessed. Yet at the same time the sermon adds the element of individuality and freedom. The pulpit is the place for much which is erroneously done at the altar. The work of the *pastor* is aided

Digitized by Google

by the liturgy, his care of souls is easier, when he has seen the reflection of the soul-life of centuries at its height in the outbreathings of prayers and collects. His strength is rekindled at the fire of many a saintly intercession. He finds in the Service points of contact, through which he may pass from that which is familiar to a soul to that which is less familiar. The very dignity of the liturgy gives the pastor in the freedom of pastoral work a power, which is not possessed by those not thus inspired. Liturgy truly used makes good praying ministers and people. The form does not kill, but as the form of sound words adds power and comfort. This influence of liturgy is its *practical apologetic* known to those who employ it, and never imagined by the prejudiced who have not fairly attempted to find its true spirit.

Liturgy, though it cannot be used in the beginning of *missionary* effort, among the heathen or at home, yet may be a powerful educator, if it be wisely and judiciously introduced. It can lead to order and by its stately power impress, incite, inspire men.

The indication of these relations in theology have everywhere touched on questions of life. But the *life* of the Church is peculiarly seen in liturgy as *devotion*. Liturgy is the common expression of the experience, that God has come to men, and that men may come to God. This approach in evangelical worship is a free one. It rests on grace experienced, to which God ever testifies anew. Every Service helps and furthers devotion. It is true that devotion is not circumscribed by the fixed acts of worship, but through them, if they are true, it receives its deepest impulse. Devotion has created the liturgy, which is the outcome of soul-life in petition and praise on the basis of God's promise and gift. Devotion can alone understand the Service. It is only where there is no Christian life, no reality corresponding to profession, or where this life is unsound, that liturgy becomes a dead letter and an idle form. It only kills where men do not live in the Word. It is a savor of death to the dead. But the living Christian, whatever his intellectual attitude, the prejudices of his education, or the warp of his ecclesiastical position, must, if he honestly looks into liturgy, find in it gem upon gem of the purest water of spiritual life and true devotion.

The truth of this life can and ought to come to beautiful ex-

Digitized by Google

pression. This is *art.* Christian art must begin with the Word. It must grow out of its beauty of spirit and form. How fully does this beauty appear in the depth of devotion, which the Psalms breathe. The reflection of this beauty, augmented by the sublime art of the structure of the Lord's Prayer, has fallen upon the Church's Service. The knowledge and understanding of its beauty can impress the sermon with the beauty of truth, and make it a very poem in prose. Translations, sometimes made by men without artistic perception, have taken away from the beauty of the ancient forms of the liturgy. But it ought to be our endeavor, in whatever language we worship, to carry with us something of this wonderful beauty of the Service. Nearest to the art of the Word, and seeking it in its highest triumphs is the art of *music.* In the Church it can never be pure tone, but always word-tone and tone of the Word. The character of the Service must determine the character of the music. It must be objective, simple, grand, churchly, majestically monotone in its sacramental part, and can be freer, richer in the sacrificial part, but never with the involved harmony of worldly music, expressing the wild and passionate throb of the natural man. The harmony of sound, which must appropriately clothe the word, ought to be accompanied by the harmony of structure, the harmony of *architecture.* Stones can and ought to be words. They ought to tell what the Service says. Liturgy should determine architecture. Whatever form is best adapted to our liturgy cannot be so easily decided, though the preference seems to be for the Gothic style. The great objectivity despite all freedom, the great majestic lines and arches must somehow speak of the heavenward sweep of prayer, while the minor arrangements must tell of baptism, communion, preaching in accord with the great historic principles of worship. When art becomes *plastic* or *pictorial* it ought to avoid the modern realism, which is too often critical individualism or photographic historicity, and adhere to the historical idealism of ecclesiastical forms. Art ought to speak of the great eternal truths in no whims of the individual artist. It may have its sacrificial place, where freer motives are expressed, but these dare not usurp historic objectivity in sculpture, painting, and stained glass, as little as in music. But the historic in art must be used in no spirit of servile imitation nor of uncritical importation. It must agree with the Evangelical Service in

Digitized by Google

character and spirit. Roman and Anglican models are not adequate to the full and true expression of the Lutheran liturgy. Therefore this must finally create its own art, equally distant from unchurchly individualism and ecclesiastical slavery of sacerdotalism. The great fundamental principles of the sacramental and sacrificial must be worked out in their proper unity and separateness. Only with these guiding principles clearly in mind, can the Church rightly use art to speak in every form of beauty of Him, Who is the most beautiful of the sons of men, by spiritualizing all material into the pure and lofty echo of its prayer and praise.

JOHN A. W. HAAS.

New York, N. Y.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Rev. W. S. Gilbert

THE LITURGICAL HISTORY OF BAPTISM.

WHEN our blessed Lord said to His Church, "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," He as positively gave the essential part of the form to be used in the administration of this sacrament as His command was positive for the institution of Baptism. Widely different doctrines have been developed, untold volumes have been written, bitter discussions have constantly been raging, and the Church has been divided by schism and sect all because men have been determined to prove that Christ made full provision for every part of the liturgy to be used, including the mode of applying the water, and the particular class of Christians who are to be baptized. All the bad fruitage that comes from such planting would not have had to be gathered, if the professed followers of Christ could only have taken Him at His Word and realized that the Savior positively commands all to be baptized, that He positively promises grace through this sacrament, fully declaring the benefits that come to all who truly receive it; but that Christ has left it to the choice of men—to the taste and development of the Church—to determine how the water is to be applied as well as the form that is to be used in addition to the words of Christ by which He instituted this blessed sacrament of regeneration. But the doctrines that underlie the great subject of Holy Baptism have no direct place in this discussion; and yet, since the Liturgy is always founded on positive doctrines, and is expressive of those doctrines, it is impossible to ignore the doctrines in discussing the liturgical history of Christian Baptism.

The very nature of existing conditions determined that with the beginning of the Christian Church, the vast majority of those who were baptized must have been adults; but this is no argument that children are not to be baptized. Jesus plainly ascribes

Digitized by Google

saving faith * to infants. He declares the child to be the model Christian.† And the Apostles often baptized entire households.‡ This makes it very probable that children were baptized by the Apostles; and there is nothing in the teaching of Christ, or in the practice of the Apostles, by which any one has a right to draw the conclusion that the children are not to be baptized. Therefore the burden of proof rests with those who teach that children are excluded from this sacrament (and hence from the Church), which is a doctrine that cannot be established from the Word of God, even though it had been the practice of the early Church, and is well supported by the teachings of the Church fathers. But it cannot be proven that there ever was a time when infants were not baptized.

The mode of applying the water in baptism has also been a great bone of contention. And it is very plain that the practice of immersion was due to custom and taste, since there is nothing in the history of the early Church that denies the validity of sprinkling and pouring; and the earliest writing of the fathers plainly shows this: namely, "And concerning baptism, thus baptize ye: Having first said all these things, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living water. But if thou have not living water baptize into other water; and if thou canst not in cold, in warm. But if thou have not either, pour out water thrice upon the head in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit." This statement of the *Didache* is acknowledged by all as having been written at least between 100 and 150 A. D. This shows that the early Church never looked upon immersion as essential, but that it was a matter of taste only. And it is also evident that Christians were always conscious of this fact; and hence the practice of immersion gradually went into disfavor, and sprinkling and pouring began to be more popular with the Church. But still for about thir-

* Matt. xviii. 6: "Whoso shall cause one of these little ones which believe in Me to stumble, it is profitable for him that a great millstone should be hanged about his neck, and that he should be sunk in the depth of the sea. The word *μικρῶν* certainly means *very* little children. And the word *πιστεύω* is the general word for faith used all through the New Testament. It means *to adhere* as well as to trust.

† Mark x. 14: Suffer the little children to come unto Me; forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.

‡ Acts x. 48; Acts xvi. 15, 33.

Digitized by Google

teen hundred years, immersion was all but the universal practice. The common people, however, became the champions of pouring and sprinkling; and hence this became at last the general usage. And after this reasonable change had been made, and had become the mode by which baptism was generally administered, and since the practice had become permanently fixed, then the Council of Ravenna (1311) decreed that the mode of baptism should be left to the choice of the officiating minister. Immersion still lingers in the Roman Catholic Church in the case of the cathedral of Milan; among Protestants, it is feebly and vainly defended by the numerous Baptist sects; the Oriental and the Russian orthodox Greek Churches require even a threefold immersion to this very day, in the name of the Trinity, and they look down upon all others as being unbaptized heretics. The Church of England also still observes immersion in theory. The rubric in the Book of Common Prayer says that the minister shall inquire if this child is too delicate to be immersed, and upon the statement of the parents he is to sprinkle water upon its head.

The practice of immersion had evidently come into use at a very early date. For, by the opening of the fourth century, special baptistries were built in all the leading cities. The baptistry consisted of an outer and an inner chamber, having separate apartments for the males and for the females. The candidates undressed as if entering a bath; but Höfling says that those parts which nature and reason demand to be concealed were always kept covered during the reception of this sacrament. The deacons waited upon the male candidates, and the deaconesses attended the females. These attendants rubbed the bare limbs of the candidates both before and also after the baptism. Each of the newly baptized was given a taste of honey and milk; and also received the kiss of peace. This sacrament was generally only administered on Easter and on Whitsunday; and at first took place between the hours of one and two in the morning. The administration of this sacrament at such special times was called "Solemn Baptism," especially that which was administered on the above named days, and even here, the decided preference was for Whitsunday.

The liturgy used by the Apostles themselves must have been very simple; and we have nothing in the New Testament that indicates that any preparation was ever made to administer Bap-

Digitized by Google

tism by any special mode. They evidently did not place much importance on the manner in which the sacrament was administered; and it was not at all necessary that they should. There was enough in their own lives, and their experience with Jesus, that would make the administration of the sacraments solemn to all to whom they ministered. For, there could not help but be a great reverence shown them by all classes of Christians, on account of having been those whom the Savior had chosen to walk with Him and to be His holy Apostles. And with each coming generation, this respect would even be greater, since as the Church became older, Christians would be able to understand what a distinguished privilege had been accorded to the Apostles in being chosen to be the companions of the Lord.

But immediately after the days of the Apostles, we have evidences of a churchly disposition in everything that pertained to the Church of Christ; and this tendency was not due to a desire to please the world, or because the Church was losing spirituality, as is sometimes intimated. One need only study carefully the character of the ancient catechumenate in order to realize that the discipline of the Christian Church never was so rigid as then. It seems a wonder that with such requirements as the Church then made of those who sought to enter her communion, together with the terrible heathen persecution which appeared constantly about to crush the Christians out of existence, that so many came into her communion, and that the Church grew so rapidly. The catechumenate, like almost everything in the discipline of the Church, was a growth and not something suddenly adopted. But that it had a rapid development is evident from the fact that there is much said about the reception of catechumens, as early as the third century. The period of instruction lasted from one to three years, during which time the candidate was passed from one period to another by a special service for each period. At first, these people who were thus undergoing preparation and instruction were not permitted to be present at many of the public services of the Church; and when they were present during part of the regular services, they had a special place assigned to them. But as they advanced toward the close of their period of probation, they were permitted to be presen during more of the public service, and those who had completed the course, and were received as candidates for baptism, could remain during all the ser-

Digitized by Google

vices. When the catechumenate was fully developed, there were seven distinct steps through which one had to pass before he could be received into the communion of the Church by the sacrament of Holy Baptism. These steps through which the catechumen was required to pass, were named from the parts* of the divine worship in which they were permitted to take part, or be present.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem (347 A. D.) gives a very full account of the liturgy of baptism as used at that place. On Easter, the candidates assembled in the outer chamber of the baptistry. Facing the west, they said, "I renounce Satan and all his works." Then turning toward the east, they said, "I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance." They then went into the inner chamber, where the baptistry itself was, put off their garments, were anointed with oil from head to foot; advanced to the font. Here they were asked, "Dost thou believe in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost?" In answer they witnessed the saving faith of their confession; and dipped themselves thrice in the water. And coming out of the water, they were clothed in white, and were anointed with holy oil, on the forehead, on the ears, on the nostrils, and on the breast. Then followed the Holy Communion, of which the newly baptized all partook.

One of the most curious of all the ancient baptismal services that has come down to us is the Book of Christianity (Baptismal Book)† of the Ethiopic Church. It is interesting in every way, following the order of all of the liturgies of those times, and yet differing from all of them in most of the material that composed it. The service is arranged to be administered by a priest and aided by a deacon; seven different Scripture lessons are read, or recited; a multitude of symbolic acts are provided in the rubrics. Then the priest leading the candidate from the west toward the east (in the font), takes water, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and in the name of the Son, and in the name

* For the liturgy of each step in the catechumenate, see Hoefling, Vol. I. pp. 303–318.

† Published by Prof. Trumpp of Munich, in the *Abhandlungender Koen. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1878, ICL. Vol. XIV. Sec. 3, pp. 155–167. It was translated into English by Prof. Geo. H. Schodde, Ph. D., Cap. Univ., Col. O., and appeared in the *Lutheran Quarterly* in 1882.

Digitized by Google

of the Holy Ghost." This is repeated three times. Then the priest at once begins with the confirmation service without any interruption.

The Gallican liturgy is different from all other ancient orders in the peculiar figurative language used in the opening address. A synopsis of this venerable service is not only interesting but also valuable. "Standing, dearest brethren, on the bank of this crystal-clear font, bring ye from the land to the shore new-comers to ply the traffic whereof they have need. Let all who embark on this voyage make their way over this new sea, not with rod, but with the cross; not with traveller's staff, but in sacramental mystery. The place is small but full of grace. Happy hath been the pilotage of the Holy Spirit. Therefore let us pray the Lord God that He will sanctify this font, and make it a laver of blessed regeneration in the remission of all sins; through the Lord." Then follows (1), *Præfatio antequam exorcidietur;* (2), *Collectio;* (3), *Exorcismus aquæ fontis;* (4), *Præfatio ad benedicendum fontis;* (5), *Benedictio fontis;* (6), *Contestatio fontis;* (7), *Postea facis cruces super aquam de chrisma et dicis;* (8), *Interrogatio;* (9), the act of baptism itself, *Baptizo te credentem in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, ut habeas vitam æternam in sæcula sæculorum;* (10), *Infusio chrismæ;* (11), *Ad pedes lavandos;* (12), *Post baptismum.*

The best account of the liturgy of the sixth century is preserved in the Sacramentaries of Gelasius and Gregory. It was very much the same as the more ancient liturgies (only more lengthy), with this notable exception that it was rather arranged for children than for adults. And it is stated that a great deal of pomp attended the administration of Baptism. At 2 P. M., the clergy and people assembled, the ministers being clothed in the usual vestments. The ministers went within the *sacrarium* and a lighted taper was held at each corner of the altar. The choir sang the *Litania Septena;* a reader went up to the *ambon* and read eight Scripture lessons, after each lesson a collect was sung, and before the last lesson was sung the collect, "Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks." A procession was formed from the altar, *ad fontem*, with the taper-bearers, a minister carrying the ampulla of consecrated oil. At the font, the bishop was supported by a deacon on each side. The prayers for the benediction of the font were said by the bishop, who at one place

Digitized by Google

divided the water (with his hands) in the form of a cross; at another place, he held a lighted taper in the water; at another place, he breathed upon the water three times; at another place, he poured in chrism in the form of a cross, and spreading it with his hands. Then those who presented children were asked, "*Vis baptizari?* Response, "*Volo.*" This question was, however, preceded by four questions, into which the creed* was divided for this purpose. Then the children were baptized, first the boys, then the girls, with the words of Christ, "*Ego baptizo te in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.*" One of the priests now made the sign of the cross, with chrism, on the crown of the head, saying, "Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hath regenerated thee by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath given thee remission of all thy sins, anoint thee with the chrism of salvation unto eternal life. Amen." Then all the newly baptized were confirmed, their names being given them in the confirmation. The service was concluded with the Holy Communion, which was administered to infants as well as to others. This was likely a very primitive service; and upon it were founded all the leading mediæval offices for baptism. But the service was still made far more lengthy by the addition of many ceremonies and symbolic rites. Hence the liturgy for baptism was finally divided into three parts: "*Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum,*" "*Benedictio Fontis,*" and "*Ritus Baptizandi.*"

The Church administered the sacrament of Holy Baptism to infants in the same way as to adults, only in the case of infants sponsors made reply for the child; and this is how the custom of having sponsors came into vogue. So closely was the regular order of service followed that children were not even relieved from the liturgical action of the catechumenate. In short, the entire service of the catechumenate was simply transferred over without change (except the addition of sponsors) and used for infant baptism. Hence it naturally followed that "child-communion" was practiced, which was the general custom since the third century, and is still the custom of the Eastern churches. The early Church regarded confirmation as the title given to the unction which accompanies baptism; and the Eastern Church so holds it to-day. But the Western Church finally made confirmation the title given to the open adoption of the Christian faith

* See Hoefling's discussion on the development of the Creed, Vol. I. p. 208.

Digitized by Google

and life in maturer years. And this change laid the foundation for catechetical instruction before confirmation, as we have it to-day. But the separation of baptism and confirmation also brought about another important change; namely, as originally constituted, baptism could only be administered by a bishop; but after these services were separated, the privilege of administering this Sacrament was at once extended to presbyters, soon to deacons, then to laymen, and finally also to women—in case of extreme necessity. But the liturgical acts of the catechumenate and of baptism itself were united into one service. And also since the practice of infant baptism was almost universal, the tendency, as Höfling says, was to draw together the liturgical acts of the catechumenate, of adult baptism, and of infant baptism, into one complete service. Traces of this are visible in some liturgies for baptism at this very day: for instance, the expression in many liturgies is still made; "The Lord preserve thy coming in and thy going out," which was in ancient times addressed to the *competentes* who for the first time entered the Church privileged to take part in the entire Service.

The intention of the early Church in the strict discipline of the catechumenate was no doubt good; the idea of instruction was all right. But to keep the children out of the fold, which Christ prepared as much for them as for adults, was certainly all wrong. This wrong notion, together with the corruptions that crept into the Church and her liturgy, as Roman Catholicism began to rise, divested baptism of much of its Scriptural meaning, and at the same time well-nigh ruined the rite of confirmation. For, during the Reformation, when the reconstruction of the Church was going on, confirmation was almost abrogated for a time; and Protestants seemed opposed to it because the papacy had declared it to be a sacrament, second in order to baptism. And it is hardly too much to say that the abuse of the ancient catechumenate, together with the Romish *ex opere operato* doctrine concerning the sacraments, were the leading things which made the Christian life so low during the Middle Ages.

When the Reformation came on, we find that the liturgy for baptism was well based upon Scripture, and the historical liturgies of the Church, but so intermixed with symbolical ceremonies, and surrounded by false doctrines, that the true significance of the sacrament was almost hidden from view. For, while the an-

Digitized by Google

cient Church used a long liturgy, and administered the sacrament with many symbolic rites, she kept the true meaning of baptism before the people. The Romish Church placed more stress upon the power of the Church in administering the sacrament, than upon the Word of God, together with instruction and admonition, as did the early Church.

Luther's first *Taufbuechlein* (1523) was simply a translation of liturgies then in use. But it is evident that he selected with great care and wonderful wisdom the liturgies from which he made his translation. And even then, the result was not such as he personally liked, but on account of the weakness of many consciences, he did not deem it prudent, at that time, to revise the liturgy, which contained many ceremonies that obscured the simplicity of this sacrament. But in 1526, he published his second *Taufbuechlein*, from which he omitted the distinctively Romish features. This liturgy was based on the Scriptural idea of Holy Baptism, and is in accordance with the ancient usage of the Church. This Service was at once received with favor. Its influence was immeasurable. The numerous independent Kirchenordnungen of the Reformation period almost without exception and with but the slightest changes give it as their form for the administration of the sacrament. The Order of Baptism in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England was largely determined by it,* and through this liturgy its influence has also been felt in many other parts of the Christian Church. No liturgy framed independently of this order of Luther's, has been satisfactory; as is evident from the fact that these newer liturgies have continually been undergoing alteration, or else have been discarded altogether. Luther's liturgy makes the most emphatic distinction between sin and grace—between the kingdom of Satan and the Savior's kingdom. As above indicated more than a hundred of the leading Lutheran liturgies of the 16th and 17th centuries contain no other form but this, with occasional local variata. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the disposition was just as strong to cling to this form which Luther arranged from the ancient sources. And the very latest *Agenda* almost invariably give it first place under this head of services. The Dresden Lit. Con. (1854), composed of representatives from Bavaria, Hannover, Würtemberg, and both Mecklenburgs, unanimously

* See especially Dr. Jacobs' *Lutheran Movement in England*, Chap. XXI.

Digitized by Google

agreed upon this form. The Prussian Church, though composed of Lutheran and Reformed, yet in 1894 adopted this as her first form, which is worthy of note since the Prussian Union Church probably represents more scholarship than any one branch of the Church in the world. And since the spirit of the Lutheran Church is conservative, not revolutionary, being disposed to keep in the line of history in so far as this is not contrary to the Word of God, this form should ever be retained.

The only part of Luther's second *Taufbuechlein* that has furnished the basis of much discussion is the matter of addressing the questions, some contending that they should not be addressed to the child, but to the sponsors.* But by far the larger majority of theologians have always been decidedly against such a change. The Lutheran Church baptizes a child, not because it is presented

* The Cologne Liturgy of 1543 addresses the questions to the sponsors. The Erbach Agende of 1560 omits all questions. The Augsburg Kirchenordnung of the first half of the 16th century omits the questions. The Austrian Liturgy of 1571 addresses all questions to the sponsors. The Strassburg Kirchenordnung of 1598 addresses all questions to the sponsors. This is also the case with many Liturgies that are in use in the United States. The eight Liturgies of the Pennsylvania and the New York Ministeriums all address the questions to the sponsors. And again in 1860 the Ministerium adopted an order for baptism, in which all the questions are addressed to the sponsors. The English Liturgy of the Joint Synod of Ohio, adopted in 1874, also addresses the questions to the sponsors; but the German Agende, however, has two forms—the first addresses all the questions to the child, and the other, all questions are addressed to the sponsors. In 1855 a change was also made in the Swedish Liturgy in which all questions to the child were omitted; but after the confession of the Creed the sponsors were asked, "Do you desire that this child shall be baptized *into* this Christian faith, and through its baptism, shall be received into the fellowship of Christ and His Church?" In 1895 the Swedish Augustana Synod adopted the same form. And the Lutheran Church in Iceland has no questions at all. But the orders prepared by Luther addressed all the questions before baptism to the child; and Hoefling, who is the greatest authority on this subject, strongly defends this form of address. The latest Liturgy adopted by the General Synod (at York, Pa. in 1899) addresses all questions to the sponsors, otherwise it is a translation of Luther's second *Taufbuechlein*. The Church of Prussia (Germany), in its form adopted in 1895, has its first form arranged with all the questions addressed to the *child*, which are to be answered by the *sponsors*. The Liturgy of the General Council is arranged with *all* the questions addressed to the child; this Liturgy is also based upon Luther's second *Taufbuechlein*, with additions from the Kirchenordnung of Duke Henry of Saxony; 1539; the KO of Saxe-Coburg, 1626; Wuertemberg KO, 1553; Brandenburg-Nuernberg KO, 1533. The United Synod South also uses a translation of Luther's second *Taufbuechlein*, and addresses all questions to the child.

Digitized by Google

by any one, but solely upon Christ's own command. It is also claimed that a change of the liturgy would actually create two baptisms; one for infants, and another for adults. Also that such a change in the liturgy is only desired by the rationalist who wishes to reduce everything to the level of his own reason. These differences of opinion in regard to the liturgy come from differences of belief concerning what is known as "infant faith," which, after all, does not absolutely necessitate the questions addressed to the sponsors, no matter which view is taken.

Authorities consulted:—*The International Cyclopædia*, *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, *The Lutheran Quarterly*, *The Lutheran Church Review*, *Baptizein* by E. GERFERN, *The Lutheran Movement in England* by JACOBS, *The Annotated Book of Common Prayer* by J. H. BLUNT, *The Lutheran Cyclopedia*, *The History of the Christian Church* by P. SCHAFF, *The Ante Nicene Fathers*, *the Didache*, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* by SMITH AND CHEETHAM, *Christian Institutions* by A. P. STANLEY, *Das Sakrament der Taufe* by HÖFLING, and *Theses on the Order of Baptism* by H. PETERS AND DR. E. J. WOLF.

Chief authority:—HÖFLING.

H. S. GILBERT.

Allegheny, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

VOL. IV.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE LITURGICAL INFLUENCE OF THE LESSER REFORMERS.

WHEN one studies the formative period of the doctrines and forms of worship that constitute the exclusive property of the Lutheran Church, he cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that so many influences were at work at the same time, that it is almost impossible to ascribe a greater or less effect to one cause or the other. While even the development of a doctrinal system depended on the workings of many and varied historical causes, it is found in the tracing of liturgical practices that they depend fully as much (if not more) upon the history of given conditions, as they do upon specific theories or decided views concerning their propriety. So powerful are the claims of the past, that they had to be considered and respected even in the formulating of ecclesiastical laws, and an examination of the Kirchenordnungen reveals numerous examples of the firm, stiff grasp in which the dead hand of the past clasped the issues of the present. Thus we find that exceptions from prescribed orders are made in favor of certain churches within the same sphere of jurisdiction, prescribing *e. g.* the robe in one church and permitting its disuse in another, ordering certain forms of Service for the whole district and exempting from it certain congregations in the same territory. Or, also we find the Reformers laying down certain rules in one Kirchenordnung and themselves departing widely from them in the composition of another. And to go further, we see instances of a complete change of view at certain periods of life, not only in the case of Luther, but notably so also in the case of Melanchthon and Brenz. Some of these changes of view were such truly speaking, others again, especially those of Melanchthon and Brenz, were enforced accommodations to existing conditions. These changes of view, according to the custom of the times, when men lived their intellectual life in the public gaze,

Digitized by Google

as much as their outward life, were always promulgated, always published and always had a certain effect and made a distinct impression upon the views of the contemporaries. It was an age of argumentation and public discussion, the utmost consequence of the scholastic spirit; but withal, the fairest flower that sprung like a white water-lily from those dark and murky waters. Owing to these views promulgated, changed, reiterated, embodied in doctrines and made active in regulations, producing ecclesiastical laws through their ethical inspirations, and voicing the devotions of the believer through their religious aspirations, the different KOO took their origin in all Europe among Lutherans and Reformed alike. Those of the one side frequently had a reflex influence upon those of the other, frequently the Lutheran adopted the hue of Reformed, frequently the latter shone in the borrowed glories of the former. Sometimes one master-mind made a contribution which for the time was made use of and sought after as a treasure, and then it was lost and buried, either to remain forever unused among all the rummage in the storied attics of the past, or to be brought to light and use again, by the descendants who in the present age are inquiring into the possessions of their fathers. For these reasons it is almost impossible to give a *true* estimate of the influence of any given Reformer, if the problem be to state what effect he had upon the liturgical observances of the present day, though one might, with propriety, follow him through his works and discover what he advocated and for what he strove. The most abiding work of all these great ones of that great time was transmitted to us in the KOO, but even they have not yet been adequately treated, as Rietschel tells us, though much excellent work has so far been done upon them.

Among these KOO we can find various types, some (and we deal here only with those that are Lutheran) correct in their doctrinal position, but conservative in their treatment of Roman forms; some genuinely Lutheran, based upon the *Formula Missæ* (1523) and Lutheran in regard to doctrine and forms; some which are more radical in their treatment of forms of worship and mediate between the Lutheran type and the Reformed. Among the first type we find the Brandenburg KO prepared by Stratner and Buchholtzer, the Pfalz–Neuburg KO, 1543, the Austrian Agenda of Chytræus, 1571. The second type, called the Saxo–Lutheran, represented as stated, by the *Formula Missæ*, which became au-

Digitized by Google

thoritative for Prussia under Duke Albrecht, 1525; for the Electorate of Saxony, for all the KOO by Bugenhagen, viz., Brunswick 1528, Hamburg 1529, Minden and Göttingen 1530, Lübeck 1531, Saest 1532, Bremen 1534, Pommerania 1535; for that of Brandenburg–Nuremberg 1533 by Osiander and Brenz; for Hanover 1536 by Urbanus Regius; for Naumburg 1537; for the KO of Duke Henry of Saxony by Justus Jonas 1539; for Mecklenburg 1540 and 1552 by Aurifaber, Riebling, Melanchthon and later Chytræus; for Braunschweig–Wolfenbüttel 1543 and 1569 by Chemnitz and Andreæ; for Riga 1531; for Courland 1570; for the Hessian Agenda of 1566 and 1573 with the exception of the act of Communion. Of the third or mediating type the regulations at Strassburg, the Württemberg KOO among which less than the others that by Brenz for Schwäbisch–Hall 1526, the KO of Duke Ulrich 1536 and of Duke Christopher 1533; the Palatine KO 1554, the Badensian 1556, the Wormsian 1560.* Those among the above that have become most fundamental or basic for others are the Braunschweig KO of Bugenhagen and the Brandenburg–Nuremberg KO of Osiander. It is upon the consensus of the orders of the second type that the forms of Service of our Common Service are based, and it is with them and the men who produced them that the present inquiry is chiefly concerned.

As has been indicated all of these KOO are partly based upon the *Formula Missæ* issued by Luther in 1523, partly derive their spirit and impetus from it and partly develop in the direction indicated by it. Thus even in this inquiry Luther's name deserves especial mention, for he is the Prometheus who brought the fire from Heaven and taught his knowledge to the sons of men. His giant form overtowers every other of the mighty men of the period of the Reformation, but beside him, near him, reaching toward him and approaching his stature in conspicuous measure are the persons of Melanchthon and Bugenhagen. How much the prophet of the Reformation was indebted to its grammarian and to its pastor will perhaps never be known; but he refers to them so constantly, and describes their labors and influence so lovingly, that one is compelled to ascribe to these two, Melanchthon and Bugenhagen, no mean share in the outcome of that momentous upheaval of the sixteenth century. It was a time of tearing down and of building up. Luther, the genius,

* For this classification see Zoeckler, Vol. IV, p. 456.

Digitized by Google

did both, Melanchthon and Bugenhagen mainly built up. Luther was the greater for he was more versatile, more many-sided; he was equal to the destruction that his work implied, and equal to the construction that it necessitated; but in his constructive abilities he was ably assisted and almost matched by the other two of this great triumvirate. But if we give due credit to the labors of the grammarian and the pastor, we cannot pass by lesser men who influenced them and whose labors in the common cause were similar to theirs and whose influence in certain directions as great as theirs. And so upon a plane but little lower, acting and acted upon mutually and reciprocally with them appear Brenz and Osiander, Justus Jonas and others whose names have been mentioned above.

To Philip Melanchthon, the *Præceptor Germaniæ*, is usually ascribed the place of honor directly after Luther. His life is too well known to be described here, but it may be well to recall certain details of it which explain the part he played. Born Feb. 6, 1497 the son of a man standing in high favor with the Palatine Elector Philip, and of a woman the niece of one of the greatest humanists, Reuchlin, his opportunities for learning and advancement were the very best. His learning was such that as a mere stripling, he could easily win in debate with the wandering bachantes, that he was soon distinguished for his knowledge of Greek and the elegance of his Latin and was ready to take the master's degree at the University of Heidelberg before his age made him eligible. He distinguished himself at the University of Tübingen, took an active part in Reuchlin's controversy, published a Greek grammar before he was twenty-five and received the most enthusiastic praise of Erasmus. In the meantime he devoted himself to the study of theology, law and medicine. Such was the man who in 1518 was installed as professor of Greek in the University of Wittenberg and who, with his address on the "Improvement of the Studies of Youth" attracted Luther's attention, which grew into admiration, then to esteem and lastly to love. And this grammarian soon entered so heartily into theology that while he never received a doctor's degree, he became the master of many doctors. Entering into active participation in theological questions by his interest in Luther's dispute with Eck, he soon obtained the honor of a *baccalaureus biblicus*, and as early as 1519 began to lecture on the Epistle to the Romans and

Digitized by Google

the Gospel of Matthew. Out of these studies grew his *Loci Communes* which was first published in 1519, the first dogmatical treatise of the Lutheran Church, reprinted more than eighty times during his life.

When Luther was absent at Worms and then at the Wartburg, the care for the University and the condition of the work of the Gospel began to rest more heavily upon Melanchthon's shoulders. When Luther returned he brought with him the dawn of an era of work mutually borne. This literary and theological partnership, of more import to the world's welfare than any described in the purely literary annals of the race, comprised particularly the work of the translation of the Bible and the visitation of the churches of Saxony. It was out of this visitation that the work originated, which most directly influenced the composition of the various KOO. This work is known as the Saxon Articles of Visitation and appeared in 1528, the same year as Bugenhagen's Brunswick KO. Then followed in rapid succession, the protestation at Spires in 1529, and the Marburg colloquy in the same year. Early in 1530 we find Melanchthon indicating the basis of the Torgau articles, collaborating the Schwabach articles, practically writing the Augsburg Confession, and himself producing the Apology of the Augsburg Confession. In the next sixteen years he is busy in assisting the establishment of the Reformation in Saxony and Brandenburg, giving his counsels in Cologne, at Smalcald, and at Ratisbon, and producing the Wittenberg Concordia. The remaining years of his life were spent in endless doctrinal controversies, in which his position was not always appreciated and which brought him many sorrows.

As has been well said, he was the Preceptor of Germany by reason of his reforms in the management of the schools, from the University down to the boys in the Latin schools. He would be the Preceptor of the Church if he had left us nothing but the Augsburg Confession and its Apology. But these two so far outshine his other productions that his work as a theologian as shown in his other writings need not even be counted to make him glorious. That he was preeminently the schoolmaster of the Church is not only evident in the lasting and imperishable instruction which he bequeathed to her in his theological writings but in the rules for her management and guidance which he left in the Saxon Articles of Visitation and which scattered broad-

Digitized by Google

cast even through his doctrinal works. Besides he does not deny a schoolmaster's noblest aim, the education of the young, in the very regulations which he gives for the ordering of public Services. To him Church and school were one, always inseparable; and while in the school he trains the youth for the Church he does not forget, even in such matters as the singing of Latin hymns and the chanting of the psalms in Latin to impress the Church with the sense of her duties in the training of the young. It seems as if this pedagogical principle for which he stood, can not be left out of consideration when one estimates the work he did in the Church. Without a just appreciation of this principle much in Melanchthon's regulations appears incongruous, and, so far as modern liturgical views go, even out of place.

With this in mind, we can understand Melanchthon's liturgical position. To him, as to Luther in his earlier views, worship was of the nature of a training. It lies in the nature of things that he demands that all things be done decently and in order and consequently he demands a quiet dignified conduct of the things of public worship. But beyond this, the entire Service has to him a preeminently educative tendency. The public assemblies depend upon Christ's command to preach the Gospel publicly. The publicity of worship assures the widest spread to the Gospel and prevents ethical and moral aberrations. The individual is to confess himself a member of the congregation publicly and the congregation must publicly separate itself from the sects. He only belongs to God's people who is called. He only is called, who is a member of the visible congregation and receives its benefits. But as the congregation in its assemblies only presents the means of thus *calling* to the childhood of God, the idea, consequences, effects and aims of worship are those known, but its real essence is not grasped. Hence Melanchthon's view implies that the regenerated Christian has no absolute need for this public worship. It is to Melanchthon the means and place for the experienced Christian, to lead to perfection the inexperienced one. As Jakoby says, an outer motive, formally God's command, materially the consideration for the masses, impels him to Church; it is the Law, not the Gospel, and Melanchthon lacks the worshipping *subject*, while he looks to the object; in a word, it is a pedagogical institution, exalted and spiritual, educating for the inheritance of the children of light; but no worship.

Digitized by Google

In this Luther and Melanchthon thought alike; but while Luther hoped for a future worship of the trained and experienced congregation, Melanchthon regarded this as an illusion. But on the other hand he saw the constitutive factors of Christian worship. The way to perfection here indicated when once entered, led to glories far beyond those aspired to by Melanchthon; but as all worship was to him mandatory in Christ's command, and as he was on the other hand, confronted by the demands of evangelical liberty, he could not harmonize the tendencies.

As to the *object* of worship, he, like Luther, contended that it lay in the adoration of God. For this reason he strove to abolish the adoration of the saints, claiming that it limited the adoration of God, and the mediatorial work of the Savior.

His pedagogical views also modify his views of the contents of worship, namely, the sacraments and their application. As to baptism he teaches plainly that it is the implanting into the new life; but he cannot explain the baptism of children in any other way than that thereby they receive access to all that is implied in worship. For this reason the faith of infants is to him, as he admits, unintelligible, but he insists on baptizing them as in accordance with the Divine command. This has a natural bearing upon the form of the act of baptism. In the doctrine of the Lord's Supper Melanchthon defended Luther's view. It is but natural therefore, that he contended against the sacrifice of the mass and therefore becomes a powerful protagonist for a purified order of Service. His convictions as to this doctrine also led him to repudiate the Romish celebration *sub una* and to contend first mildly, then emphatically for the administration *sub utraque*. As to confession, his views also coincide with those of Luther. We still possess a beautiful prayer for individual confession, composed by him. His formula of absolution however, is replete with doctrinal statements and vindications and was condemned by Luther as being too prolix.

In his views on the means of worship or cermonies, he occupies the same position as Luther. He is conservative and does not abolish anything except what he finds to be in contradiction to the Word of God; but he contends against the false value given all ceremonies in the Catholic Church. This conservative position as expressed in Article VII of the Augsburg Confession, is due partly to Melanchthon's pedagogical views, partly to his

Digitized by Google

irenical endeavors. On the other hand at Ratisbon in 1541 he presented a memorandum to the Emperor in which he urged that all ceremonies should be sifted and the measure of dignity applied to all. What was accordant with churchly dignity was to remain, what was out of harmony with it was to be cast aside.

In his criticism of Catholic forms of worship he concedes to the bishops the power of oversight limited by the powers and rights of the congregation; but clearly separated the ecclesiastical powers from the civil ones. This removes from them the powers which they wielded and with these powers he takes the authorization of their commands. Thus he looks upon fasting, not as a meritorious deed, but as a useful honoring of festival days and a furtherance of prayer and the consideration of the Gospel. The festivals of an evangelical character he advised to retain. The principle guiding him herein was the abolition of unevangelical abuses. Thus he abolished the *Corpus Christi* celebrations and contended against all processions, not only those in which the sacrament was carried about, but all others also, because he claimed that they gave occasion to abuses.

An important liturgical consideration is Melanchthon's view of the language question. He and Luther from a feeling of conservatism were both strongly in favor of retaining the Latin language in the public Services. The sermon of course was to be excepted, as through it the Gospel was to be conveyed to the people. When the Zwickau fanatics appeared in Wittenberg, the question first assumed shape. Melanchthon's answer was, that Latin should be used for the whole Service with the exception of the sermon and the Communion Service. In a writing to the Senate of Nuremberg in 1525 he declared:—

"Those who do not understand Latin have practice enough even when the singing is in Latin for they hear the German sermon and lessons. And even if one sang in German, not all would sing or understand the singing. The Latin singing is good for the boys who are being educated. Besides I do not wish to cast aside figurated singing." From this incidentally we also learn his views on music in the congregation. As to the use of Latin he ordered later that the lessons should first be sung in Latin and then read in German. What solicitude for the boys that could thus influence his liturgical views!

Intimately connected with these questions is also the one

Digitized by Google

concerning the vestments. His position was that they should be continued where they were still in vogue; but he was very indifferent to their introduction where they had fallen into disuse. However he protests against the wearing of those vestments that recall the mass, and favors the wearing of a robe.

Extreme unction, the chrism in baptism, the exorcism and consecration of oil, he opposed; but owing to the many questions to be solved at the time, he resorted to an extreme Fabian policy, by which the discussion of the question of unction was delayed until it was no longer a menace to the peace of the church.

Melanchthon favored the rite of confirmation. It had fallen into disuse as Luther had regarded it as a rite to be suffered only under certain conditions. Melanchthon considered it as an institution which, if filled with the evangelical spirit, would become of the greatest value for the Christian life of the young. He stands therefore as one of the earliest Lutheran champions for confirmation, and its retention among the institutions of the Church is very largely due to him.

In regard to the Service of the Church he gives us an outline in his *Reformatio Wittenbergensis* (1545). Its constitutive factors are enumerated as Hymns, Prayers, Scripture Lessons, Sermon, Intercession, Communion. In the *Repetitio Confessionis Augustanæ* 1551 he gives the following for the first part of the Service:—Prayers, Hymns, Confession of the Creed, Lessons, Sermon, Thanksgiving and Intercession. The second part is the administration of the Lord's Supper, comprising the words of institution, the self-communion of the minister, then the distribution to the congregation (previously confessed and absolved), then the thanksgiving.

And as Melanchthon urged the necessity for confirmation, establishing the needs and the nature of instruction and providing a form to be used, so he also advocated a dignified conduct of funerals. He provided for the singing of hymns, prayers and lessons. A funeral sermon was not recommended except for persons of distinction.

Such were the principles that actuated the man in the establishment of liturgical practices. On the whole his influence is felt more in the principles he laid down and advocated than in actual forms which he introduced, and this influence can hardly be estimated at its full value because so many others worked in the

Digitized by Google

same direction. It has been said (Jakoby) that Melanchthon was more didactic than Luther and had not the same gift of putting statements into concise but pregnant liturgical form. On the other hand he exhibited a tact and dignity that were not always to be found in Luther's liturgical expressions, (*e. g.* Luther reminds those to be ordained that their congregations do not consist of geese and cows.) To quote Jakoby: "Both reformers were liturgical architects who drew model plans and gave permanent norms. In this respect their work was basic and typical, a guide for all times. But to execute their plans with equal skill and authority they had not sufficient strength. For this work other men were called."

Next to Melanchthon in the assistance of Luther came John Bugenhagen, whom Luther usually called Pommer, or Dr. Pommer, from his native land. He was the gifted and richly blessed practician or organizer of the Reformation and has frequently been named the "pastor." He was born at Wollin, June 24, 1485, the son of a counsellor. In 1502 he entered the University of Greifswald but owing to lack of means he soon after began to teach a children's school. During this work he continued his studies and in 1505 was called as rector of the Latin school at Treptow. The school flourished and Bugenhagen at the same time busily increased his learning and was at last ordained as priest. Having loved the Scriptures from childhood, he began a series of lectures on biblical books after he was made lector in Belbuck and gathered many hearers. During this time he began his "Passional" and composed a history of Pommerania. Until 1520 Luther's works seemed to make no impression upon him; but when the tract on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church fell into his hands, he immediately assented to its teachings. He could not stay any longer in Treptow, but hastened to Wittenberg and met Luther just before the latter's departure to Worms. His first work was a series of private lectures on the psalms; but by the time he reached the sixteenth he had so many hearers that Melanchthon advised him to lecture in public. His explanations won Luther's unqualified approval and the praise that no other exegete had so entered into the spirit of the psalms. His firmness in dealing with the Anabaptists induced the congregation and the University to call him as pastor of the town church. This office he filled for years with unexcelled fidelity and left his

Digitized by Google

post only when important duties temporarily called him away. Even the year 1527, when the pestilence raged in Wittenberg, found him comforting the congregation and lecturing to the few students who had not fled. He was busy also during these years in a literary way, defending the true doctrine of the Lord's Supper, publishing a tract on "The Christian Faith and true Good Works," and produced explanations of various biblical books and rendered Luther valuable assistance in the translation of the Bible.

It is, however, as an organizer that he rendered his most valuable service. In 1528 he was called to organize the Church of the Reformation in Braunschweig, in the same year in Hamburg, 1530 in Lübeck, 1534 in Pommerania, 1537 in Denmark where he gained the confidence of the king and enjoyed the honor of performing the coronation, and in 1542 in Braunschweig for the second time and in Hildesheim. The results of his work in these places were embodied in various KOO, first and most important among which was that of Braunschweig. His object did not consist in formalities; but in the training of true Christian congregations, the raising of an efficient ministry, the founding and management of schools, and the proper financial management of the Church. In 1542 he returned to Wittenberg to stay; but the increasing work, the bitterness of theological strife, the thinning of the ranks about him, and most of all, Luther's death, visibly broke down his constitution and in 1558 he was called to his reward.

His Braunschweig (or Brunswick) KO is the most lasting monument of his labors, *aere perennius*. In it he gives directions for the organizing of the Church, the conducting of the Services and the performance of ministerial acts. As Melanchthon in his *Loci*, so Bugenhagen in this KO establishes the principles upon which his practices are based. Baptism is the first subject to which he attends. He develops the Scriptural and doctrinal statements concerning the sacrament, insists on the baptism of children, and devotes considerable attention to proving their faith. For this reason he can follow the directions of Luther's *Taufbuechlein* much more confidently than Melanchthon. He insists on baptism in the vernacular and asserts that its real glory lies in its application to all hearts and not in the adornments of lights, banners, consecrations, and unctions. All these he rejects.

Digitized by Google

In giving his directions for the establishment of the schools, their curricula, their methods of instruction, he pays much attention to the chanting of the psalms in Latin. For the ministers he has explicit directions for the observance of the Church Year, giving the details even for their preaching. He likewise insists on private confession and absolution as well as public, permits giving the sacrament to the dying, orders the visitation of the sick and gives directions what to do. He forbids the blessing of water, fire, light, herbs and fruit as a sacrilege and rejects extreme unction. He gives full directions for extra services, both Matins and Vespers and the so-called catechism services. It is to him that we are principally indebted for the ordering of the minor services, but to him they were mainly acts of devotion prescribed for the schools. In regard to the sacrifice of the mass and the true doctrine of the Lord's Supper he maintains the same standpoint as Luther and Melanchthon and he devotes much space to the discussion of these subjects. For the Chief Service he orders Luther's German Mass and does not develop anything new. Thus Bugenhagen stands to us, considered from the viewpoint of liturgical influence, preeminently as the Reformer who has given the Church the minor services. It is true, they are not fully developed in the form in which we possess and use them; but from him we have received the essential outlines.

In the case of John Brenz we see a most varied life and can trace in his works the influence of political and doctrinal differences and especially the influence of the Reformed type of doctrine and life while his doctrinal positions must be regarded as true to the confessions of the Church. He was born in Weil, Württemberg in 1499 and entered Heidelberg University when he was but thirteen years old. Here among others he became acquainted with Melanchthon and Oecolampadius. At the age of fifteen he became Bachelor of Philosophy, at seventeen Master of Arts and from that time on devoted himself to the study of theology. Luther's Theses first inflamed his soul and he eagerly read everything coming from Luther and Melanchthon. This was of the greatest influence on the views expressed in his lectures, but he suffered himself to be ordained to the priesthood in 1520. He made no secret of his Lutheran tendencies and in 1521 was put under the ban. In 1522 he was called as pastor to Schwäbisch-Hall and remained there twenty-four years. The

Digitized by Google

next seven years were a period of severe tribulations and persecution, but for fourteen years more he labored as provost in Tübingen, where he ended his days in 1570.

He took part in the preparation of five KOO. The first was that of Schwäbisch–Hall, 1526; the next that of Brandenburg–Nuremberg in 1533; the *First* or Little Württemberg KO appeared in 1536; in 1543 Brenz prepared a new KO for Schwäbisch–Hall and in 1553, that known as the Great Württemberg KO. The KO of Schwäbisch–Hall he prepared with the help of Isenmann and perhaps of others. The Brandenburg–Nuremberg KO is an important one. It is said that it is second in influence only to the Saxon Visitation Articles.* Its authority derives from the fact that it represents the consensus of many theologians, leading and otherwise. The first sketch was prepared by Osiander, but Luther, Melanchthon and Brenz, with the theologians of Brandenburg and Nuremberg, added their judgment and contributed to its final shape. The Little Württemberg KO was written by Schnepf, revised and approved by Brenz. The history of this KO vividly illustrates the manner in which Brenz contrary to his own judgment, was obliged to yield to Reformed influences. When Brenz, however, after the "Interim" during which the first KO of Schwäbisch–Hall was destroyed, found himself before the task to prepare a new KO for this church, he was not hampered by the difficulties that beset him in the preparation of the Little Württemberg KO. He was free to write this himself and in so doing, based it upon the Brandenburg–Nuremberg Order, thus giving the sanction of his authority to this latter. He was equally fortunate when he prepared the Great Württemberg KO. He was now free to correct at least some of the abuses of the Little Württemberg Order and based it upon his second one of Schwäbisch–Hall. This then, is a lineal descendant of the Brandenburg–Nuremberg KO and as it was sanctioned by the authority of Duke Christopher, it became a model for many other Orders. It might be interesting to trace Brenz's departures from and returns to his own views throughout these Orders, but this would far exceed the scope of the present paper. The student is referred for this to the excellent article of Dr. Horn. For the present purpose suffice it to call attention to the fact, that the Brandenburg–Nuremberg Order is the one with which the litur-

* Horn on authority of Richter.

Digitized by Google

gical part of our Common Service most nearly agrees. We must, therefore, measure Brenz's liturgical influence by the part he took in the preparation of this famous Order and the sanction he gave it by its introduction and by the Orders which he based upon it. When we consider that the provisions of this KO are the fullest and simplest for the major and minor services of the Church, and that the ministerial acts are here treated more fully and approximately in the form which our American Church authorizes to-day, we are justified in concluding that this influence was no mean or insignificant one.

Closely associated with the labors of Brenz, but more especially identified with the Reformation at Nuremberg and consequently the production of the just mentioned famous Order, is the name of Osiander. Andrew Osiander was born at Gunzenhausen in 1498 and studied at Leipzig, Altenburg and the University of Ingolstadt. His education and early history have never been traced and he never obtained academic honors. His enemies taunted him with being a self-made theologian. Still he became distinguished in humanistic studies, mathematics and theology and was a master of Hebrew. At Nuremberg he was ordained a priest and made teacher of Hebrew. He soon became the mainspring of reformatory activity in this city and soon became widely known for his bold preaching and his literary activity. He did not meet Luther until 1529 and always strictly maintained his independence of him. He never fully entered into Luther's view of justification and thereby became the occasion of numerous theological controversies; but he thoroughly agreed with Luther in the main and especially in regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. His name also was soon known everywhere as that of a spirited and uncompromising champion of evangelical truth. It was on this account that he was enabled to take a prominent part in the organization of the Church at Nuremberg, both by aiding in the Brandenburg–Nuremberg Church visitation and also by preparing the first draft of the Brandenburg–Nuremberg KO. It is, perhaps, due to his personality that this Order prevailed so extensively, for during many years he was a power in Nuremberg, of such influence as to be called the Nuremberg Pope. His fearless defence and promulgation of the truth, his unrelenting opposition to everything unevangelical, his uncompromising insistence on the carrying out of the Reforma-

Digitized by Google

tion ideas, all these gave the supports and backing that his KO needed to secure its adoption and retention. And having said this, we need say no more to characterize his influence.

One more character deserves mention in this connection. It is Justus Jonas, the intimate friend of Luther. He was born in 1493, studied at Erfurt and took his degree in 1510. He devoted much attention to eloquence and the composition of Latin verses; but soon entered upon the study of law to please his father. While studying at Wittenberg he heard Luther and was converted by him, as he himself says. He soon turned from law after having been licensed, and devoted himself to theology. It was he who translated the Ninety-five Theses, but notwithstanding he was made canon at Erfurt and rector of its Latin school. It was Erasmus who persuaded him to devote himself entirely to theology and in this, his knowledge of languages and history served him admirably. His eloquence soon increased the number of his hearers and he attracted such attention that he was soon called —"another Luther"—to the provostship at Wittenberg. In 1521 he became Doctor of Divinity and in his new position and dignity he began an earnest controversy against all abuses, principally that of the mass, of mariolatry and worship of the saints, and proposed a new Order of Service, which, however, was not adopted until the accession of a new elector. He is preeminently the German translator of the documents of the Reformation, principally of Luther's "*De Servo Arbitrio*," Melanchthon's "*Loci*" and the "Apology." He has left the Church some beautiful hymns which he composed. In 1523 he conducted the second Saxon Church visitation; in 1536 he aided the introduction of the Reformation at Naumburg; in 1539 he was engaged in the same work at Meissen and in 1541 at Halle. At Halle he composed a KO based on the one at Wittenberg. His death occurred in 1555. His direct influence upon the ordering of the Church at Wittenberg is not so directly appreciable on account of the presence and labors there of so many other great minds; but the KOO of Meissen, Naumburg and Halle are enough to entitle him to distinction in this field also.

Upon such men and their labors did the ordering of the Church of the Reformation depend. We can not read a detailed description of this period without thinking of the "helden lobe bæren, und grozzer arebeit" of the Nibelungen, but far greater,

Digitized by Google

far more wonderful are the great labors of these praiseworthy heroes. We are astounded at their condition, we are humbled by their faith, we admire their versatility, we can not comprehend the many and varied causes to which they gave their attention. We can not but think of the great things they accomplished and compare with them the humble following of their footsteps to which we of a latter day, are limited, and we exclaim as Schiller did of Kaut, "Wenn die Könige bauen, haben die Kärrner zu thun."

Authorities consulted and used:—JAKOBY: *Liturgik der Reformatoren;* BELLERMANN: *Das Leben des Johannes Bugenhagen;* HORN: *The Liturgical Work of John Brenz*, (*Church Review*, 1882); RIETSCHEL: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik;* ZÖCKLER: *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenshaften;* MEUSEL: *Kirchliches Handlexikon.*

C. THEODORE BENZE.

Erie, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR.

THE Calendar, (from Calends), is the mode of adjusting the artificial divisions of time, such as months, Lent, Advent and the like to the natural or Solar year. Calendars are devised for civil and religious purposes, each embracing the same period of time as their unit, (365¼ days), but differing in accordance with the use for which they are intended. We are concerned with the civil calendar only in so far as the religious is related to it. In the beginning, the Christians simply employed the divisions of time current in the country of which they were citizens. Certain days were marked as anniversaries of great events in the life of Christ; for example the festival days of the early Church. To these were added commemorations of the deaths of the first martyrs. As the Roman wrote on his tablets the obligations he must meet, or the debts he would receive, connecting each with its date in the Julian year, so the Christian marked opposite certain dates, the name or event he thought worthy of special note in his devotional life. Such lists were the earliest Calendars of the Church. A formal and authoritative division of the year for religious use was arranged as early as the middle of the fourth century.

As the religious Calendar was simply an adaptation of the civil year, and grew up from traditional usages by different bodies of believers, many differences are to be found in the various parts of Christendom, by which local conditions of the life of the Church are marked. Nationality, controversy and doctrinal fundamentals have each been factors in the determination of what should be marked by the Church. Almost every day in the year in the Greek Church is dedicated to some event in the life of Christ, or to the Apostles, or saints, or national heroes. With the Puritans at the other extreme, even the anniversary of our Lord's nativity was scarcely admitted to form a special day in

Digitized by Google

their year. In general, however, it may be said that there are two great families of Calendars; one from the Eastern, the other from the Western division of Christendom. Through the Roman or Western wing, we derive the Church Year in use by Lutherans.

The three great events in the life of Christ, His birth, His resurrection, and the sending of the Holy Ghost have been the nuclei around which all the Calendars have been formed. The latter two of these were marked from the Apostolic period, and in fact, are simply modifications of feasts established by God for the Jews. Instead of the Passover, we have Easter and its associated days, and in the room of the Harvest festival, we celebrate Pentecost as the memorial of the pouring forth of the Holy Ghost. Christmas and the connected festivals of Epiphany and Circumcision arose somewhat later, and are of Gentile origin. These three feasts became the centers of cycles and octaves. As the Church grew older, and its cultus became more complex, various customs were added. Martyriology gave us Saints' days, asceticism furnished the preparatory seasons of fasting, and now and then the settlement of a great doctrinal battle added a special day to the Calendar. By the time the Reformation occurred, the entire year was occupied with the commemoration of events in the history of the Church. The opposition of the reformers to the worship of the saints and of the Virgin resulted in the removal of many names and customs from the list; or where they were not officially removed, the spirit of the denomination caused them to fall into desuetude. By us, little not directly connected with the life of our Lord, was retained.

If we should study the seasons of the Church Year in the order of its development, we would begin with Easter, this being the festival earliest observed, and for a long time the beginning of the year. But since we are accustomed to Advent being considered as the first of the Calendar, we will begin with the Christmas cycle, of which Advent is the preparatory season.

Concerning Advent itself, it may be said, that there is no mention of this season under this title before the seventh century. Essentially however, it had a place in the Calendar at a much earlier time. Jerome has pericopes and collects for "the five Sundays before the Nativity of our Lord." Like Lent, it was observed as a season of penance and fasting. An ancient canon

Digitized by Google

forbids marriages during its continuance. The time over which it extended, varied at different places and dates. In Jerome's time, and in parts of France at a later date, it covered five Sundays. In the Greek Church to the present day, under the name "Fast of the Nativity" it covers forty days and is one of the four great periods of fasting, set for each year. To Gregory the Great, is ascribed its duration of the four Sundays preceding Christmas. One of its four Sundays was used for each of the four comings of Christ to man; i. e., to mankind in the flesh, to the believer in the hour of death, to Jerusalem at its fall, and on the day of Judgment.

Since the sixth century, Advent has been the beginning of the Church Year in the Western Church. The chief cause of the change from the Easter cycle was the desire to have the Christian year begin at a time different from the beginning of the Jewish ecclesiastical year.

The Christmas cycle makes its appearance in the Church under the name of Epiphany. There was a heathen festival widely celebrated among the Greeks, in honor of the manifestation of one of their myths to mankind, under the name of EPIPHANEIA (ἐπιφάνεια); this was replaced in the Oriental Church by the festival in honor of the coming of Christ in the flesh. The date first set for the celebration was the sixth of January, which date is still retained by the Armenian Church for the Christmas festival. The only attempt to explain the choice of this day, so far as we have seen, was an example of Oriental allegory. Since Adam was created on the sixth day of time, the sixth of the year might well be chosen to commemorate the birth of Christ. Meantime, the Western Church had adopted December 25th as the Natal Day. When the controversies of the Grecian Church required more emphasis to be placed on the human birth of the Lord, the Greek Church, retaining Epiphany, added the Festival of the Nativity to their Calendar, using for it the date current among the Roman Christians.

When December 25th was chosen as the date of the anniversary of the birth of Christ, is not known, nor have we any clear reason given, why this time was taken. Chrysostom says in a Christmas homily, that Pope Julius I, (A. D., 337–352), had caused strict inquiry to be made as to the time of Christ's birth, and confirmed its customary celebration on this day. Some his-

Digitized by Google

torians claim that this date was chosen by the Church to counterbalance a heathen festival occurring December 25th by the Julian calendar. Piper derives the date from March 25th, which the early Church considered as the normal time for the beginning of the world, the resurrection of Christ, and the date of His conception.

Early in the development of the Church Year, it became customary to connect with a festival, its Octave. The events of Easter week probably form the precedent for this habit. With Christmas was thus connected the eighth day after, and from a Gospel basis, this became specifically the Festival of the Circumcision, after the 6th century. Between Christmas and the Festival of the Circumcision, our Church also retains the minor days of St. Stephen and St. John, Dec. 26th and 27th. In the ancient Church, Dec. 28th was also marked as the Festival of the Holy Innocents. The association of Stephen with Christ is in the manner of his death. That of John is probably due to his nearness to Christ during His ministry and the distinctive teaching in his Gospel concerning the Incarnation. The innocency of the child victims of Herod's jealousy, so similar to Christ's faultlessness, probably led the Early Church, deeply honoring martyrdom of every kind, to connect their death with the festival of the Master's birth.

We have already said that Epiphany so far as name is concerned, was earlier in its origin than Christmas. It was less specifically devoted to Christ's birth, however, than to marking in general His manifestation to men. The baptism by John, and the appearance in the home at Cana of Galilee were themes in its celebration as well as the assuming of the flesh. Only after the fourth century was it coupled with the Visit of the Magi and the Manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles. Theophaneia, Bethpaneia, are early titles showing its first significance. Our Gospel Lessons for the season still show its various applications. The length of the season of Epiphany varies, and first shows the influence of the "Queen of Festivals," Easter, around which is grouped the second cycle of our year.

We have already said that the celebration of Easter is of Apostolic origin. It would be only natural that the Jewish converts to the faith in the first year of Apostolic preaching, should give a peculiar significance to their great Paschal feast, whenever

Digitized by Google

it would occur. They would recall Christ's teaching concerning Himself as the true Lamb of God, and with the eating of unleavened bread, they would connect the crucifixion, and the resurrection. Of course the date of this commemoration would be that of the Jewish Pascha, i. e., the 14th Nisan. Nisan was a lunar month, beginning with the moon following the Vernal Equinox. With the Gentile converts, however, the Jewish Passover had little or no significance. They had not even adopted the keeping of the Sabbath, but observed instead the first day of the week, distinctively the Lord's Day. The Resurrection rather than the Crucifixion was most emphatically preached to the non-Jewish converts, and their whole religious life made only Sunday suitable for the commemoration of the festival of Christ's coming from the grave. The result was that the Roman Church adopted the custom of making Easter a movable festival, seeking to mark it only on Sunday, and caring only to have a time approximately corresponding to the day of the month on which Christ rose from the dead. By the middle of the second century, the influence of the Italian Church had become sufficient to make a marked conflict between the days on which Easter was celebrated. The first colloquy on the subject was between Polycarp of Smyrna and Anicetus, bishop of Rome. Polycarp declared that it was the custom of John to observe the 14th of Nisan, but Anicetus refused to be convinced. Tradition was invoked that Peter and Paul might offer authority to the Roman party. A bitter controversy was carried on for more than a century, until finally at the Council of Nicea, the matter was settled by passing the rule now in force for determining the date of the celebration of Easter. That rule is, that Easter shall occur on the first Sunday, following the first full moon on, or next after the 21st of March. When this is Sunday, the following Sunday shall be taken.

This Nicean legislation simply compromises by determining that the Sunday nearest to the 14th of Nisan shall be Easter. At least that would be the result if the beginning of Nisan is accurately determined. For this month would begin with the new moon following the Vernal Equinox, i. e., the 21st of March, and the 14th was the day of the full moon. The followers of the Jewish custom had already been contemptuously called Quartodecimanians, and after the Nicean Council, any one holding to the fixed festival, was excommunicated. It is none the less true

Digitized by Google

however, that so far as Apostolic authority is concerned, its weight is in favor of the 14th of Nisan.

Any date fixed in a lunar month would yet be movable in the solar year, and hence in a civil year which corresponded in length with the sun's annual revolution. The requirement of a certain day in the week would add a second mutation. In the years immediately following the Nicean Council the Bishop of Alexandria was deputed to announce to the other bishops the date on which Easter would occur, and the bishops through their metropolitans would inform the whole Church. This plan was soon found inadequate however, and the mathematicians set themselves to formulate tables by which the date of the moon following the Vernal Equinox could be found, and the day of the week could be determined. The Metonic cycle of nineteen years for determining the date of the moon's phases had already been in use for centuries. A "solar" cycle for twenty-eight years was also known, by which the succession of the days of the week could be found. Victorinus of Aquitain combined these two numbers as factors in a period of 532 years, to which the name of the Victorian cycle has been applied. The factors in this unit are indicated in our Calendars by the Golden Number and the Dominical or Sunday letter. The first is obtained by dividing the number of the year plus one by 19. If there is no remainder, the Golden Number is 19. Any remainder from the division is the Golden Number for the year divided. The Dominical letter is the capital set opposite Sunday. The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th of January are named A, B, C, D, E, F and G. If the 1st of January is Sunday, A is the Dominical letter; if the 3rd is Sunday, the letter is C; and so on. The table of the Victorian Cycle was used for determining the date of Easter until the time of the papal reign of Gregory XIII, without correction, although the Venerable Bede had noted that the Vernal Equinox no longer fell on the 21st of March. Owing to the various errors in the ancient Julian year and in the Victorian cycle, a day was lost every 130 years. In 1582, the actual date of the Vernal Equinox was March 11th. To correct this error, Gregory ordered the 5th of October to be called the 15th. The Catholic countries adopted the revision at once; the Protestant governments later, England making a correction of eleven days in 1752. The Greek Church has not yet adopted the correction, so that

Digitized by Google

there is a divergence of twelve days between the dating of their events in their own "Old Style" and our "New Style." Necessary corrections in the Victorian cycle have made it so complex that it can no longer be generally employed in determining Easter. Hence tables are published giving the actual date of its occurrence during a period of years.* A very good article on the formulæ for the Golden number and the Dominical letter can be found in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* under "Calendar."

By the time the Nicean Council had decreed the date of the occurrence of Easter, many of the elements of its cycle had become established in the customs of the Church. The custom of fasting in the days preceding the festival is very early, although it was first practiced only during the forty hours during which Christ's soul was separated from His body. Yet it was not long until the tendencies toward asceticism led to the extension of this preparatory season over a period of forty days. Origen makes mention of this length of time as proper for the preceding of Easter. This period of course grew out of the time of the Master's temptation in the wilderness. The number of weeks covered by a fast of forty days was effected by the estimate in which the days of the week were held by various parts of the Church. Sundays were universally excluded from the list of fast days. Parts of the Church also excluded Saturdays and Thursdays. Such omissions would extend the forty days to the ninth week before Easter, and would account for the cycle beginning with Septuagesima Sunday, although the names of the Sundays before Lent are derived by analogy with Quadragesima. In the Western Church, Gregory the Great brought uniformity by enacting that Lent should consist of the forty-six days preceding Easter, Sundays being excepted from fasting. Thus it takes its beginning on Wednesday of the seventh week before Easter.

Ash Wednesday takes its name from a custom of the Roman Church of burning the palm branches consecrated at the previous Palm Sunday and with the ashes making the sign of the cross on the forehead of those kneeling before the altar on this day. The ancient name is *Caput Jejunii*. In the Lutheran Church, the day is marked simply as the beginning of the Lenten season.

The English word Lent is from the old word for Spring, this season of the Church Year being distinguished as the Lenten

* *Cf. Church Book.*

Digitized by Google

Fast. The names of the first five Sundays are taken from the initial words of the Latin Introits for each day; i. e., *Invocavit*, *Reminiscere*, *Oculi*, *Lætare* and *Judica*. Palm Sunday takes its name from the custom of bearing branches in the processionals. By Gregory it is called *Dominica in ramis palmarum*, by Ambrose, *Dominica in ramis olivarum*. By St. Jerome it is entitled Indulgence Day from the custom of the Emperors of setting free prisoners and closing the courts of justice during the week beginning with this Sunday. Very early in the history of the Church, this week received the name of the Great Week or the Holy Week, and was marked by special religious observances and by the closing of places of business.

Maundy Thursday has its popular name either from a corruption of the Latin title "*Dies Mandati*" or from the custom of delivering gifts to the poor in baskets (maunds). The Lord's command, "Do this" of course led to the name *Mandati*. Other titles, arising from the Lord's teaching in the Upper Room are, *Feria mysteriorum*, *Lavipedium* and Μεγαλή Πέντας.

It has already been noted that the marking of the day of the Lord's death by a suitable memorial is one of the earliest customs of Christendom. The Jewish converts in selecting the 14th of Nisan as their Easter, gave the crucifixion the first place as compared with the resurrection. At first in the Western Church, both the crucifixion and the resurrection were connected with the Sunday celebration of the *Pascha*, but after the time of Leo I, the two events are definitely separated, and Friday marked as the Paraskeue or *Dies Dominicæ passionis*. Saturday following, called by the Jews, An high Day, is known to the Christians as The Great Sabbath. It has been marked only by the Easter vigils.

The name Easter is derived by Venerable Bede from the name of a Pagan goddess Eostre or Ostera, whose festival occurred about the time of the Vernal Equinox. Later philologists derive the name from the Saxon "urstan," to rise, "urstand," the resurrection. The ancient name was "*Pascha Dominicæ resurrectionis*," and later simply "*Dies Paschæ*." From the purely Church standpoint, it is and always has been the greatest of the Church festivals.

The forty days following Easter belong to the Easter cycle and are characterized by the prolongation of the Easter festivi-

Digitized by Google

ties. Fasting was not permitted, and the most joyous celebrations of the Church and family were set for this period. The Sundays take their names from the Introits.

Thursday, the fortieth day after Easter is set apart for the marking of the Lord's ascension. Holy Thursday is the name usually applied to it in the old Calendars, though it is not shown to be very early marked by the Church. Chrysostom is the first authority for its observance, he having a homily for the day. Augustine and Gregory of Nyssa mark it in a similar manner.

Pentecost, the fiftieth day after Easter, is one of the earliest festivals, being probably contemporary with Easter in its first observance. Its Christian observance is simply a transformation of the Jewish Harvest Feast, with a new significance due to the outpouring of the Holy Ghost on this day. Pentecost is of course the earliest name. Our English title of Whit-Sunday is usually derived from the custom of the catechumens appearing in white robes on this day, their baptism having occurred at the vigil immediately preceding. Other derivations are "Whitsun Day" from the German "Pfingsten Tag," and Wit Sunday, the day of the pouring forth of wisdom, from the old English word for wisdom, Wit. In the early Church, the remaining Sundays of the year were attached to Pentecost, and this custom still obtains in the Greek Church, where Trinity Sunday is not observed.

Trinity Sunday is the latest of the great festivals to be placed in the Calendar. There was no occasion for its observance until after the Arian controversy, the Sunday following Pentecost being simply the octave of that feast, and specially set apart as the Day of all the Martyrs. In some parts of the Church, the Sunday before Advent was connected with the Trinity. The Synod of Arles, 1260, officially gave it its present place in the Calendar, choosing the Sunday following Pentecost, because after the sending of the Holy Ghost, man had for the first time full knowledge of the Trinity.

Our custom of naming the remaining Sundays of the year "Sundays after Trinity" is not so much the forming of a long Trinity cycle, as it is the making of a second principal division of the Church Year. The first division with its three great feasts and their cycles is the *Semester Domini*, ending with Trinity Sunday. The second half is the *Semester Ecclesiæ*. In the first, we mark the history of the life of Christ from its Advent to the send-

Digitized by Google

ing of the Holy Ghost; in the second, we have man's appropriation of redemption. In this, the lessons mark the Call to the Kingdom of God, the Righteousness of the Kingdom of God, and the Final Consummation of the Christians' Life. (Spaeth.)

In the Greek Church on the other hand, the entire year is divided into cycles grouped around the great festivals commemorative of the ministry of Christ. Their conception of the Church Year can best be shown by tables. They are quoted from Neale's *Holy Eastern Church.*

Festivals are divided into three classes:

A. GREAT.

1. Easter.
2. The following twelve:
   Christmas, Dec. 25th.
   Epiphany, Jan. 6th.
   Hypapante, Feb. 2nd. (Meeting of our Lord with Simeon and Anna.)
   Annunciation, Mar. 25th.
   Palm Sunday.
   Pentecost.
   Transfiguration, Aug. 6th.
   Repose of the Mother of God, Aug. 15th.
   Nativity of the Mother of God, Sept. 8th.
   Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Sept. 14th.
   Presentation of the Mother of God, Nov. 21st.
3. Festivals Adodekata. (Fewer than 12.)
   The Circumcision, Jan. 1st.
   Nativity of S. John the Baptist.
   SS. Peter and Paul.
   Decollation of John the Baptist.

B. MIDDLE.

1. Festivals in which the office is not entirely of the commemoration, but has the addition of a canon in lauds in honor of the Mother of God; such as Jan. 30, SS. Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom. May 6th, St. John, the Divine.
2. Those in which the Polyeleos (135th and 136th Psalms) occur in the lauds. For the minor apostles, the God-bearing Fathers, (Simon Stylites), and the more famous Metropolitans.

Digitized by Google

C. LITTLE.

1. Those having the Great Doxology.
2. Those without the Great Doxology.

The great Fasts of the Greek Church are as follows:

The Lenten Fast, Monday after Quinquagesima to Easter.
The Fast of the Apostles, Monday after Trinity to June 29.
The Fast of the Mother of God. Aug. 1st to 14th.
The Fast of the Nativity. Nov. 15th to Dec. 25th.

The first of these Fasts, the Lenten, is of exceeding rigor. "Not only is meat forbidden, but fish, cheese, butter, oil, milk, and all preparations of it. The Fast continues on Sunday, though a little oil is permitted. General indulgences are never granted." "In all 226 days of the year are observed with scrupulous fidelity as Fasts. In the Lenten Fast, poor men throw away their only loaf of bread, if a drop of oil or forbidden food happens to fall upon it."

N. R. MELHORN.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Digitized by Google

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF CALENDARS.

Greek Church (Constantinople)	Lutheran.	Armenian
Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee (Year begins)*	3rd Sunday after Epiphany	3rd Sunday after Epiphany
Sunday of the Prodigal Son	Septuagesima	4th Sunday after Epiphany
Sunday of Apocreos. Monday of Tyrophagus	Sexagesima	5th Sunday after Epiphany
Sunday of Tyrophagus. (Tyrophagus a semi carnival in which cheese is eaten)	Quinquagesima	6th Sunday after Epiphany
Monday after Tyrophagus, fast begins		
Orthodoxy Sunday	1st Sunday in Lent	†2nd Sunday in Fast
2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th Sundays of Fast	Sundays in Lent	3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th Sunday in Fast
Palm Sunday	Palm Sunday	Palm Sunday
Pascha or Bright Sunday	Easter	Pascha
Anti pascha	1st Sunday after Easter	New Sunday
Sunday of the Ointment Bearers	2nd Sunday after Easter	Green Sunday
Sunday of the Paralytic	3rd Sunday after Easter	Beautiful Sunday
Sunday of the Samaritan	4th Sunday after Easter	5th Sunday after Pascha
Sunday of the Blind Man	5th Sunday after Easter	6th Sunday after Pascha
The Ascension of our Lord	Ascension or Holy Thursday	Ascension
Sunday of the 318 (Nicean Fathers)	Sunday after Ascension	Sunday after Ascension
Pentecost	Whit Sunday	Pentecost
All Saints Sunday	Trinity	1st Sunday after the Descent
2nd Sunday after Pentecost	1st Sunday after Trinity	2nd Sunday after the Descent
* * * *	* * *	* * *
	6th Sunday after Trinity	Transfiguration
	* * *	* * *
Sundays after Pentecost - - -	12th Sunday after Trinity	Assumption [Virgin Mary
	14th Sunday after Trinity	Invention of the Girdle of the Blessed
	16th Sunday after Trinity	Sunday of Holy Cross
	25th Sunday after Trinity	1st Sunday of 2nd Pentecost
27th Sunday after Pentecost	1st Sunday in Advent	2nd Sunday of 2nd Pentecost
28th Sunday after Pentecost	2nd Sunday in Advent	3rd Sunday of 2nd Pentecost
Sunday of the Holy Forefathers	3rd Sunday in Advent	4th Sunday of 2nd Pentecost
Sunday before Nativity	4th Sunday in Advent	5th Sunday of 2nd Pentecost
Nativity (Dec. 25th Sunday)	Christmas	6th Sunday of 2nd Pentecost
Jan. 1st, Sunday before the Lights	Circumcision	7th Sunday of 2nd Pentecost
Jan. 6th, The Holy Theophany	Epiphany	Nativity, Epiphany, Baptism
Sunday after the Lights	1st Sunday after Epiphany	1st Sunday after Epiphany
29th–32nd Sundays after Pentecost	Sundays after Epiphany	Sundays after Epiphany
Sunday of Publican and Pharisee		

* Note.—The above represents a year beginning Jan. 23rd. Easter on Apr. 3rd. † The Armenians count the Sundays following a feast in a special manner.

Digitized by Google

LUTHER'S LITURGICAL WRITINGS.

As would be expected, he who, under God's hand, purified the faith of the Church, also laid down the principles for a purified worship in the reformed Church. The fundamental principles of liturgical reform are found in the writings of Luther, and it is upon these principles that every Evangelical Liturgy is based. There are but three great liturgical writings from the hand of Luther, in fact only two which provide an order of worship, the *Formula Missæ*, 1523, and the *Deutsche Messe*, 1526; but with these must also be mentioned the tract "Von Ordenung Gottesdienst in der Gemeyne," of 1523, and his letter to the chapter of All Saint's Church at Wittenberg, of August 19, 1523.

All through his writings from the year 1516 to the year 1545 we find, again and again, reference made to the worship of the Church; some deal with the matter fully and other writings again barely touch it. It is therefore a difficult matter to refer to every reference of liturgical importance. We will content ourself with the most important.

When Luther, in the year 1517, wrote the sixty-second Thesis, "The real and true treasure of the Church is the most holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God," he was the David who gave the Goliath of the old order of worship its death wound. The very center of the infamous system of Rome lay in its worship in the Mass. From early infancy all the religious surroundings of the people were bound up in this worship, and to destroy it was a herculean task. Luther knew this, and in his treatise on the Babylonian Captivity (1520) declares that the Sacrifice of the Mass is by far the most iniquitous captivity and which has drawn with it an endless chain of further abuses. He knows he has to contend with an evil which has been firmly intrenched for centuries, which has received universal approval and which cannot be overthrown without changing almost the entire

Digitized by Google

present organization of the Church and introducing a different mode of conducting worship. At first his entire attention was given to the preaching and teaching of a purified doctrine. But in this teaching he laid down the

PRINCIPLES OF DIVINE WORSHIP.

In the Sermon von der Messe (1520) Luther says, "If a man is to have any dealings with God and to receive anything from Him, it must come to pass in such a way that the first step is not taken by man but that God alone, without any petition on the part of man, must take the initiative and give to man a promise. This *Word of God* is the first thing, and upon it are built all the words, works, and thoughts of man." Here the first principle of worship is laid down. Again and again this principle is repeated. In the Ordnung des Gottesdienstes he declares emphatically, "The Christian congregation should never assemble, except the Word be preached and prayer be offered, even though it be very brief. Therefore when the Word of God is not preached, it were better there should be neither singing, nor reading, nor meeting." In 1524, in writing against Carlstadt he gives preeminence to the Word. Upon this depends primarily for him the entire genuine process of intercourse between man and God, and thus also distinctively salvation itself, as tendered from above, and not as an achievement to be attained by efforts originating within ourselves.

In 1522 he declares that in everything bearing upon the plan of salvation and the relation of the soul to God, absolutely "nothing dare be added" to the Word of Scripture, and yet the Divine worship appointed by God in His Word has also an external, earthly, local embodiment which is, just because of its unessential character, variable and left to the choice of Christian liberty. Beyond the Scriptures nothing must be appointed, or, if anything be appointed, it must be regarded as voluntary and not necessary; all things which Christ has not appointed are voluntary and unnecessary, and therefore not injurious. Here he lays down the principle of liberty in worship. This principle he follows out again and again in all of his writings.

This principle is treated of more fully in his Address to the Christian Nobility (1520) where he says this liberty must not be abused. Many want to be free, and as Christians only in despis-

Digitized by Google

ing ceremonies, traditions and human laws: whereas the opposing party seek to attain salvation only by observance. The Christian must in his conduct concerning outward ceremonies always have in view two different classes of men. One the hardened ceremonialist, the other the weak in faith. To deal with the former we must do just the opposite and the latter we must bear with until they are properly instructed. When Carlstadt in his dictatorial manner sought to enforce certain laws in worship, Luther opposed him forcibly. "We are," says he, "free and Christian and can therefore elevate the sacrament or not elevate it, however, wherever, whenever and as long as we please." For the express purpose of opposing Carlstadt he retained the custom at Wittenberg. He took the same stand on other ceremonies. In his sermon Wider die Himmlischen propheten (1524–1525) he says again, "we have Christian liberty to observe the Mosaic laws, but that all this should be accommodated to the people amongst whom we live."

In his Address to the Christian Nobility he also lays down the principle on which he bases his reasons for not abolishing ceremonies. "We cannot live on earth without them," he declares. "Hot, impetuous youth requires bonds, every one needs chastisement." He illustrates this by referring to the fact that Christian poverty incurs danger in the midst of wealth, fidelity and faith in the rush of business, humility in enjoyment of the hour, so also righteousness of faith is endangered in the multiplicity of ceremonies. Nevertheless, we must live and move, as in the midst of wealth, business, etc., so also amid ceremonies, i. e., in constant danger. And now he declares there will be a time when such ceremonies are no longer necessary. They are as the scaffolding which artisans and mechanics use in erecting a building. When the building is completed the scaffolding is laid aside; so when the Christian has reached a perfect faith ceremonies are no longer necessary.

He lays down the principle that worship should be for the sake of helping one another. In the Sermon von der Messe, he says, "We may not be at all times the same; therefore the Mass has been instituted, that we may assemble with one another and together offer this sacrifice." Here, he says, one stirs up, moves, inflames the other to earnestly press near to God, and we receive the things for which we ask. The pastor does not utter the ap-

Digitized by Google

pointed words by himself, but he is our mouthpiece and we all unitedly speak from the heart with him.

REASONS FOR A CHANGE IN WORSHIP.

We might mention four reasons for a change in worship necessitated by the change in doctrine.* The first is found in the supreme normative authority of the Word. According to the Roman practice the Sacrifice of the Mass was a good work and justified the sinner. There was therefore no room for the Word, and the Word, of necessity, was crowded out. The Word must have the first place in worship, according to Luther, for it is the faith of the individual that justifies him. As early as 1516 Luther declares that the hearing of the Word is a far greater necessity than hearing the Mass. In his Sermon von der Messe, he says, "The central place of the worship and the sacrament is accorded to the Word. The Word is the principal part of the Mass." The outward observance without the Word is of no account to Luther, and in all his liturgical writings this is one of the chief reasons for changing the form of worship. The Word must be given the preeminence.

The second reason was one growing out of the first. Worship is the approach of the individual soul to God, therefore the basis of worship is not on Divine appointment as Rome held, but on the activity of the worshippers' faith. The mediation of an officiating priest is not necessary. The individual must go before God himself; he must pray, confess and give thanks for himself. The conclusion from this is inevitable: if the individual must go before God himself, there is no need of a mediating priesthood. In the Sermon von der Messe Luther says, "The Sacrifice of the Mass is effected, not through the priest, but through faith of every Christian believer. All are real parsons who believe Christ is a minister for them before God, and who offer their prayers, their praise, their wants, and themselves, and then receive the sacrament and testament bodily and spiritually. All are priests, man and woman, young and old, learned or laity, there is here no difference, unless it be in the measure of faith." He declares the same thing in his tract on the Abrogation of the Private Mass.

In the Babylonian Captivity he says, "The minister differs

* See *Christian Worship*, Its Principles and Forms. Chap. VI.

Digitized by Google

nothing from the laity except in administrating the Word and Sacraments," and again, "Baptized persons are all priests." Here, too, he defines the office of the diaconate, which is not for reading the lections, but to distribute the alms of the Church to the poor.

The abrogation of the priesthood is the abrogation of the sacrifices and therefore he would change the worship because of that abomination of Rome, the Sacrifice of the Mass. Worship must be participated in by the people. There can be no proper celebration of the communion except there be communicants who actually receive the sacrament, "for the sacrament is a communion of all saints, hence its name *Communio*, that is, communion, and in Latin *Communicare* means to receive the Sacrament, or as we say in German, to go to the Sacrament. It means that Christ and His saints are spiritually, all one body." "To make a sacrifice out of this is to change the very substance of the sacrament and institution of Christ."

To purify worship the idea of sacrifice in the Mass had to be overthrown. And the purified Mass to Luther is really a part of the Gospel, in fact, a summary of the latter, and all sermons should be nothing else but the exposition of the Mass. The Mass is more thoroughly Christian under any circumstance the more nearly it resembles the first celebration, which was eminently simple without any pomp and ceremonies.

Luther's fourth reason for changing the worship is found in the true teaching in regard to the Eucharist. He says it is not an *officium* of man, but a *beneficium* for man. Christ is not sacrificed in the Eucharist: He is given and applied. The worshipper is not a donor in the Eucharistic Service, but is the recipient of the Divine gift. The benefits of the Sacrament are not given except through remembrance of Christ and faith in these words, "Given and shed for you and for many for the remission of sins." This led to a complete change in the entire Communion Service. It was this doctrine that led to the destruction of the Roman Mass and the introduction of an Evangelical Mass.

Thus we see that the root of all the reasons for a change in worship lay in the purified doctrine of the Word, and we might sum up all of Luther's conclusions by declaring that all changes were absolutely necessary in order to present the Word purely to the hearts and minds of the worshippers.

Digitized by Google

EXTERNAL ORDINANCES.

Luther, although retaining ceremonies, shows somewhat of a contemptuous indifference to all ordinances. This indifference grows as he grows older, and in his later writings he is very outspoken for the destruction of all outward observances, although he does not in every case deem this advisable on account of the weak.

In 1520 in his sermon "Von Guten Werken," he says the Christian is free from all external ordinances. Even the outward observance of Sunday, for bodily rest, is for him not expressly commanded. All days are holy days. All days are working days. And here he presents the idea too, that the special observances are only for the sake of the immature laity and working people, in order that they may come and hear the Word of God.

Luther acknowledges the importance of external customs or modes of administrations. But for him they have no sanctifying power and have not been instituted by God, as he says they "are outwardly necessary and useful, are proper and becoming, and produce an orderly discipline and Church economy." They are the orderly and approved forms in which the dispensing and administration of the means of grace in the congregation, prayer, etc., are to be clothed. He also enumerates the chief external customs as, the appointed order of Divine worship, the celebration of particular days and hours, the use of the altar, priestly vestments, etc., and further, for example, as the observance of fasting, as a religious ceremony, by the congregation at large. But all these are not to be regarded as essential or binding on the congregation.

Often does the Reformer lay particular stress on the fact that freedom is allowed in these questions of priestly robes and ordinances, and in the Babylonian Captivity he affirms that the Church has no right to impose laws and take captive our liberty. Nor has the Church a right to impose fasts, prayers, and ordinances. "Neither Pope nor Bishop, nor any man has the right to impose a single syllable upon a Christian man, unless it be with his consent."

The Pastor or Bishop is not allowed to appoint these observances, the Church must. Necessity itself requires that they should be diverse and suited to the different classes of people, but

Digitized by Google

once the Church does lay down ordinances, individual believers should submit as long as they are wholesome. And yet, if the weak will not submit, there must be no compulsion to make them do so, for all things which adorn with the ceremonies, as vestments, postures, fasts, festivals—are secular matters, under the supervision of reason.

That ceremonies are useful Luther admits in a letter to John Sutel (1531). He says "Ceremonies are not necessary to salvation but they are useful to move slow minds. Concerning the ceremonies of the Mass which are altars, vestments, candles, etc., if they are not deposed, they are able to be observed, just as we do at Wittenberg. For children and fools they are necessary, for whom they are to be observed." In 1523 he writes that it is not possible to live in the Church of God without ceremonies, but he makes no plea for uniformity in this. In an earlier letter written to John Sutel (1524) he declares that it is not necessary all should be one in ceremonies, but that they should be one in faith and the Word. Let the ceremonies be varied so the individual subjectivity can speak its own religion. And in 1530 to the Elector John he says in substance the same thing. In 1545 he writes to Prince George of Anhalt, "I am not able to give the advice that every place, everywhere there should be uniform ceremonies." In this letter he takes a more advanced step and says, "I am impatient of even necessary ceremonies, but hostile to those which are not necessary, for it is easy for ceremonies to grow into laws and once established as laws, they soon become snares for the conscience."

When we turn to the chief liturgical writings of Luther we find practically the same thoughts expressed there. In his *Formula Missæ* he says, "External rites, even though we cannot do without them, as we cannot do without food or drink, nevertheless do not commend us to God. . . . . Vestments are permitted to be used in liberty, providing pomp and luxury be absent. For neither are you more acceptable if you consecrate in vestments, nor less acceptable if you consecrate without vestments. For vestments do not commend us to God."

In his German Mass he speaks very particularly of the reason for having a form of worship, and also for all having one form. "We should in love, as Paul teaches, endeavor to be of one mind, and in the best way possible to be of like forms and

Digitized by Google

ceremonies, just as all Christians have one baptism, one sacrament, and to no person is given of God a special one. . . . Yet I will not ask those who already have their good order of Service, or who through God's grace can make a better one, to let it go and yield to us. . . . . It would be excellent if in every principality Divine Service were conducted in the same form, and the surrounding towns and villages directly shared with a city."

"We institute such Orders not for the sake of those who already are Christians, for they need none of these things, for which also one does not live; but they only live for the sake of us, who are not Christians, that they may make us Christians. . . We must have such Orders for the sake of those who are yet to become Christians or to become stronger. . . . But most of all it is done on account of the simple and the young, who are to be and must be exercised daily and educated in the Scriptures and God's Word . . . for the sake of such we must read, write, sing, preach, and poetize, and, if it would be helpful and advantageous thereto, I would let all the bells ring, and all the organs play and everything sound that can sound."

In this connexion let us also see what Luther thought of the Church Festivals which also belong to the outward observances. In his Von Ordnung Gottesdienst he would abolish the festivals of all the saints—in fact, all but five festivals are abolished; the Purification of the Virgin, the Annunciation, the Nativity of our Lord, and the Festivals of John the Baptist and Paul remain. On account of the idolatrous worship he wished "that every festival be abolished, and that the Sabbath alone be retained."

In the *Formula Missæ* he adds to this list the Circumcision of Christ, Epiphany, Easter and Pentecost. In the German Mass he adds Michaelmas, and allows the fasts of Palm Sunday and Holy Week to remain, and also observes Good Friday as a holy-day. Therefore we have retained the following festivals: The Nativity, Circumcision of Christ, Epiphany, Conversion of Paul, Purification of the Virgin, the Annunciation, Day of John the Baptist, Easter, Holy Week, Good Friday, Pentecost and Michaelmas.

THE ORDER OF WORSHIP.

We have now reached the point where we can consider the Order of worship as it was arranged and prepared by Luther.

Digitized by Google

These Orders give a concensus of all his liturgical writings and are the practical embodiment of all his principles of worship.

In his letter to the chapter of All Saints at Wittenberg (1523) he gives his first outline of a renovated Service. In this writing he demands, in the first place, that all who are not fit persons to conduct the Mass be excluded, for the Mass is not a sacrifice or work. In the second place all mercenary Masses and vigils are to be abolished and no consideration is to be taken of the weak in this. In the third place, the morning and evening hours as the *Completorium* are to remain, but are to be purged. And in the place of the Masses at the morning hours, while using the old form of worship, a lesson is to be read after the *Te Deum Laudamus* from the Old Testament, with an exhortation and interpretation. In the evening this lesson is to be from the New Testament before the *Magnificat*. In the fourth place, presents, which were given to those present at Masses and vigils, may now be given to those present at the lections. In the fifth place, the minor chorus is to be abolished as it leads to idolatrous worship.

"The letter contains Luther's entire system in epitome. It expresses with distinctness, and seeks to make a practical application of each of the great evangelical principles which has come to him through years of devout study of the Divine Word, and had been tested by his own experience."*

The first distinctively liturgical writing in which Luther provides forms for conducting worship was the tract "Von der Ordnung des Gottesdienst in der Gemeine" (1523). As Jakoby says, "This writing prepares the way for the *Formula Missæ* and is the forerunner of that." It provides especially for the daily worship and makes little change in the Sunday Services.

VON DER ORDNUNG DES GOTTESDIENST IN DER GEMEINE.

The principle on which he bases his right to prepare such a tract is stated in the preface. Divine worship has a noble Christian origin, so has the office of preaching. But as the office of preaching has been corrupted, so has the worship. Therefore as the office of preaching is being brought again to its true position, so also must be Divine worship.

We will briefly sketch this writing. There are three great abuses in Divine worship. The first that the Word of God has

* *Christian Worship.* p. 154.

Digitized by Google

been silenced. The second, that many unchristian fables and lies came in in consequence. The third that such service is to be performed as a work with which to secure God's grace and salvation.

To reform these abuses the first thing to know (and here is the keystone to Luther's idea of worship) is that "the Christian congregation should never assemble except the Word of God is preached . . . . for where God's Word is not preached it were better neither to sing, nor to read, nor to assemble."

As for the worship itself. Christians should assemble every morning, when a lesson is to be read. Then follows an explanation. This lesson should be from the Old Testament, one book at a time. After the reading and explanation have lasted a half an hour or longer then come prayers and praise, for which a Psalm or Responsory or Antiphon may be used. In the evening the people should assemble again when the same order is to be observed, but the lesson should be from the New Testament. Another service may be held after dinner.

On Sunday the Mass and Vespers are sung as formerly but at both Services the Word must be preached, on the Gospel in the morning, and upon the Epistle or some Book, in the evening. The daily Masses are abolished, but if some one desires the Sacrament a Mass may be held. The singing of the Sunday Masses remains, but the pastor shall regulate it and see to it that the Word is read and explained. The Antiphons, Responsories and Collects, the legends of saints and the cross are to be omitted until they are purified. The chief thing in all is that the Word may be preached—"It were better all be abandoned rather than the Word, and there is nothing better than the Word."

In this writing Luther does not take the advanced step which we would expect him to do. He makes haste slowly and lays the foundation for greater changes in the future. Jakoby draws the following conclusions from the study of all parts of this Order as a summary of its teachings: 1.) "The Service is to be purified, not abolished. 2.) The Word of God is the central point of the Service. 3.) The true understanding is received through the medium of the expounded Scriptures. 4.) He distinguishes what the objective norm of the Word opposes. 5.) The appropriation of the Word demands a multiplicity of necessary services, to prepare for the Sunday and weekly Ser-

Digitized by Google

vices. 6.) These last show only a small number of Churchly Orders for they are devoted to the Service of God's Word and worship and continually draw from them. 7.) The celebration of the Lord's Supper is limited to Sunday, if there is not a particular wish to cause its celebration on another day. 8.) Saints days are not permitted.*

It was in December, 1523, when the greatest of Luther's liturgical writings appeared addressed to Nicholas Hausman, Pastor of the people of Zwickau at the Church of the Swan. It was entitled

FORMULA MISSÆ

et communionis pro ecclesia Wittenbergensi. This writing provides for a Latin Evangelical Mass, as the time was not ripe for a Mass in the vernacular.

That Luther was a Reformer and not an innovator appears very manifest in this writing. The changes he made were very gradual for, as he says in the introduction to the *Formula Missæ* "I always hesitated and feared on account of persons weak in faith, from whom the old and familiar mode of addressing God cannot suddenly be taken away in favor of a new and untried mode." But now many minds have been prepared by an evangelical Gospel for an evangelical Service, the time has come to "treat of a godly form for saying Mass (as they call it) and for administrating Communion." His work is only to purify what is in use and not to abolish it.

Following this introduction Luther gives an interesting study of the development and growth of the Service in the ancient Church. He traces the corruptions which have entered the Service, culminating in the sacrifice of the Mass. As this writing is not a doctrinal treatise he avoids all reference to the Mass as a good work treating it only as a sacrament, and indicating the rite according to which he thinks it ought to be used.

THE SERVICE.

First. The *Introits* are allowed to remain, although the entire Psalm is preferred. Second. The *Kyrie Eleison* remains, with the *Gloria in Excelsis* following it. These may be omitted as the pastor desires. Third. The *Collect* remains, but only

* *Liturgik der Reformatoren.* p. 275.

Digitized by Google

one, and after that follows the *Epistle*. He hopes to see the Epistles changed for there is too little faith in them. Fourth. The *Gradual* of two verses together with the *Hallelujah*, or either may be sung. And here Luther makes the statement that "it is not right to distinguish Lent and Holy Week or Good Friday by rites which differ from other festivals." Fifth. Sequences and Proses are abolished. Those about the Holy Spirit: *Sancti Spiritus* and *Veni Sancti Spiritus* may be used. Sixth. The *Gospel*, in which candles and incense are permitted. Seventh. *The Nicene Creed* may be used after which comes *preaching in the vernacular*. It makes no difference whether preaching comes here or before the introduction of the Mass. Eighth. All *offertories* which sound of oblation, together with the entire Canon are abolished.

The Communion. 1.) During the Creed or after the sermon the bread and wine are prepared for the blessing by the accustomed rite. Pure, unmixed wine is recommended. 2.) The *Preface*. After the preparation of the elements the following is the order: The Lord be with you. Response: And with thy spirit. Lift up your hearts. Response: We lift them up unto the Lord. Let us give thanks to our Lord God. Response: "It is meet and just. It is truly meet and just, right and salutary that we always and everywhere give thanks unto Thee, Holy God, Father Omnipotent, Eternal God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." 3.) The *Consecration* is preceded by a brief pause. Then the words of Christ used in the institution are repeated. 4.) The *Sanctus* follows, and during the *Benedictus* the bread and cup are elevated on account of the weak and with an evangelical significance. 5.) The *Lord's Prayer* follows, and immediately after it comes the *Pax Domini* with the pastor facing the people. 6.) During the distribution the *Agnus Dei* is sung. 7.) It is permitted to chant the Communion, but the closing prayer is changed. The *Benedicamus Domino* together with the *Alleluia* follows. 8.) The *Benediction*, either the Aaronic or the 96th Psalm concludes the Service. The administration of the elements is left to the option of the pastor. He may bless both consecutively, or bless the bread and after its distribution the cup.

Other directions follow in reference to the examination of communicants so that the unworthy are not admitted. Luther advises that all should stand in one place, for on this account the

Digitized by Google

altar and chancel were devised. Private confessions are allowed also, and the Communion is to be in both forms. Hymns in the vernacular are to be used and as many as possible, as there is a lack in spiritual hymns, he suggests two or three.

MATINS AND VESPERS

remain for other festival days, but the Mass is left for Sunday. The only revision would be to limit the number of Psalms to three for each Service and but one or two Responsories. The lessons are from the entire Scriptures divided into parts. In addition to this, daily lessons, one for the morning in the New or Old Testament, and another for the evening in the Old Testament, are appointed.

This *Formula Missæ* is nothing more than a revision of the Roman Mass ritual. Jakoby* characterizes it as follows: "It is not a liturgical construction that here holds our attention, much more a liturgical rebuilding, which proceeds from the criticism of given materials. In this Luther lays down the rule of Evangelical belief. He distinguishes in the worship of the Roman Church three separate parts: the one he destroys, the second he tolerates, of the third he approves. He destroys that which hung together with the sacrifice, which appears to him as an abomination; he tolerates that which has not sprung from an evangelical spirit, but in its ground-thought does not antagonize it; he tolerates the abuses, which dangers can be overcome by the pastor; he approves the venerable traditions, which represented the Christian consciousness when the spirit of the Apostles was very little estranged. He laid down three principles, of which the one was the ethical, the second the psychologic-æsthetic, the last the political side of the worship. He moves for the freedom of worship, he will not have it as a godly decree, but he looks upon it as the outcome of the Christian knowledge; he censures the overloading of the worship with prayers and songs, which cause weariness and satiety; he laid down, finally, the remaining constituent parts of the worship, the changing elements, over the insertion or withdrawal of which the bishop is to decide."

DIE DEUTSCHE MESSE.

Luther's last purely liturgical writing appeared in 1526 under the title "Die Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes."

* *Liturgik der Reformatoren.* p. 270.

Digitized by Google

Its great importance lies in the fact that it states the great principles of evangelical worship more clearly than the *Formula Missæ* and is far more independent of the Roman ritual. This brings the sermon to its proper place as the principal factor in evangelical Divine worship.

In every Lutheran or Evangelical Kirchenordnung, either the *Formula Missæ* or the German Mass was the basis. Where there was the greater attachment to the Roman ritual, the former was used, and where there was the greater independence, the latter. The chief element of the German Mass lies in its liberty. In publishing it Luther had no desire to change the *Formula Missæ*, but he wishes the two to go together hand in hand. The purpose in sending forth another form of Service was to help the uneducated laity who could not understand Latin. He had in view a third form which was only to be used by Christians and not to be celebrated publicly. This form would be very simple, "no need of elaborate singing. Here also baptism and the sacrament might be celebrated in a short, good form, and everything be directed to the Word, and to prayer, and to love." Luther never published such a form, but following his directions Count Von Zinzendorf set forth a Service for the Moravians.

In the introduction to the German Mass Luther says the first thing necessary in German worship is a good, simple, plain, easy catechism. The purpose of this is to instruct in the Word and properly prepare for Divine Services.

PREACHING.

The principal part of worship is preaching and teaching God's Word. That it may be preached often on Sundays, the Epistles and Gospels remain, and there are three sermons. Early at six o'clock, mostly for the sake of servants, one preaches on the Epistles. Then an Antiphon, and the *Te Deum Laudamus* or the *Benedictus*, with the Lord's Prayer, Collects and *Benedicamus Domino*. At the Mass at eight or nine o'clock, one preaches on the Gospel. In the afternoon at Vespers, before the *Magnificat*, one preaches on the Old Testament in regular order. The Gospels and Epistles are retained, although there is liberty to preach consecutively on the entire Books of the Evangelists.

Digitized by Google

THE DAILY SERVICES.

Here the laity, if they desire more preaching than the Sunday Services afford, can get it. Mondays and Tuesdays are devoted to the catechism. Wednesday a German lecture on Matthew. Thursday and Friday, the days' lessons on the Epistles, and Saturday the Evangelist John is studied. All of these services with the exception of Saturday are early services.

THE DAILY SERVICES FOR SCHOOLS.

Every morning before the lesson for the day some Psalms are sung in Latin. Afterward two or three read a chapter in Latin from the New Testament. Then another reads the same chapter in German. Then, with an Antiphon, they proceed to the German lecture. After this a German song, then the Lord's Prayer is repeated by one silently. A Collect follows and the service closes with the *Benedicamus Domino*.

In the evening some Vesper Psalms are sung in Latin with an Antiphon and hymn. Then, as in the morning, the Scriptures are read, but from the Old Testament instead of the New. The *Magnificat* in the Latin, with an Antiphon or hymn follows, then the Lord's Prayer silently, and the Collects with the *Benedicamus*.

THE SUNDAY SERVICES.

Vestments, altars and lights are allowed to remain, but the altar has not the same significance as it had and the priest must always turn himself to the people, as without doubt Christ did at the Last Supper.

A *spiritual song* or a *German Psalm in primo tono* opens the Service. Then the *Kyrie* in the same tone thrice. Then the priest reads a *Collect* in F of the natural scale, *in unisono*, with his face to the altar. Then the *Epistle in octavo tono*, with his face turned to the people. *A German Hymn* follows. The *Gospel in quinto tono* is then read with the face toward the people. The *Creed* follows, sung in German, "Wir glauben all an einen Gott." Then comes the *Sermon* on the Gospel for the Sunday. After the sermon follows a *paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer*, and an *Exhortation* to those about to partake of the sacrament. This paraphrase and exhortation may be used in the pulpit after the sermon or from the altar as the pastor desires.

Digitized by Google

THE COMMUNION.

The *consecration* and *administration* are as follows: the *Words of Institution*, "Our Lord Jesus Christ," etc. Luther here as in the *Formula Missæ* prefers to administer the bread before blessing the cup. While the bread is being administered the congregation sings the *German Sanctus* or the hymn "Gott sei Gelobt," or "Jesus Christus unser Heiland." After this the cup is blessed and the remainder of the above songs or the *Agnus Dei* is sung. The elevation of the host is retained. Luther never abolished this ceremony but after most of the Churches had given it up, he allowed it to fall into disuse. Then follows the *Collect* of thanksgiving, and then the *Benediction.*

The German Mass brings the Word to the front and is the Service for the common people. The sermon is the chief part of the Service and the Communion order is very simple and brief. Placing the *Formula Missæ* and the German Mass side by side we see the fundamental principles are the same, but the execution of the latter is much more free:

FORMULA MISSÆ.	GERMAN MASS.
Introit	Song or German Psalm
Kyrie	*Kyrie*
Gloria in Excelsis	
Collect	Collect
Epistle	Epistle
Gradual or Hallelujah	German Hymn
Gospel	Gospel
Creed	Creed
Sermon	Sermon
Preface	Paraphrase of Lord's Prayer and Exhortation
Consecration	Consecration
Sanctus	
Elevation—*Benedictus*	Elevation
Lord's Prayer	
Pax Domini	
Communion—*Agnus Dei*	German *Sanctus*, during distribution of bread
	Agnus Dei, during distribution of wine

Digitized by Google

Benedicamus Domini	Collect of Thanksgiving
Benediction	Benediction

LUTHER'S TAUFBUECHLEIN.

This paper would not be complete without some reference to Luther's "Taufbüchlein" which takes the highest position among the various orders of baptism.*

It appeared first in 1523 and was a translation of Romish Liturgies then in use. Luther made selections from various Liturgies and permitted many ceremonies that obscured the simplicity of the Sacrament.

In 1526 his second "Taufbüchlein" appeared in which the distinctively Romish features did not appear. This served as a foundation on which almost all other forms for the administration of the sacrament were built. And, in fact, no Liturgy, since then has been successful which did not take its rise from Luther's formula. In this he carried out the same principles of conservatism which is seen in his other forms, aiming to reform the order and not to introduce a new order. We will not enter fully into the discussion of this work, for it is beyond the object of this paper.

At the present time when there seems to be a tendency to lay great stress on ceremonials, forms of Service, facing the altar, etc., there can be no more stimulating study than to return to the writings of Luther and learn the principles from which the great Reformer worked. His principle of liberty in the Church is the only principle for an evangelical faith and the only principle which will abide.

When the cry, so often heard in our day, is raised "Back to the faith of the Apostles," we say "Yea." But in the worship of God in His sanctuary we say, "Back to Luther who so successfully carried out the principles of the Apostles in all his liturgical writings."

EARNEST ANTON TRABERT.

Uniontown, Pa.

* Condensed from MEMOIRS. Vol. III, p. 121.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE PERICOPES.

THE main Service of the Church, (Hauptgottesdienst,—*Communio*) is generally divided by liturgical scholars into two distinct groups, that of the Word, (Wortgruppe) and that of the Sacrament. The former culminates in the reading of certain Scripture lessons, the Creed and the exposition of the Word in the sermon that follows it. We do not propose to take up in this paper the homiletical question whether the lessons appointed for public reading on the different Sundays and festivals of the Church Year are to form the regular texts for the sermon. We simply deal with the liturgical aspect of a certain set of lessons to be used in the Service itself.

From the earliest times we can trace the practice of reading the Word of God in the public Service of God's people. Moses took the book of the covenant and read it in the audience of the people. (Exodus 24: 27). Ezra, the priest, brought the Law before the congregation both of men and women, and all that could hear with understanding . . . and he read therein . . and the ears of all the people were attentive unto the Book of the Law. (Nehemiah 8: 2ff). The book of the Acts tells us that "the reading of the Law and the Prophets" was the rule in the synagogues of those days, (13: 15); that "the voices of the Prophets are read every Sabbath day," (v. 27); that "Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath day," (15: 21). When the Lord, in Nazareth, "went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up for to read, there was delivered to Him the book of the Prophet Esaias." (Luke 4: 16, 17).

At the time of Christ, then, and His Apostles, the reading of the Law and the Prophets was the universal custom in the Jewish synagogue. The exact time when the reading of the Prophets was added to that of the Law, can hardly be determined.

Digitized by Google

Some say, it was at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (died 164 before Christ), when the reading of the Thorah was forbidden. Certain it is, that the reading of prophetical passages was most appropriate in the synagogues where thousands of Jews, scattered abroad, worshipped God far from the Temple Service in Jerusalem. Thus their eyes were directed to the coming of the Messiah who should replace the old Temple Service by its New Testament fulfillment. As the reading of Moses and the Prophets in the synagogue was not continuous, but in sections appointed for the different Sabbath days, we have practically in the service of the synagogue already a system of Pericopes, that is of selected Scripture passages for public reading, called Parashes and Haphthars.

It was in the nature of things that this practice was carried over into the earliest Christian Churches. The reading of the Word of God was first confined to Old Testament readings, as long as there was not yet a canonical literature of the New Testament. Gradually the reading of the Epistles and Gospels was added to the Old Testament passages, and finally the latter were in most cases supplanted by the former. As long as the Old and the New Testament lessons were used side by side, the arrangement was one of a gradual climax from the lower to the higher order: Law, Prophets, Epistles, Gospel. "*Ut ex minoribus animus audientium ad majora sentienda proficiat, et gradatim ab imo ad summa contendat.*" (Durantus II, 18, 5.) The Apostolic Constitutions appoint the following order of lessons: First, Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther. Second, Job, Solomon, the sixteen Prophets. Third, Acts, and Pauline Epistles. Fourth, Gospels.

While the regular reading of the Old Testament lessons was gradually discontinued in most churches, it held its place in the Armenian and some Syriac Liturgies, and in the Western Church in the Ambrosian, the Mozarabic and the Gallican Liturgies. But the general rule was: Two lessons in the Service of the Mass, *Apostolus* and *Evangelium*, Epistle and Gospel.

During the first three or four centuries, however, as long as the canon of the New Testament had not been finally established by the Church, we find among the passages for public reading in the Service, also selections from the writings of the Fathers, such as the Pastor Hermæ, Apokalypse of Peter, Clem-

Digitized by Google

ent of Rome, (First Epistle to the Corinthians), Cyprian, Chrysostom, Origen, and others. The decrees of the Councils of Laodicea, about 362, Hippo, 393, and Carthage, 397, finally determined the Canon of the New Testament, and ordered that "*Præter Scripturas Sacras nihil in Ecclesia legatur sub nomine Divinarum Scripturarum.*" (That besides the Holy Scriptures nothing should be read in the Church under the name of Divine Scriptures). The reading of martyrs' stories, (*Martyrum Historiæ*) was distinctly forbidden by Pope Gelasius, who died in 496, and by the *Concilium Trullanum*, 680.

In the beginning, the Scripture reading in public Service of the Church was the so-called *Lectio Continua*, continuous reading. Sometimes the selection of the passage was left to the leader of the Service. From three to four pages were generally considered as the measure of an ordinary lesson. The leader of the Choir would indicate the end of the lesson with the words "*Tu autem*," the reader being obliged to continue "*Domine miserere nobis*," the Choir responding with "*Deo Gratias.*" While this might impress us as rather an unceremonious and impromptu way of stopping the lesson, it was undoubtedly more dignified than the manner in which Charlemagne is said to have brought the lesson to an end, by hissing (!).

As the Church Year gradually began to take shape in the practice of the Church, first with the observance of certain festival days and seasons, such as Good Friday, Easter, Pentecost, it was natural, that special passages suited to those days and seasons, should be selected and read with more or less regularity. This, in the course of time, led to the desire to have fixed lessons also for the common Sundays of the Church Year, and thus the system of Pericopes, that is of certain selected, fixed lessons throughout the Church Year established itself.

There is no reason to doubt the common tradition that Jerome, at the request of Pope Damasus, (who died a. 384) prepared the first catalogue of regular lessons for the whole Church Year, the so-called Comes Hieronymi. It was first adopted in Rome, and gradually worked its way into the Service of the Western Church. Up to the time of Charlemagne its general introduction was, however, a rather slow process, meeting with considerable difficulties in some of the most prominent churches. Augustinus, (St. Austin), the missionary of England who was

Digitized by Google

sent there by Gregory the Great, in 596, and afterwards became the first incumbent of the see of Canterbury, (died 607) raises the question, *"*Cur, cum una sit fides, sunt ecclesiarum consuetudines tam diversæ? et altera consuetudo missarum est in Romana Ecclesia, atque altera in Galliarum ecclesiis tenetur?*" Gregory himself had indeed done his very best to adapt himself in his liturgical work to the order of the Comes of Jerome. Micrologus, a Gallican priest, testifies on this point, as follows: †"*Hujus libri ordinem S. Gregorius diligentissime observavit, sive dum Evangeliis et lectionibus missales orationes in sacramentario adaptaret, sive dum Antiphonas ex ejusdem Evangeliis quam pluribus diebus in Antiphonario articularet.*" But even after Gregory's influence Walafried Strabo, (died 849) writes, ‡"*Lectiones Apostolicas et Evangelicas qui ante celebrationem sacrificii instituerit, non adeo certum est: creditur tamen a primis successoribus Apostolorum eandem dispensationem factam esse ea præcipue causa, quia in Evangeliis eadem sacrificia celebrari jubentur (!) et in Apostolo, qualiter celebrari debeant, docetur.*"

The Roman order finally obtained in France, especially through the exertions of Charlemagne, while, after nearly one thousand years of conflict, Pope Alexander the sixth had to acquiesce in the Ambrosian order of Milan, as distinct from that of Rome. It had held its ground even against the vigorous and unscrupulous measures of Charlemagne to exterminate it, which Landulph describes in this manner, §"*Omnes libros Ambrosii titulo sigillatos, quos vel pretio, vel dono, vel vi habere potuit, alios combu-*

* Since there is one faith, why is it, that there are such different customs in the Churches? One form of Masses in the Roman Church, and another in the Gallican Churches?

† St. Gregory has most carefully preserved the order of this book (the Comes) either when he adapted the prayers of the Mass to the Gospels and lessons, in the Missal, or when, in the Antiphonary, he appointed the Antiphons from the same Gospels for as many days as possible.

‡ It is not quite certain who arranged the Epistle and Gospel lessons before the celebration of the sacrifice (Mass). But it is believed, that this appointment was made by the first successors of the Apostles, especially for this reason, that, while in the Gospels those sacrifices are commanded to be celebrated, in the Epistles we are taught, how they ought to be celebrated.

§ All the Books signed with the name of Ambrosius, which he could obtain either by purchase or by donation, or by force, he disposed of, either by burning them or carrying them away across the mountains, as it were, into exile.

Digitized by Google

rens, alios trans montes, quasi in exilio secum detulit." The Homiliarius of Charlemagne has probably done more than anything else toward the general introduction of Jerome's system of Pericopes in the Western Church. The earliest printed edition of this Homiliarius, Speyer 1482, contains many additions and enlargements of later times particularly additions of Saints' Days which were unknown at the time of Charlemagne. In recent times, however, an ancient manuscript of the Homiliarius, of the Carolingian era, which reaches as far as the end of Holy Week, has been discovered among the manuscripts of the Grandducal library in Carlsruhe, Baden.*

We might expect that the conservative spirit of Lutheranism was from the very outset, favorable to the retention of the ancient Pericopes in the regular main Service of the Church. Luther's Church Postil (1521–1527) did perhaps as much in his time to perpetuate the use of the Pericopes, as the Homiliarius had done in the days of Charlemagne. But Luther freely criticized the selection made in the ancient system, and the Lutheran Agenda of the sixteenth century, as we will presently see, are by no means unanimous in their adoption and recommendation of the Pericopes as the regular lessons in the Service. Luther's Von Ordenung Gottis Dienst ynn der Gemeyne. Wittemberg, 1523, recommends as texts for the sermon, †"Des Morgens das gewoehnlich Evangelion, des Abends die Epistel, oder stehe bei dem Prediger, ob er auch ein Buch fuer sich nehme oder zwei." The *Formula Missæ*, of the same year, after describing the main Service up to the reading of the Collect, continues as follows: ‡"*Post hanc lectio Epistolæ. Verum nondum tempus est et hic novandi, quando nulla impia legitur. Alioqui cum raro eæ partes ex Epistolis Pauli legantur, in quibus fides docetur, sed potissimum*

* See Wiegand, Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen, auf seine urspruengliche Gestalt hin untersucht. Leipzig, 1897. Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche. 1. Band. 2. Heft.

† At the morning Service the usual Gospel, at the evening Service the Epistle, or it may be left to the pastor, if he chooses to take up a whole book or two.

‡ After this the Epistle lesson. For the time has not yet come to make any innovation on this point, as long as nothing is being read that would be ungodly (*impia*). Though those parts of the Epistles of Paul are rarely read, in which the faith is being taught, but mostly moralizing and parænetical passages. The man who arranged the Epistles seems therefore to have been a remarkably unlearned and superstitious devotee of works (*operum ponderator*), while the Service required that

Digitized by Google

morales et exhortatoriæ. Ut ordinator ille Epistolarum videatur fuisse insigniter indoctus et superstitiosus operum ponderator, officium requirebat eas potius pro majore parte ordinare, quibus fides in Christum docetur. Idem certe in Evangeliis spectavit sepius, quisquis fuerit lectionum istarum autor." From this passage it appears that Luther's principal objection to the Pericopes was that the Epistles, particularly, did not pay sufficient attention to the doctrine of the faith, that their contents were too much of the paræ netical, moralizing character. In his German Mass of 1526 Luther says on this point: *"Dass wir aber die Episteln und Evangelia nach der Zeit des Jahrs geteilt, wie bisher gewohnet, halten, ist die Ursach, wir wissen nichts Sonderlichs in solcher Weise zu tadeln. So ists mit Wittenberg gethan zu dieser Zeit, dass viel da sind, die predigen lernen sollen an den Orten, da solche Teilung der Episteln und Evangelia noch geht und vielleicht bleibt. Weil man denn mag denselbigen damit nuetze sein und dienen, ohn unser Nachteil, lassen wir's so geschehen, damit wir aber nicht die tadeln wollen, so die ganzen Buecher der Evangelisten vor sich nehmen." This shows that during the three years since the publication of the *Formula Missæ* Luther had become less critical toward the Pericopes, though the homiletical aspect of the question concerning the continuation of the Pericopes, evidently predominates over the liturgical consideration of using the old lessons as a stereotype part of the Service.

Among the Lutheran Agenda which are in favor of retaining the Pericopes, the following may be mentioned: Brunswick, 1528, by Johannes Bugenhagen, which greatly influenced many North German Orders. Wittenberg, 1533. †"Darnach liest der Priester ein Deutsch Collect zum Altar gewandt, und singt die Epistel

rather such lessons should chiefly be appointed, in which the faith of Christ is being taught. Whoever may have been the author of those lessons, he has certainly in the Gospels also aimed at the same thing.

* We retain the usual Epistles and Gospels arranged for the Church Year, for this reason, that we have no particular fault to find with this order. This is our practice in Wittenberg at the present time, because there are many, who must learn to preach in such places where this arrangement of Epistles and Gospels is still retained and possibly may abide for ever. As we may be of use to those men, without any disadvantage to ourselves, we let it pass, without however, blaming those who take up whole books of the Evangelists.

† After this the Pastor reads a German Collect, turning to the Altar, and sings the Epistle, facing the people.

Digitized by Google

zum Volk gewendet." Saxon Order, 1539, by Just Jonas, one of the most extensively used Agenda of our Church. Mark Brandenburg, 1540, *"Darauf die Epistel, nach Gelegenheit der Zeit und Festa . . lateinisch gesungen, folgend soll man dem Volk die gesungene Epistel deutsch lesen . . . . Darnach das Evangelion mit vorgehender gebuerlicher Benediction Lateinisch gesungen, darauf das gesungen Evangelion dem Volk Deutsch mit heller Stimm vorgelesen." The usage of the Swedish Lutheran Church was determined by the Council of Upsala, 1593, in favor of the Pericopes. For the Churches of Denmark, Norway and Iceland the same result had been reached long before that time through the influence of Bugenhagen.

Full lists of the Epistles and Gospels of the Church Year appear at a very early time in the editions of Luther's German New Testament. The first editions of the years 1522 and 1523, it is true, are still without them, but since 1524, when they are found in three different editions, they form a frequent addition to the text of the German New Testament. Ranke, (Der Fortbestand des herkoemmlichen Pericopenkreises, Gotha, 1859) publishes such a list of the year 1528, from an edition of the German Testament, printed by order of Philipp von Hessen, in large type, for the use of the churches, and which is ordered to be bought by all congregations. This fact goes far to show the tendency in the first decade of the Reformation era to retain the old lessons in the public Service of the congregation. This appears also a. 1531 from a statement in the Apology, Art. XXIV *De Missa*. "*Servantur usitatæ ceremoniæ publicæ, ORDO LECTIONUM, orationum, vestitus et alia similia.*"†

On the other hand some of our most prominent Agenda recommend the *Lectio Continua* in the main Service, or propose a sort of compromise measure. Among them the following deserve special attention: Prussia, 1525, by the Bishops Geo. v. Polenz and Erhard v. Queis. ‡"Zur Epistel soll der Priester ein halb oder ganz Capitel aus dem Neuen Testament, in Paulo anzufahen,

* Afterwards the Epistle appointed for the day, sung in Latin and afterwards read in German to the people. (The same with the Gospel.)

† See Mueller's edition. Page 248.

‡ For the Epistle lesson the Pastor shall read a whole chapter or one-half from the New Testament, beginning with Paul, through all the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, facing the people, reading distinctly in German, without accent, (that is,

Digitized by Google

durch alle Episteln der Aposteln und Acta Apostolorum . . . gegen dem Volk verstaendlich und Deutsch lesen und prononciren ohne Accent, damit die Worte so viel besser vernommen werden von den Umstaendern. . . . Darauf soll der Diener oder Priester ein ganz oder halb Capitel des Evangelions lesen, anzufahen vom Matthaeo bis zum Ende Johannis, mit der Form . . . wie bei der Epistel gemeldt ist." Likewise Riga, 1530, which is based upon Prussia, 1525. Brandenburg–Nürnberg, 1533, *"Nach dem Gebet soll man lesen ein Capitel aus den Episteln der Aposteln, Pauli, Petri, oder Johannis, etc. Teutsch, das soll er also anfahen: Eure Liebe vernehme mit Fleiss, das erst Capitel der Epistel des heiligen Pauli, zun Roemern geschrieben. . . . . Darnach soll er aber lesen ein Capitel aus dem Evangelio oder Geschichten der Apostel." The so-called small Württemberg KO of 1536, composed by Schnepf and approved by Brentius, recommends the following arrangement: First, select passages for the treatment of the principal doctrines. Second, the customary Gospels so well known to the common people. Third, by and by in towns or large boroughs, a whole Evangelist,—all these as texts for the sermon. In addition to this there is the provision that every Sunday or festival day, at the second tolling of the bell, the pastor or *diaconus* should ascend the pulpit, and read a chapter, beginning with Matthew and so on through the whole New Testament. "So wollen wir, dass alle Sonntag und Feiertag der Pfarrer oder sein Helfer, so er einen hat, auf die Kanzel steige, und mit guten, verstaendlichen Worten allda ein Capitel lese, also, dass er vorn anfahe in dem Evangelisten Matthaeo, und also fuer und fuer, bis zu End des Neuen Testaments darnach fange er wiederum vorne an." The KO of Schwäbisch–Hall, 1543, composed by Brentius, which otherwise provides for a much fuller liturgical Service than Württemberg, 1536, has no reference to the Epistle at all, and says, after the Gradual, Hallelujah or Sequenz, "then the text of the Gospel on which the sermon is to be based." "Darnach der Text des Evangelions darvon man predigen will." Pfalz–Neuburg, 1542, chiefly the

not intoning), that the words may be the better understood. . . . . Afterwards the Deacon or Priest shall read a chapter, or one-half, of the Gospel, beginning with Matthew to the end of John, the same way as the Epistle.

* After the Collect shall be read a chapter from the Epistles of Paul, Peter or John, in German. . . . . Afterwards a chapter from the Gospel or the Acts.

Digitized by Google

work of Osiander, introduces the reading of the Epistle at the proper place, after the Collect, and adds the following provision: "In order that the people, and the pastors themselves, may all the more be benefited thereby, they shall read the Epistles of Paul, Peter, John, and the Acts, all in their order, one after the other . . . except on high festivals which have their own lessons. The reading of the Gospel is to be after the same manner, which is here appointed for the Epistle."

This tendency, however, to give preference to the *Lectio Continua* in the main Service, and to dispense with the reading of the old Pericopes, did not become the final and general practice of the Lutheran Church. Gradually, even in those districts where the *Lectio Continua* had been favored for a time, a reaction set in in favor of the ancient lessons. The continuous reading of Scripture was more and more assigned to the Week day Matins and Vespers, and for the main Service of Sundays and festivals the retention of the Epistles and Gospels became the common characteristic feature of the Lutheran Service. The controversies between Westphal and Calvin in the sixteenth, and, between Carpzov and the Pietists in the eighteenth century,* strongly testify to this fact, though we may not be willing to accept, at this present day, all the arguments then advanced in defence of the old order.

We have yet to present as briefly as possible, some important and difficult questions which have in recent times engaged the attention of prominent scholars on this subject. The points at issue are these: How can we account for the differences existing between the system of Pericopes which is in common use with the Lutheran Church, and that which is found in the Roman Missal? Which of the two comes nearer the old order? And how far are we able to ascertain the original order of the Comes of Jerome? †

The differences between our Lutheran Order and that of the

---

* See Carpzov, *De Pericopis non temere abrogandis.* 1758.

† See R. v. Liliencron, Die altkirchlichen Unterlagen der Lutherischen Liturgie, Siona, 1897. pp. 41–48. Chorordnung fuer die Sonn-und-Fest-Tage des Evangelischen Kirchenjahres, entworfen und erlaeutert von Rochus Freiherr von Liliencron. Guetersloh. C. Bertelsmann. 1900. K. Giesecke, Sind wir verpflichtet unser Pericopensystem auf Grund des Roemischen zu revidieren? Siona. 1900. P. 170 ff. P. 201 ff.

Digitized by Google

Missale Romanum appear chiefly at the following points: The Sundays in Advent; the sixth Sunday after Epiphany and the second Sunday in Lent, (*Reminiscere*); and the whole line of the Trinity Sundays. v. Liliencron has shown conclusively that the differences are not due to any innovations which the Lutheran reformers would have introduced, in conscious and intentional opposition to the practice of the Roman Order. The Lutheran Church took the Pericopes essentially as she found them in the German Missals and Antiphonaries of the fifteenth century, without being aware of the possibility of discrepancies between the Order of these German Missals and the Roman Order. The authoritative *Missale Romanum* appeared in 1570 by order of the Council of Trent. The very date of its publication is sufficient to prove that the differences did not originate with the Lutherans. The question, however, arises, which of the two is nearer the original Order, the Lutheran or that of the *Missale*? v. Liliencron believes, the *Missale*. He holds that in its arrangement the Roman Church restored the correct ancient Order, and that, therefore, by the law of logical and historical consistency, we ought to feel ourselves constrained to revise our present Order of Pericopes, so as to bring it into full accord with the Order of the *Missale*. In his own Chorordnung, however, v. Liliencron does not carry out such an extreme and radical theory. Again and again he decides in favor of the accepted Lutheran Order over against the *Missale*. Giesecke takes issue with Liliencron on the question of the correctness of the *Missale*. He comes to the conclusion that we need not think of revising our own Order so as to bring it into harmony with the *Missale*. He maintains that our Lutheran system of Pericopes represents the old Order as far back as the close of the eighth century, in a remarkably pure and complete form. So far from recommending our own accommodation to the *Missale* he urges that the *Missale* adopt our Order.

Let us briefly consider the points of difference in detail.

I. THE SUNDAYS IN ADVENT.

Here the *Missale Romanum* has for the first Sunday the same Epistle which we have, but for the Gospel Luke 21: 25–33, with the exception of the three closing verses, our Gospel for the second Sunday in Advent. On the second Sunday in Advent the

Digitized by Google

Missale has again our Epistle for that day, but its Gospel lesson is our Gospel for the third Sunday. For the third Sunday in Advent the *Missale* has our Epistle and Gospel lessons of the fourth. On the fourth Sunday in Advent the *Missale* has the Epistle of our third, (1 Cor. 4: 1–5), and for the Gospel, Luke 3: 1–6. Our lessons, according to Giesecke, for all the Sundays in Advent are all supported by the oldest lectionaries, and our four Gospels by the testimony of the *Homiliarium* of Charlemagne. v. Liliencron also adopts them all, with the one exception that on the third Sunday in Advent he inserts the *Missale's* Gospel of the Fourth (Luke 3: 1–6). He will not for a moment listen to a proposition to throw out our Gospel for the first Advent Sunday, on which so many of the finest Lutheran Advent hymns are based.

For the Christmas octave, (New Year's Day) the *Missale*, with some of the old lectionaries, repeats the Epistle for Christmas, Tit. 2: 11–14, while our Epistle, which is also approved by v. Liliencron, is based on the Comes (Edit. Pamelius), and some older Lectionaries.

2. SIXTH SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY AND SECOND SUNDAY IN LENT.

The older lectionaries generally stop in their provision for the Epiphany Sundays with the fourth, (*Homiliarium*), or with the fifth, for which the Comes (Edit. Pamelius) gives the beautiful and most appropriate Gospel, Matt. 11: 25–30. (Also found in the Edition of the German New Testament of 1528). Instead of this we have, in accord with the *Missale* and some old lectionaries, Matt. 13, 24–30 which evidently found its place at this point in connection with the week day lessons, containing a number of parables representing the character of the kingdom of God. Our lessons for the sixth Sunday after Epiphany were inserted from the *Missa de Transfiguratione*, and, certainly a more appropriate Gospel selection for the last Sunday of the Epiphany season could not be imagined. v. Liliencron also agrees to this and retains it. This arrangement is generally ascribed to Lutheran influence, (Veit Dietrich?) though Luther in his Kirchenpostille ignores it. This Gospel passage is appointed in the *Homiliarium* and the *Missale* for the second Sunday in Lent. But here again

Digitized by Google

our Gospel, Matt. 15: 21–28, is supported by the oldest lectionaries, and again v. Liliencron accepts it.

3. TRINITY SUNDAYS.

What is now our Trinity Sunday, or the Festival of the Holy Trinity, was originally, in the Order of the Church Year, simply the Octave of Pentecost, first Sunday after Pentecost. Only about the beginning of the fourteenth century this Sunday gradually changed its character from the first Sunday after Pentecost to the Festival of Trinity. For the latter the lessons of the *Missale* are Rom. 11, 33–36, and Matt. 28, 18–20. The Trinity Epistle of the *Missale* has been adopted in our Order, in place of the older Epistle, Revelation 4: 1–8, which is retained in the Anglican Church. But our Gospel, John 3: 1–15, is undoubtedly the old Gospel lesson for the Octave of Pentecost, as testified by the Comes. v. Liliencron also accepts it, though he calls it, wrongly, as we think, "the Gospel of the later Order."

Our first Sunday after Trinity uses here the Epistle of the first Sunday after Pentecost in the *Missale* and inserts for the Gospel lesson the popular story of Dives and Lazarus.

Our fourth Sunday after Trinity uses for the Gospel lesson one of the lessons for the Pentecost Octave, Luke 6: 36–42, shifting the Gospels of all the following Sundays after Trinity down to the twenty-fourth. But as the Epistles were left in their place, the whole *De Tempore* provision for each Sunday was disarranged, as v. Liliencron holds. As this disorder affects also the other *De Tempore* parts, v. Liliencron insists that every thing here ought to be rearranged on the basis of the *Missale Romanum*. Giesecke, however, maintains that the disorder is by no means so great, and decidedly opposes the idea of a reconstruction after the model of the *Missale*.

If we could even approximately ascertain the original Order of Jerome's Comes, all these difficulties would easily settle themselves, and it would at once appear, which of the two Orders, the Lutheran or that of the *Missale*, is nearer to the original. But the Comes of Jerome is known to us only in the form of a fragment, or even of a ruin, as some liturgists view it. The two main sources for our knowledge of the Comes are the editions of Pamelius and Baluzius. Jacob Pamelius was a Roman Catholic theologian, born at Bruegge, 1536, died, 1587. In 1571, one

Digitized by Google

year after the appearance of the *Missale Romanum*, he published the Comes of Jerome from a manuscript of the Cathedral of St. Donatianus in Bruegge, comparing also some other MSS. of Cologne. "*Divi Hieronymi Comitem sive Lectionarium, uti recentiores nuncupant, e Bibliotheka et Sacrario Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis Brugensis ad D. Donatiani descripsimus, deinde ad veteres codices aliquot Colonienses per Dn. Hittorpium collatione facta restituimus* etc." This codex is generally supposed to belong to the early part of the ninth century. It has no appointments for week days except Wednesdays and Fridays, and very few Saints' days. Nebe thinks that it is of Gallican origin.

Stephan Baluzius, 1630–1718, was a French Jesuit, since 1667 librarian of the valuable Colbert library, and afterwards Rector of the Royal College. In 1677 he published the Comes of Theotinchus, belonging to the time of Louis the Pious, (Ludwig d. Fromme) in the beginning of the ninth century. In this codex the Trinity season is divided into sections named after the *Natale Apostolorum*, (June 29); St. Lorenz day, (August 10) and Cyprian's day, (September 16); while in the Codex of Pamelius these Sundays are simply mentioned as Sundays *post Octavam Pentecostes*.

Those who would like to have a convenient summary of the oldest sources for the Churchly system of Pericopes are referred to the following comparative table which shows side by side, the lessons for the Church Year as found in the *Homiliarium*, in Pamelius and Baluzius. A study of this table will convince the impartial reader that Giesecke is not far from the truth when he claims for the Pericopes as found in our Lutheran Order the oldest and most correct historical arrangement.

LIST OF LESSONS AS CONTAINED IN THE HOMILIARIUM OF CHARLEMAGNE AND THE TWO EDITIONS OF THE COMES OF JEROME, PAMELIUS AND BALUZIUS.

(From Nebe's Pericopes. Vol. I, pp. 100–102.)

SUNDAY	HOMILIARIUM	PAMELIUS	BALUZIUS
1 Advent	Matt. 21, 1 sqq.	Rom. 13, 11 sqq. Matt. 21, 1 sqq.	
2 Advent	Luke 21, 25 sqq.	Rom. 15, 4 sqq. Luke 21, 25 sqq.	
3 Advent	Matt. 9, 2 sqq.	1 Cor. 4, 1 sqq. Luke 11, 2 sqq.	1 Cor. 4, 1-15 John 1, 19-28

Digitized by Google

SUNDAY	HOMILIARIUM	PAMELIUS	BALUZIUS
4 Advent	John 1. 19 sqq. Mark 1, 1 sqq	Phil. 4, 3 sqq. John 1, 19 sqq.	Phil. 4, 3-7 John 1, 19-28
Vigils	Matt. 1, 18 sqq. Luke 2, 1 sqq. Luke 2, 15 sqq.	Isa. 62, 1 sqq. Rom. 1, 1 sqq. Matt. 1, 18, sqq.	Rom. 1, 1-6 Isa. 62, 1-4 Matt. 1, 18-21 Titus 2, 11-15 Isa. 9, 2-7 Luke 2, 1-14
Christmas	John 1, 1 sqq.	(1) Isa. 9, 2 sqq. Titus 2, 11 sqq. Luke 2, 1 sqq. (2) Isa. 61, 1 sqq. Titus 3, 4 sqq. Luke 2, 15 sqq. (3) Heb. 1, 1 sqq. John 1, 1 sqq.	(1) Titus 3, 4-7 Isa. 61, 1-9. Luke 2, 15-20 (2) Heb. 1, 1-12 Isa. 52, 6-10 John 1, 1-14
St. Stephen	Matt. 23, 34 sqq.	Acts 6, 8 sqq. Matt. 23, 34	Acts 6, 8-7, 59 Matt. 23, 34-39
Sun. aft. Christmas	Luke 2, 33 sqq.		Gal. 4, 1-7 Luke 2, 33-40
Circumcision	Luke 2, 21	Gal. 3, 23 sqq. Luke 2, 21 sqq.	Titus 2, 11-15 Luke 2, 21-32
Vigils	Matt. 2, 19 sqq.	Rom. 3, 19 sqq. Matt. 2, 19 sqq.	Titus 3, 4-7. Matt. 2, 19-23.
Epiphany	Matt. 2, 1 sqq.	Isa. 60, 1 sqq. Matt. 2, 1 sqq.	Isa. 60, 1-6 Matt. 2, 1-12
Octave	John 1, 29 sqq. Matt. 3, 1 sqq.	Isa. 12, 1 sqq. Isa. 61, 1 sqq. John 1, 29 sqq.	Isa. 12, 1-15 John 1, 29-34
1st S. after Epiph.	Luke 2, 41 sqq.	Rom. 12, 1 sqq. Luke 2, 41 sqq.	Rom. 12, 1-5 Luke 2, 41-52
2d S. after Epiph.	John 2, 1 sqq.	Rom. 12, 6 sqq. John 2, 1 sqq.	Rom. 12, 6-16 John 2, 1-11
3d S. after Ep.	Matt. 8, 1 sqq.	Rom. 12, 17 sqq. Matt. 8, 1 sqq.	Rom. 12, 17-21 Matt. 8, 1-13
4th S. after Ep.	Matt. 8, 23 sqq.	Rom. 13, 8 sqq. Matt. 8, 23 sqq.	Rom. 13, 8-10 Matt. 8, 23-27
5th S. after Ep.	Matt. 11, 25 sqq.	Col. 3, 12 sqq. Matt. 11, 25 sqq.	Col. 3, 12-17 Matt. 11, 25-30
Septuagesima	Matt. 20, 1 sqq.	1 Cor. 9, 24 sqq. Matt. 20, 1 sqq.	1 Cor. 9, 24-10, 4 Matt. 20, 1-16
Sexagesima	Luke 8, 4 sqq.	2 Cor. 11, 19 sqq. Luke 8, 4 sqq.	2 Cor. 11, 19-12, 9 Luke 8, 4-15
Quinquagesima	Luke 18, 31 sqq.	1 Cor. 13, 1 sqq. Luke 18, 31 sqq.	1 Cor. 13, 1-13 Luke 18, 31-43
1st S. in Lent	Matt. 4, 1 sqq.	2 Cor. 6, 1 sqq. Matt. 4, 1 sqq.	2 Cor. 6, 1-10 Matt. 4, 1-11
2d S. in Lent.	Matt. 15, 21 sqq.	1 Thess. 4, 1 sqq. Matt. 15, 21 sqq.	1 Thess. 4, 1-7 Matt. 15, 21-28
3d S. in Lent	Luke 11, 14 sqq.	Ephes. 5, 1 sqq. Luke 11, 14 sqq.	Ephes. 5, 1-9 Luke 11, 14-28
4th S. in Lent.	John 6, 1 sqq.	Gal. 4, 22 sqq. John 6, 1 sqq.	Gal. 4, 22-5, 1 John 6, 1-14
5th S. in Lent	John 8, 46 sqq.	Hebr. 9, 11 sqq. John 8, 46 sqq.	Heb. 9, 11-15 John 8, 46-59
Palm S.	Matt. 21, 1 sqq.	Phil. 2, 5-11 Matt. 26, 2 sqq.	Phil. 2, 5-11 Matt. 26, 2-27, 66
Holy Thursday	John 13, 1 sqq.	1 Cor. 11, 20 sqq. John 13, 1 sqq.	1 Cor. 11, 20-32 John 13, 1-32
Good Friday		Hosea 5, 15 sqq. Exod. 12, 1 sqq. John 18, 1 sqq.	Hosea 5, 15-6, 6 Exod. 12, 1-11 John 18, 1-19, 42
Vigils	Matt. 28, 1 sqq.	Col. 3, 1 sqq. Matt. 28, 1 sqq.	Col. 3, 1-4 Matt, 28, 1-7

Digitized by Google

SUNDAY	HOMILIARIUM	PAMELIUS	BALUZIUS
Easter	Mark 16, 1 sqq.	1 Cor. 5, 7 sqq. Mark 16, 1 sqq.	1 Cor. 5, 7-8 Mark 16, 1-7
Easter Monday	Luke 24, 13 sqq.	Acts 10, 36 sqq. Luke 24, 13 sqq.	Acts 10, 36-43 Luke 24, 13-35
Octave	John 20, 19 sqq.	1 John 5, 4 sqq. John 20, 19 sqq.	1 John 5, 4-10 John 20, 24-31
2d S. after Easter	John 10, 12 sqq.	1 Pet. 2, 21 sqq. John 10, 12 sqq.	1 Pet. 2, 21-25 John 10, 12-16
3d S. after Easter	John 16, 16 sqq.	1 Pet. 2, 11 sqq. John 16, 16 sqq.	1 Pet. 2, 11-19 John 16, 16-22
4th S. after Easter	John 16, 5 sqq.	James 1, 17 sqq. John 16, 5 sqq.	James 1, 17-21 John 16, 5-14
5th S. after Easter	John 16, 23 sqq.	James 1, 22 sqq. John 16, 23 sqq.	James 1, 22-27 John 16, 23-30
Ascension Day	John 17, 1 sqq.	Acts 1, 1 sqq. Mark 16, 14 sqq.	Acts 1, 1-11 Mark 16, 14-20
S. after Ascension	John 15, 26 sqq.	1 Pet. 4, 8 sqq. John 15, 26 sqq.	1 Pet. 4, 8-11 John 15, 26-16, 4
Vigils	John 14, 15 sqq.	Gen. 1, 1 sqq, 22, 1 sqq. Exod. 14, 24 sqq. Deut. 31, 22 sqq. Isa. 4, 1 sqq. Baruch 3, 9 Acts 19, 1 sqq. John 14, 15 sqq.	Gen. 22, 1-19 Deut. 32, 22-30 Isa. 4, 1-6 Baruch 3, 9-38 Acts 19, 1-8 John 14, 15-21
Whitsunday	John 14, 23 sqq. John 3, 16 sqq.	Acts 2, 1 sqq. John 14, 23 sqq.	Acts 2, 1-11 John 14, 23-31
Oct. Pent.	John 3, 1 sqq. John 15, 26 sqq.	Rev. 4, 1 sqq. Acts 5, 29 sqq. John 3, 1 sqq.	Rev. 4, 1-9 John 3, 1-15
D. 2. p. P. (2d S. after Pentecost)	Luke 16, 19 sqq.	1 John 4, 16 sqq. Luke 16, 19 sqq.	1 John 4, 16-21 Luke 16, 19-31
D. 3. p. P. (3d S. after Pentecost)	Luke 14, 16 sqq.	1 John 3, 13 sqq. Luke 14, 16 sqq.	1 John 3, 13-18 Matt. 5, 20-24
D. 4. p. P.	Luke 15, 1 sqq.	1 Pet. 5, 6 sqq. Luke 15, 1 sqq.	1 Pet. 5, 6-11 Luke 15, 1-10
D. 5. p. P.	Luke 6, 36 sqq.	Rom. 8, 18 sqq. Luke 6, 36 sqq.	Rom. 8, 18-23 Luke 6, 36-42
D. 6. p. P.	Luke 5, 1 sqq.	1 Pet. 3, 8 sqq. Luke 5, 1 sqq.	1 Pet. 3, 8-15 Luke 5, 1-11
D. 7. p. P.	Matt. 5, 20 sqq.	Rom. 6, 3 sqq. Matt. 5, 20 sqq.	Matt. 7, 15-21
D. 8. p. P.	Mark 8, 1 sqq.	Rom. 6, 19 sqq. Mark 8, 1 sqq.	
D. 9. p. P.	Matt. 7, 15 sqq.	Rom. 8, 12 sqq. Matt. 7, 15 sqq.	
D. 10. p. P.	Luke 16, 1 sqq.	1 Cor. 10, 6 sqq. Luke 16, 1 sqq.	
D. 11. p. P.	Luke 19, 41 sqq.	1 Cor. 12, 2 sqq. Luke 19, 41 sqq.	Rom. 8, 1-6 Luke 16, 1-9
D. 12. p. P.	Luke 18, 9 sqq.	1 Cor. 15, 1 sqq. Luke 18, 9 sqq.	Rom. 8, 12-17 Luke 10, 25-37
D. 13. p. P.	Mark 7, 31 sqq.	2 Cor. 3, 4 sqq. Mark 7, 31 sqq.	1 Cor. 15, 39-46 Luke 18, 9-14
D. 14. p. P.	Luke 10, 23 sqq.	Gal. 3, 16 sqq. Luke 10, 23 sqq.	
D. 15. p. T.	Luke 17, 11 sqq.	Gal. 5, 16 sqq. Luke 17, 11 sqq.	2 Cor. 5, 1-10 Mark 7, 31-37
D. 16. p. T.	Matt. 6, 24 sqq.	Gal. 5, 25 sqq. Matt. 6, 24 sqq.	Luke 10, 23-37
D. 17. p. T.	Luke 7, 11 sqq.	Ephes. 3, 13 sqq. Luke 7, 11 sqq.	Gal. — Luke 17, 11-19.
D. 18. p. T.	Luke 14, 1 sqq.	Ephes. 4, 1 sqq. Luke 14, 1 sqq.	Gal. 5, 16-24 Matt. 6, 24-33

Digitized by Google

SUNDAY	HOMILIARIUM	PAMELIUS	BALUZIUS
D. 19. p. T.	Matt. 22, 34 sqq.	1 Cor. 1, 4 sqq. Matt. 22, 34 sqq.	Gal. 5, 25-6, 10 Luke 7, 11-16
D. 20. p. T.	Matt. 9, 1 sqq.	Ephes. 4, 23 sqq. Matt. 9, 1 sqq.	Ephes. 4, 1-6 Luke 14, 1-11
D. 21. p. T.	Matt. 22, 1 sqq.	Ephes. 5, 15 sqq. Matt. 22, 1 sqq.	1 Cor. 1, 1-8 Matt. 22, 23-33
D. 22. p. T.	John 4, 47 sqq.	Ephes. 6, 10 sqq. John 4, 47 sqq.	Ephes. 4, 23-28 Matt. 9, 1-8
D. 23. p. T.	Matt. 18, 23 sqq.	Phil. 1, 3 sqq. Matt. 18, 23 sqq.	Ephes. 5, 15-21 Matt. 18, 23-35
D. 24. p. T.	Matt. 22, 15 sqq.	Phil. 3, 17 sqq. Matt. 22, 15 sqq.	
D. 25. p. T.	Matt. 9, 18 sqq.	Rom. 11, 25 sqq. Mark 12, 28 sqq.	
D. 26. p. T.	John 6, 5 sqq.	Jer. 23, 5 sqq. John 6, 5 sqq.	

A. SPAETH.

Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

Digitized by Google

LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the reformatory tendencies, which afterwards divided Christendom, were included within "the Holy Catholic Church" owning allegiance to the Roman pontiff. The ferment was not confined to the Teutonic nations. It may be said that the earlier movement in Spain prevented the complete overthrow of the Pope and gave the note of the counter-reformation. There was a considerable lack of uniformity in the Service of the Church, and the writers on the Roman side acknowledge that abuses had crept in. A reformed Breviary was proposed but not adopted. The issue of these movements in the Roman Church was the attainment of a higher degree of uniformity through the reformed Breviary and Missal which the Council of Trent authorized the Pope to publish. A second main issue was the doctrine of sacrifice. There can be no doubt that the doctrine of a propitiatory offering in the Mass was recognized before this period and was a legitimate development of teachings and tendencies prevalent in the Church since the third century. This is not the place to account for this, or to estimate its relation to the Gospel. But that this theory was not accepted by all, may be seen from the various theories of the sacrifice in the Mass which were urged by the Conservatives in the compromise-propositions during the Reformation period. For a more particular account of them I may refer to my articles on *The Three Interims* in the *Lutheran Church Review* and on *The Liturgy* in the *Lutheran Cyclopædia*. The Reformers rejected the theory of a sacrifice in the Mass, and thereby cut away the root of the false theories and actual abuses of which all complained. The Conservatives—those fair-minded men who fain would have preserved a fidelity to the Scriptures and conscience

Digitized by Google

without breaking with the visible Church, and therefore sought a formula which both Romanists and Reformers could subscribe,—urged many theories of sacrifice. It is noteworthy that in the earlier period these are more liberal, more Lutheran; while in the later they become more uncompromising. Even in the Council of Trent a few voices urged the vanishing criticism, arguing that if the Lord offered Himself in the Supper, there was nothing left to do upon the Cross. But the Council cut away the more moderate views and established the fundamental principle of the Roman Service, namely, that the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and may be offered to God to obtain various temporal blessings.

The period of the Reformation, therefore, is a period of development of the Roman liturgy. It issued in the extrusion of various forms and doctrines of the Mass; in a vigorous uniformity; and in the fixation of the sacrificial theory.

The Protestants were at one in rejection of this theory. Pope Leo XIII touches the very nerve of Protestantism when (from his standpoint) he denies the validity of the Orders of the English Church, because no one of its priests has been ordained to be a *sacrificing priest*. The result of this rejection of the doctrine that the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice, is a new conception of the Divine Service, a conception practically new to the Church after a mistaken theory had obtained for many centuries. The worship of the Church no longer was regarded as something done for the people by a priesthood; and which even might be done for them in their absence. But here a new division arose among the Protestants themselves. On the one hand, Christian worship was regarded as something done simply *by* the people. Freed from the compulsion of the Church, these accepted the Scriptures as a *new law*. The Church was held to be bound by the example of the Church in the New Testament time. As the New Testament Church did, so must the Churches do forever, no more, no less. And of consequence, there grew up (just as had been the case in the post-Apostolic period) a notion of the binding authority of the Old Testament law. The people had part in the Service. In some places a ministry was superfluous. Sermons were demanded. And no songs were admitted but those of Holy Scripture itself. Hymns of human composition were forbidden. The Church was thrown back upon Holy Writ itself for all the

Digitized by Google

material of worship. (See *Encyclopædia Britannica* on *Hymns.*)

But there was another line of development. The use of the vernacular was insisted on, of course. But, besides, the other tongues were employed which were representative of the history of the Church. While the Gospels and Epistles were read in German, they might be first read in Latin too; and if the Creed and the sacred songs were translated and versified for the people's use, they were also sung in Latin; the Greek *Kyrie* could not be taken from the people; and *Amen* and *Hosanna* were sacred legacies from the Hebrews. This was not through impotence, or for music's sake only, but it was a recognition of the Divine element in the historical *development* of the Church. The same principle rescued the framework and purer constituents of the Western liturgy, to which, not the first century only, but all Christian centuries, had contributed. The people had their part in the Service. To give them this the Old Testament Psalms were rejuvenated in German versions; which were not translations either prose or in verse, but fresh outpourings of Christian faith, as, for example, the version of the forty-sixth Psalm in *Ein' feste Burg*. So the Liturgical Songs were turned into rhymed German hymns. Some of these were happy, some were not. But they answered to a principle. Not only were they in rhyme, instead of in the parallelisms of Hebrew poetry, so that the people could remember and sing them more easily; but the necessary Christianization of the Old Testament Psalms, which all of us attempt by ignoring some things they say and injecting a fuller meaning than their inspired authors could conceive, and which the Church attempted in former ages by means of Antiphons before and after, and which other Protestants helplessly resigned, the Lutheran Reformation successfully accomplished by means of a new and Christian psalmody, in native German forms, fresh, and of inexhaustible volume. Here the people found their part in the Service. But the Service was not merely sacrificial; before all things it was sacramental. This was its fundamental character, and the songs of the people only answered to the gift of God it brought. The ministry instituted by God were stewards of His mysteries. They absolved. They ministered His saving Word. They are the hands and lips whereby Christ gives His Body and Blood, His forgiveness, Himself.

It may be asked whether the liturgical development of the

Digitized by Google

Reformation period was complete. No development of a living organism can have been complete long ago. The Roman Catholic Church has adhered to its rule of uniformity and to the principle of a propitiatory sacrifice; but there have been attempts to render the Service in the vernacular, to read the Gospels and Epistles in it, and to admit songs of the people. It must be admitted also that the Lutheran development of the liturgy was not complete in the sixteenth century. The relegation to a second place of the principle of uniformity, the assertion of the sacramental principle and the rejection of the propitiatory, and the claim of the people to spontaneous utterance, were established. But external events arrested the free criticism of the forms of worship. Certain temporary elements of expression hardened and were made a fetish. This was seen when, in the next century, after the devastations of war and the excitement of controversy, old forms out of which the life had departed, were restored. It would not be true to the spirit of the Reformation to reinstall the exact Service of the German Churches of the sixteenth century. The *Common Service* of our Churches is as Lutheran as it was and more Lutheran than it would be to-day.

EDWARD T. HORN.

Reading, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE LITURGICAL DETERIORATION OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

"For all the destructive processes which later on made themselves felt in the Lutheran churches of Germany the historic beginnings and elucidation must be sought in the period of restoration which followed the Thirty Years' War and extended into the first decades of the eighteenth century." With these words Kliefoth begins his dissertation on the *Destruction of the Lutheran Orders of Service*. That prolonged contest had brought disaster not only to the national, but also to the religious life of Germany. "The whole land had been tortured, torn to pieces, wrecked and brayed as in a mortar."* The war had not been carried on by disciplined armies, but by adventurous hordes, which swept over the country in search of plunder, burnt its towns and villages, and turned entire provinces into deserts. Hundreds of churches and schools were closed. Two-thirds of the native population disappeared, only to give place by degrees to a new vagabond element brutalized by warfare, unaccustomed to work, and with no bond of blood and traditional customs to hold it together. The princes too, lost their German sympathies and habits, and by frequent contact with the court of France during the reign of Louis XIV rapidly imbibed that monarch's autocratic and extravagant ideas. "Instead of studying the general welfare, they cruelly wrang from exhausted states the largest possible revenue to support a lavish and ridiculous expenditure. The pettiest princeling had his army, his palaces, his multitudes of household officers; and most of them pampered every vulgar appetite without respect either to morality or decency."†

Such were the conditions that succeeded the Thirty Years'

* Carlyle.

† *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

Digitized by Google

War,—conditions that gave rise to a problem far more difficult of solution than that which confronted the Reformers of the preceding century. The latter entered upon their work at a time of real hunger and thirst for the Gospel. The masses, together with many of the princes, were therefore responsive; they received the Gospel with grateful hearts; in the purified Orders of Service which came with the restored Gospel, these vitalized hearts found the appropriate vehicle for the expression of their faith and love; and thus the form itself became a *thing of life* because life was breathed into it.

Altogether different was the problem at the middle of the seventeenth century. It was not the problem of renovation but of restoration; not the work of purifying the Church's faith and practice, which had already been done, but the much more difficult task of again bringing the purified faith and practice into the consciousness and life of a people demoralized by war, having no real hunger and thirst for the Gospel, and therefore not responsive to it as the masses of the preceding century had been.

The first step in the process of restoration was the reissue and fresh promulgation of the KOO (Church Orders), many of which had been destroyed by the war, and none of which were operative. These, with numerous additions and new provisions, were meant to reestablish order in the churches. But the fatal defect of these revised Orders was their bureaucratic character. The conceptions underlying many of their new provisions were legalistic and often dogmatically unsound; obedience was to be effected not solely by the power of evangelical truth as in the sixteenth century, but rather by threats of punishment for disobedience; and the result was that the very idea of the Church and its purpose became externalized, grades and hierarchical tendencies began to manifest themselves in its ministry, and, when at last the Church became a mere department of the civil government, the latter not only undertook to regulate the more external parochial affairs, but even to prescribe what liturgies, hymn-books and doctrinal standards should be used.

It is not difficult to understand how all this affected the Church's worship. The disciplinary measures in force indeed filled the churches; but those who gathered in them came rather in obedience to custom and external requirement than to satisfy an internal need. The conception of the healthful relation that

Digitized by Google

must subsist between the sacramental and the sacrificial had become obscured; with many faith had degenerated into a matter of the intellect rather than of the heart; a false estimate was placed upon the purely objective; undue stress was laid upon the external act; mere presence in God's house and at the Lord's Table was deemed sufficient; and thus worship itself became externalized. The form still remained, but it was now a thing *without* life, because those who used it no longer had life to breathe into it.

The reaction against a one-sided, lifeless orthodoxy and its consequent formalism came in the Pietistic movement, which however soon proved to be as intensely and one-sidedly subjective as orthodoxy had been objective. It was the professed purpose of Pietism to make the truth vital, and to convert "the outward orthodox confession into an inner living theology of the heart," the evidence of which was to be seen in a godly life. To bring about this result it adopted new methods and went new ways. Though at first by no means disposed to break with the confessions, institutions and usages of the Church, it nevertheless deemed it necessary to supplement these. To the public meetings for worship, public communion, and private confession and absolution, it added private religious meetings in houses (*collegia pietatis*), private communion, and private religious conversation in the pastor's study. Thus Pietism endeavored to bring the Church into the house, a living Christianity into every-day life, so that not only public worship might again become a worship in spirit and in truth, but that the whole walk and conversation of each one might be a sacrifice well-pleasing to God.

But the very methods by which the earlier Pietism hoped to revive spiritual life ultimately proved destructive to the Church's Cultus. Whilst Spener regarded these methods only as additional and not as antagonistic means, the later Pietism made them the chief means. Its idea of edification was in its way as narrow as that held by Orthodoxy. The latter made edification to consist chiefly in the furtherance of Christian knowledge, Pietism in the promotion of Christian life, i. e., of godliness. But Pietism conceived of godliness not in its broader sense as it is also related to and includes man's duties to the world about him, but rather as that isolated state of being, devoted to pious contemplations and reflections, which finds its supreme delight in the quiet spir-

Digitized by Google

itual exercises of the closet and in communion with God. Thus the objective and sacramental elements came to be underestimated to the same extent that Orthodoxy had overestimated them, and public worship became more and more subjective and sacrificial. Its value and the value of its component parts were gauged altogether according to subjective results; the claim was made that spiritual life could be awakened only by those who were themselves spiritually alive; and edification was sought not so much in the worship of the whole congregation as in the exercises of the small private assemblies. This, however, was virtually putting the awakened personality above the Means of Grace, the *ecclesiolæ in ecclesia* above the *ecclesia*.

Now the destructive process began in earnest. The personal, subjective element and individual experience were struggling for expression. The more the personal character and the spiritual ripeness of the officiating minister came to be looked upon as conditioning edification—and indeed the saving efficacy of the Word itself, the greater became the antipathy to everything that limited freedom of expression, and the higher was the estimate placed upon those acts of public worship that could serve as a channel for the utterance of individual reflections and emotions. Thus the fixed, liturgical element was made to yield to the subjective element; extempore prayer was substituted for the Church prayer; the objective Church hymn gave way to hymns descriptive of the soul's changing conditions, experiences and feelings; the hymn-books were arranged according to the Order of Salvation instead of the Church Year; new melodies suited to the emotional character of the new hymns displaced the vigorous old Church tunes; the sentimental aria and strains patterned after the prevailing style in opera completely crowded out the noble polyphonic choir music of the early masters; the order of the Christian Year was broken in the choice of texts;*—in a word, what Pietism set out to do finally resulted not in bringing about again a proper union between the objective and the subjective, but in the overthrow of the former and the triumph of the latter.

* Thus Gottfried Arnold spoke of the system of Pericopes as "a vicious and abominable mutilation of the Bible;" and Spener himself declared: "How I wish, with all my heart, that our Church had never adopted the use of the Pericopes, but had either allowed a free choice, or else had made the Epistles instead of the Gospels the chief texts."

Digitized by Google

The sacramental and the sacrificial were divorced, and the sacrificial alone remained. Public worship ceased to be a celebration of redemption, and became only an act of edification. From the one extreme of a frigid orthodoxy and its resultant formalism, the pendulum had swung to the other extreme of an emotional piety that regarded all fixed forms and churchly order as a detriment to spiritual life, and a hinderance to its expression.

But far more destructive was the influence of Rationalism. "In Rationalism, reason is the sole arbiter. What reason cannot comprehend and accept can never form part of the Rationalist's conviction. His consciousness is homogeneous, and his intellect consistent throughout. To him Scripture is like any other book. He accepts it only when it agrees with his opinions, and then only as an illustration and affirmation, not as an authority."* With such a view of Scripture, it is evident that Rationalism could have no sympathy with a Cultus that was in every part a confession of the faith which it rejected. Whilst Pietism regarded the historic Service as too objective and sacramental, and therefore broke with its fixed forms rather than with its contents, Rationalism rejected both its forms and its contents. What sort of appreciation for the Church Year could a theology have that based its belief not on the great historic facts of redemption, but on its own speculations? How could such a religion of reason permit the Service on its sacramental side to remain what it originally was in the Lutheran Church,—a real communication of Divine grace through the audible and visible Word? What spiritual pleasure could it find in the hymns and prayers and liturgical formularies in which the living faith begotten by Word and Sacrament was once wont to bring its sacrifice of thanksgiving and praise? Or how could it even understand the meaning of a Cultus with whose history it did not care to become familiar, and that stood for a past to which it was absolutely indifferent?

Like the later Pietism, so Rationalism could not tolerate the fixed and recurring, but was ever seeking something new, to the confusion of the congregation and the ever-increasing destruction of the Liturgy. Under its influence the Church edifice became a mere lecture-hall, and the minister a moral instructor, unfettered by anything traditional and fixed, and therefore free to say and

* Reinhart.

Digitized by Google

do in public worship what he pleased; the Church Year was rearranged and to a great extent abolished; the Chief Service was mutilated beyond recognition; the Minor Services with their scheme of Lessons fell into decay; all the most ancient and beautiful liturgical parts—Introits, Kyries, Creed, Prefaces, Litany, Canticles, etc., were consigned to oblivion; the brief, sententious old Collects were exchanged for verbose and sentimental new fabrications; the Words of Institution and Distribution, the Lord's Prayer, and the Benediction were recast; the great Church hymns were diluted and "modernized," or else gave way entirely to new ones reflecting the moralizing, sentimentalizing spirit of the age; and with the old hymns also disappeared the vigorous and fresh rhythm of the old melodies, and the very last trace of a proper churchly style in the music of the sanctuary. Even the so-called "Ministerial Acts" became individual products, and were "made up" in a moralizing fashion as the occasion and circumstances seemed to demand, or were taken from one or the other of the many private Agendas that made their appearance.* Thus what Pietism began, but did not really mean to do, Rationalism finished, and the destruction of the Church Service was complete.

* Thus SINTENIS wrote: "Inasmuch as teaching is the chief vocation of an evangelical minister, the teacher must become prominent in every function he is called upon to perform. Hence, he must endeavor not only to make his specific lectures (Lehrvortraege) as instructive as possible, but also every so-called ministerial act." And again the same writer says: "How unendurable it must become to people of culture to have to listen to an everlasting sameness at the performance of religious acts which they should look upon with respect! Should this unpleasant feeling not influence them unfavorably even against the acts themselves, how disgusting it must be to a minister who has come to a proper appreciation of the dignity of his calling (!), to have to read off the same formulary again and again, and thus make it seem to *him* (!) as if he were doing his holy work in a mere mechanical and thoughtless manner!"

Of private Agendas and Collections of Forms and Prayers may be mentioned: ZOLLIKOFER: *Anreden und Gebete beim gemeinschaftl. und auch haeusl. Gottesd.* 1777.—SEILER: *Versuch einer Christl.-evangel. Liturgie.* 1782.—*Kleine auserlesene liturg. Bibliothek*, 6 Bde. 1793.—KOESTER: *Allgem. Altarliturgie.* 1799.—GUTBIER: *Liturg. Handbuch zum Gebrauch fuer Prediger bei kirchl. Verrichtungen.* 1805.—SINTENIS: *Agende.* 1808.—BUSCH: *Agende fuer evangel. Christen.* 1821.

In Hanover the Consistory in the year 1800 granted pastors the right, "after careful examination and consideration, and after consultation with the more cultured members of their congregations" to propose and make alterations and improvements (!) in the Service, by omissions and additions, changes in the phraseol-

Digitized by Google

A few extracts from Agendas of this period will serve to illustrate their general character:

ORDER FOR BAPTISM.*

(For the baptism of a child of well-to-do, cultured and highly respected parents.)

Exposed to danger man comes into the world—danger that threatens alike the life of child and mother: but of this danger and the struggle only the mother is conscious, and the more painfully so, because a life almost as precious as her own, is at stake. Thanks be to Thee, Thou all-governing Providence, for the preservation of this dear child and its noble mother in the momentous hour of its birth! Thanks for the health of both, and for the favorable conditions under which this child begins its earthly career! Before its birth it was looked for with ardent expectation; and from the moment of its appearance it became the highest joy of its parents, whilst innumerable children are received by father and mother with indifference, yea, even with disfavor, and are taken altogether no notice of by the rest of the world.

Abundant provision had already been made in advance for the needs of this new arrival, and in all human probability it will in the future not lack the necessaries and comforts of life, nor be denied a careful bringing up in mind and heart, whilst many thousands of infants waste away in dire poverty or else will be obliged for a life-time to struggle with the errors, needs and imperfections that result from insufficient training of their spiritual faculties. Mayest thou, dear child, in time to come, gratefully recognize thy earthly good fortune, of which thou now knowest as little as of the higher spiritual happiness (geistigen Glücke) to which thy baptism would lead thee; and mayest thou prove a benefactor of others as God is thine.

It is the purpose of thy good parents to train thee to become a worthy recipient of temporal blessings; and in this they will doubtless succeed if they will faithfully fulfill the pious vows

ogy, etc., as local circumstances in each case might require; also to use "other new Agendas and private collections of liturgical compositions (!), especially when called on to officiate before an audience of more than average intelligence, or to perform ministerial acts in houses."

* *Evangelische Kirchen-Agende fuer Prediger welche an keine Landesliturgie ausschliesslich gebunden sind.* VON J. F. SCHLEZ, Grossh. Hess. Kirchenrath, Dr. Theol. Giessen, 1834.

Digitized by Google

with which they to-day also unite their prayers for thy spiritual good. It must, however, then be thy serious endeavor to become what thou already unconsciously art—the greatest joy of their life.

With the parents of this subject, you, esteemed sponsors, likewise enter into a beautiful covenant for its bringing up, inasmuch as you bring the dear child to this holy act of Christian consecration, and permit it, by means of the symbolical sprinkling of water, to be solemnly received into the congregation of those who as the confessors of Jesus should be cleansed of their sins. But, inasmuch as that faith which alone can give real value to baptism is still wanting in this child, the question is asked, whether it is the firm resolve of yourself and these dear parents, that the ward entrusted to you of God, after it has become receptive, shall be carefully instructed in the Chistian faith and brought up to be a voluntary, upright confessor and adherent of the religion of Jesus?

Yes.

You will now also give the child baptismal names, which will serve constantly to remind it and its parents of the vows made to-day. How shall it be named?

N. N.

I therefore baptize thee, dear N. N. to the glory of God the Father, of His Son Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost.

Laying his hand on the head of the child the Minister shall say:

May God preserve thy life, dear child, so that thou mayest learn to know the bliss-giving Christian faith into which thou hast now been baptized, live in accordance with it, and for thyself experience the truth of the promise: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Amen.—

Water, an element required by the whole of nature, has thus been the emblem of thy Christian consecration, dear child. May the religion of Jesus become the element of thy entire moral life!

Water is the common property of the rich and the poor, the high and the low. Thus also the religion of Jesus is intended for all: and to thee, dear child, as we hope to God, it will come of purer quality and in larger measure than to countless others.

Water, the best means for cleansing the body, is the most fitting emblem of soul-purity. May thy heart remain pure and thy life unspotted, thou still innocent angel!

Digitized by Google

Water contains great and refreshing potencies for our bodies. Still greater healing-powers for the soul are contained in the genuine Christian belief. May the religion of Jesus prove to thee, dear child, a never-failing source of moral health!

Water is related to heaven and earth, rises from the latter to the former, and falls down from the former upon the latter. May thy whole life, dear child, be directed toward the higher, heavenly things! Mayest thou often lift thy heart toward heaven and bring down for thyself the heavenly into the earthly!

Water, so often scorned by those in health, is generally the last physical refreshment of the dying. May the religion of Jesus be and remain throughout thy entire life thy daily refreshment! May it be to thee and to us all a quickening draught in life's sufferings, until we reach that better land, where we shall hunger and thirst no more! Amen.

In the Agenda by Sintenis we read in the

ORDER FOR PUBLIC CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION:

"Let us do as the Apostles did, and not come to the Altar to receive a sacrament, but to bring our sacrament (!) thither," viz., "the obligation to hold fast His teachings, which bring us so much happiness, and always and everywhere to show public spirit, as He did."

In an *Exhortation* to newly confirmed communicants found in the same Agenda, the following occurs:

"At this Table, consecrated to the Lord, let all eat and drink with profoundest emotion! Let this bread and wine typify to you the death of Jesus on the cross; and let the eating of this bread and the drinking of this wine symbolize the participation in all the blessings of His death! ' May you be deeply moved by the surpassing greatness and beauty of soul of which this Divine One gave evidence when for your salvation He permitted His body to be broken and His blood to be shed, and died upon the cross! Come to Him then, as it is natural for good people to do (!), with ardent gratitude; and inflamed by this, say: "Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord; whether living or dying we want to be His."

"To you, who to-day for the first time appear at the simple (!) yet very significant Table here prepared for you—to you these words are especially addressed.

Digitized by Google

"Sufficiently prepared for it for some time past—yesterday once more prepared for it to all superfluity (!)—you can feel yourself highly honored, that you are to-day here permitted to do what heretofore only your parents and the other actual members of the congregation were permitted to do. But as you were already told yesterday, you must now also seek to surpass all the other communicants in devotion and feeling when you partake of the Holy Supper! Surpass them too in the fervor of your resolution to live and die unto the Lord! You to-day ratify your sacrament (!), which you made to this end at your confirmation: therefore, let the ratification be as important to you as was the vow."

"Young Christians! consider well what is now told you, and let it lead you to lay a still more solid foundation, yes, the most solid foundation for a truly Christian life, and therefore for your true well-being. Whether we live—into these self-addressed words let your whole heart be poured—whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord. He lived and He died for us, therefore let us entirely belong to Him in life and in death."

In this same Agenda the *Words of Institution* are treated thus: "Let all hear the invitation of Jesus Himself to His Supper! After this manner spake the Lord when He took bread, brake it praying, and distributed it: Take, eat, this is My Body, which shall soon be offered for your benefit. Repeat this in remembrance of Me! Thus spake the Lord when He afterward also prayerfully passed the cup around: Take, drink, this is My Blood; which shall soon be shed for your benefit. Repeat this in remembrance of Me!"

The *Prayer of Thanksgiving* is as follows: "Before Thee, the Omnipresent One, have these admirers of Jesus professed their Sacrament of the Altar. To Thee, Omniscient One, do they appeal with all confidence and joy, that they have done so with truly upright hearts. Therefore they beseech Thee, the Allpowerful One, to enable them to be increasingly faithful. Not as if they would feel themselves weaker than they are (!); No! No! they can do much for themselves, but—the spirit is willing and the flesh is weak! Father! support them in their weakness, so that when tempted to be unfaithful to Jesus and their vows, and to depart from their Christian convictions and sentiments,

Digitized by Google

their moral nature may always triumph over their carnal nature. Thou hast a thousand means to bring this about, and certainly also hast their hearts in Thy power in a manner incomprehensible to them. O be Thou their stay, therefore, when they are in danger of wavering; and should the world by its sorrows endeavor to separate them from Jesus, then cause the world itself to disappear for them in spirit, and open heaven to them, that they may refresh themselves with the glory which all those shall there share, who remain in fellowship with Jesus to the end, and who suffer as He did! . . . . My Beloved: May God, through His Son bless you more and more with holy thoughts." (Amen wanting.)

A *Form of Distribution** of this period was as follows:

"Eat this bread; may the spirit of devotion rest upon you with all its blessings."

"Drink a little wine; moral power does not reside in this wine, but in you, in the teachings of God, and in God."

Or:

"Use this bread in remembrance of Jesus Christ; he that hungereth after pure and noble virtue shall be filled."

"Drink a little wine; he that thirsteth after pure and noble virtue shall not long for it in vain."

The following is a sample of the numerous reconstructions of the *Lord's Prayer:* †

"Most High Father; Let it be our supreme purpose to glorify Thee; Let truth thrive among us; Let virtue already dwell here as it does in heaven; Reward our industry with bread, And our forgiving disposition with grace; From severe conflicts preserve us; And finally let all evil cease; That Thou art powerful, wise and good over all—let this forever be our confidence."

The *Benediction* was recast into this form:

"The Lord bless and cheer you with the happiness of a blameless heart and life."

"The Lord bless and cheer you with the assurance of His good pleasure."

* In HUFNAGEL: *Liturg. Blaetter.*

† SINTENIS.

Digitized by Google

"The Lord bless and cheer you with the joy-giving hope of everlasting life. Amen."*

Or:

"May God, our Father, protect and prosper us."

"May Jesus Christ teach and guide, comfort and encourage us."

"May the Spirit of the Lord ennoble us. Amen."†

Or:

"The Lord bless us with wisdom, with a heart and strength for good works."

"The Lord keep our souls pure, our consciences quiet, and our hearts contented."

"The Lord grant us a modest portion of this life's happiness, and at last the higher joy of the life eternal. Amen."‡

To such frightful and incredible depths had the Cultus of the Church sunk when the work of restoration was once more begun in the nineteenth century. That movement is still in progress, and to the impulse it gave and the literature it produced, we of the Lutheran Church in America are indebted for the revival of a Cultus that, like our faith, links us again with the purest and best period of the Church's history.

* SCHLEZ: *Kirchen-Agende.*

† FROSCH: *Allgemeine Liturgie.*

‡ Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchen-Agende of 1797 (ADLER).

LIT. — KLIEFOTH: *Liturgische Abhandlungen;* KÖSTLIN: *Geschichte des Christlichen Gottesdienstes;* ALT: *Der Christliche Cultus;* HARNACK: *Praktische Theologie;* RIETSCHEL: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik.*

J. F. OHL.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Digitized by Google

LITURGY AND DOCTRINE.

THERE is a very intimate relation between Liturgy and Doctrine. Liturgy is the form that doctrine takes for the purposes of worship. Worship formularies are based upon fundamental doctrines and are conditioned by them. The Liturgy is, however, something more than a mere expression or interpretation of the doctrines that underlie it. Liturgy is related to doctrine rather as an art form is related to its underlying conception, or even as outward forms of living things are counterparts of their inward essential reality. The liturgy is informed by the doctrine, and, if it be true and pure, it must at every point be in harmony with its inner doctrinal and spiritual life. As the bloom and fruit of a tree are the expression of its inner life, so a pure and sufficient liturgy is the natural bloom and proper fruitage of the living doctrine from which it springs.

Because a true liturgy is a growth, a living product and not a mere mechanical construction, it is seen how important a historical liturgy becomes for the preservation of true doctrine. If a liturgy is broken away from its historical sources and forms, and made subservient to the tastes and whims of individuals or particular schools of thought and tendency, it endangers the very foundations of the Church, which are her great central doctrines. Even in church architecture as a liturgical form there is an insidious danger to pure doctrine. For it should be remembered that architecture from a liturgical point of view is not a method of constructing church buildings upon a merely æsthetic principle, or in accordance with a secular vogue, but it is an embodiment, as fully as that is possible, of the fundamental doctrines of our Christian confessions. The church building should be an impressive symbol of the Atonement, involving the great doctrine of the vicarious sacrifice upon the cross, the reconciliation wrought by that sacrifice, the sacramental blessings procured for us on

Digitized by Google

account of it, and the worship that realizes this restoration and holy communion with God and spiritual realities. The church building that is simply a grand auditorium, that is constructed for the most part on the lines of the amphitheater or concert hall, that provides chiefly for seeing and hearing, and that is without suggestion of the important sacrificial element in worship, indeed, that would not ordinarily suggest any idea of worship at all, such a church building is a menace to true doctrine, a crystallized peril that obscures the cardinal doctrines of our Faith and subtly leads in the direction of rationalism and empty humanitarianism. And the same must be said of church decoration as a liturgical sphere. This, too, must have its close and obvious relation to doctrine. Here there is a most important field in which the historical Christian symbolism may be made to play an impressive and effectual part in the preservation of fundamental orthodox teaching.

In the same way music, which is perhaps the highest and most essential liturgical art form, should be in the most perfect attainable harmony with the inmost spirit of the doctrine that apprehends God as He is revealed in His Word, and that grasps and interprets the reconciliation of sinful man to such a God through the gift and sacrifice of His Only-begotten Son, as that reconciliation is realized and enjoyed in the act of worship. The general characteristics of conservative liturgical music are, simplicity, and subserviency. It is simple. Like the coat of the Master it is of one piece, and it always *clothes* the Master's form. It is a servant that always bears the word, and interprets and impresses the Word. It brings the worshipper humbly and penitently to God, and it brings God joyously and blessedly to the worshipper. Its very tones tell of sin, and sacrifice, and salvation. Liturgical music is thus a mighty power that holds us close to the central doctrine of our precious religious inheritance.

So, also, the furniture of the church, especially the furniture of the chancel and its arrangement, the vestments and colors which mark the seasons of the Christian year are all closely identified with specific fundamental doctrines. They, too, are the clothing of the Master in which He walks before us and with us. They call our attention to Him, and hold our attention upon Him as the "Lamb of God Which taketh away the sin of the world." They preach a perpetual sermon upon the text: "God so loved

Digitized by Google

the world that He gave His Only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have everlasting life." All these things, while they are in themselves adiaphoristic, have their significance in doctrine, and when separated from the doctrinal meaning which they are intended to interpret and illustrate become mere formalism. Rightly understood they impart doctrinal instruction and conserve doctrine. And even when not understood, while they do not then edify, they still keep the doctrine and carry it over to a more intelligent and a more appreciative age.

But it is in that which we properly speak of as the Liturgy itself, that is in the actual verbal forms and orders of worship, that its relation and importance to doctrine are most obvious.

First of all, the forms of the historical Liturgy are in the very words of inspired Scripture. They thus exhibit and continually teach the doctrines of Holy Scripture. In so far as the Liturgy appropriates the Word, therefore, it is one with the Bible itself in setting forth the true doctrine. And in the creedal forms which enter into the Liturgy the Confessions themselves are made use of for the purposes of worship. Thus the central and chief doctrines are not only preserved but they become means and channels of the very highest acts of worship. We may well believe that Peter never worshipped the Lord with profounder adoration or with mightier spiritual exaltation than when he exclaimed: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," and thus gave us the germ of all the later Creeds. Thus the Liturgy in its use of the Apostolic and Nicene Creeds, at once attains the highest point of adoring worship, and witnesses to all the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith.

As a matter of fact our whole Liturgical Order of Services from beginning to end, and in all its special parts is positively and emphatically doctrinal. It exhibits doctrine in clear, thetical statements, in petitional assumptions, in the very attitude of the worshipper who uses it.

Take the heart of the Liturgy, which is the Order for The Holy Communion. Even a superficial examination reveals the fact that this Order is the entire Apostles' Creed wrought into a form that is appropriate for the highest act of Christian worship, and in which the central facts of true worship come before us in the most objective form. The Order for The Holy Com-

Digitized by Google

munion thus realizes our Christian Faith in worship, so that in this Faith we really have a holy communion with God, with "Angels and Archangels and with all the company of Heaven."

And if we take any specific doctrine and examine the Liturgy with reference to it we shall find that such doctrine is not only present clearly and fully, but that it is realized and used in the Liturgy as it can be realized and used nowhere else. For example the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is taught in the Sunday School, in the catechetical class, from the pulpit, and is witnessed to in the Word. But only in the right use of the Liturgy is this fundamental doctrine appropriated by the worshipper; that is, so laid hold of, and made use of in an act of believing and surrendering worship, that it becomes a spiritual force and an illuminating principle in the thought and life. It is so with all the doctrines of our Faith. We do not apprehend and assimilate their truth and essential reality by a mere intellectual process, but in and through a believing act of worship the heart lays hold of the living essence of spiritual truth and reality, makes it its very own, and lives in it.

The cardinal doctrine of Justification by Faith is only a theory until it is realized in an act of faith, which is really an act of worship. And this is most fully provided for in the Liturgy.

It is obvious that the historical Evangelical Liturgy is a mighty witness and a grand exponent and practical realization of the doctrine of the Spiritual Priesthood of all believers. All parts of this Liturgy are for all the people. The actual rendering of certain parts is, indeed, assigned to certain persons, but the whole Church speaks or is spoken to in every part, and every part is for every one and for all.

We can not, therefore, emphasize too forcefully the importance of the Liturgy, in its widest range, to doctrine. For the practical teaching of doctrine, for the conservation of doctrine the Liturgy is equally important with the Confessions and dogmatic systems. If we neglect any one of these it were perhaps, even better to let the dogmatic and the confessional formularies lie in some measure of disuse rather than give up the constant and the faithful use of the Liturgy. If we keep and rightly use the Liturgy, with all that it includes and involves, we need not be afraid that the true doctrine will ever be lost. But if we disregard or underestimate the value and importance of liturgical

Digitized by Google

worship, our doctrines, no matter how clear, how true, how fully formulated, will stand in constant danger, as the history of many of the sects will abundantly prove.

"With the heart man believeth unto righteousness," and it is the heart especially that is concerned and deeply affected in true worship. Thus in the proper use of the Liturgy there is a devotional study of the Word and of Scriptural doctrine. In an act of worship the thoughts of the heart, which are deeper than the thoughts of the mind, are occupied with the great, inspiring, uplifting themes of our holy religion. And this is often the only regular and systematic study of these important themes in which the great mass of our people can engage.

If in addition to this refreshing and edifying worship study of spiritual truth which we have in the use of the Liturgy there are inclination and opportunity for tracing out the Scriptural and Confessional sources of the various parts of the Service, and their relation to each other, one may easily find the chief contents of the doctrinal system. As a matter of fact if the Confessions were lost we could restore their substance from the Liturgy. But on the other hand, if the Liturgy be entirely and permanently abandoned it will be very difficult to retain the doctrines in their original purity and living power.

D. H. GEISSINGER.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

EARLY AMERICAN LUTHERAN LITURGIES.

OUR subject has to do with the founders of the Lutheran Church in this country, their methods of conducting public worship and the books provided for this purpose. As the first Lutheran Liturgy was prepared in 1748 and the last one issued in 1860, before the appearance of the excellent *Church Book* now in use among our congregations, our investigations will cover a period of over one hundred years.

The first Lutheran settlers in this new world were of Swedish, Dutch and German extraction. The pastors, who ministered unto them, were of like various nationalities. They had been educated in different institutions, under diverse theological influences, came here as strangers to each other, with nothing in common save their desire to minister to the spiritual necessities of their brethren of the household of faith and build up God's Kingdom in this western world. Their fields of labor were widely separated. The settlements were sparce and the people were scattered. Everything was in a chaotic state. The Word was to be preached; congregations gathered; spiritual life awakened and nurtured. And it is reasonable to suppose that each pastor in doing his work followed the religious customs, and used the Church forms with which he was familiar in the land of his nativity. The home congregation was the model after which he built. Until these faithful and zealous missionaries could form each other's acquaintance, meet for consultation and mature a formula of worship, each would pursue the even tenor of his way according to his own sense of duty.

But they took in the situation; they needed each other's sympathy. Although distance barred the way, a common interest drew them together. Swede, Dutchman and German met, prayed, counseled and planned for the welfare of the people over whom the Holy Ghost had made them overseers. They realized

Digitized by Google

the necessity of cooperation, the advantages of uniformity, the benefits of a common brotherhood, the value of a homogeneous Church development.

Fortunately for the American Lutheran Church the fathers were men of excellent education, sound judgment, good common sense, who were willing to lay aside their likes and prejudices, who, out of love for the Church, prayed for her peace and wrought for the things which contributed to her unity. As a means to this the Liturgy of 1748 was prepared. It was the work of Muhlenberg, Brunholtz and Handschuh. An extract taken from the diary of Dr. Muhlenberg found in Dr. Mann's *Life of the Patriarch*, p. 184, gives an exceedingly interesting account of its preparation:—

"April 28th—We held a Conference in Providence and deliberated about a suitable Liturgy to be used by us and introduced into our congregations. Thus far, we had used a small formulary, but had nothing definite, in all its parts harmonious, since we thought it best to wait for the arrival of more laborers, and to acquire a better knowledge of the condition of things in this country. To adopt the Swedish Liturgy did not appear to be advantageous or necessary, since most of the members of our congregations from the districts of the Rhine and the Main considered the singing of Collects as papal. Neither could we select a Liturgy according to the forms to which any individual had been accustomed, since almost every country town or village had its own. For this reason we took the Liturgy of the Savoy congregation of London as the basis; abbreviated it or made additions to it as after due consideration of the circumstances in which we were here placed seemed advisable to us and calculated to edify, and adopted it tentatively until we had a better understanding of the matter, and determined it with a view of introducing into our congregations the same ceremonies, forms and words."

In August of that year a meeting was called in Philadelphia for the purpose of consultation in regard to the formation of a synodical body, and the consideration of other important questions. The Synod was organized and the Liturgy then in use among the congregations was discussed and unanimously approved. And so important was the matter regarded, that the pastors and delegates from the congregations solemnly pledged

Digitized by Google

themselves to use no other forms in conducting the Services of the Church; and J. Nicholas Kurtz who was ordained at that meeting was required to obligate himself, that "he would introduce no other ceremonies in public Services and the administration of the Sacraments but those prescribed by the *Collegium pastorum*."

A translation of this interesting Agende which was in German and found only in manuscript form, was made by Rev. Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, and is given in Dr. Jacobs' *History of the Lutheran Church*, pp. 269–275. It consists of the following parts: 1. The manner in which public worship shall be conducted in all our congregations. 2. Baptism and what is to be observed in its administration. 3. Proclaiming the Bans. 4. Of Confession and the Holy Communion. 5. Burial of the dead.

The order of Morning Service is thus arranged: Hymn of Invocation to the Holy Spirit, Confession of Sins, *Gloria in Excelsis* (metrical form), Collect with Salutation and Response, Epistle, Hymn, Gospel, Creed (Luther's metrical version), General Prayer, Proclamations and Announcements, *Votum*, Hymn, Collection of Alms, Closing Collect with Salutation and Response, Benediction, Closing Verse. The order for the Lord's Supper is given as follows: Preface with Salutation, *Sursum Corda* and *Sanctus*, Exhortation, Consecration, Invitation, Distribution, Benediction, *Benedicamus*, Thanksgiving Collect, Benediction and Closing Collect.

What is particularly to be noted in regard to these Orders is the rubrics. They are positive and definite and all in the imperative mode. The attitude of the minister is defined. His every movement is directed. The very form of words to be used in introducing the several parts is prescribed. Nothing is left to choice. The disjunction "*or*" is employed in only three instances. Once, to give direction to use one or the other of two hymns chosen, the other to sing part or whole of the Hymn, and the third having reference to the length of the Sermon. "It shall be limited to three quarters of an hour, or, at the utmost, to an hour." In this latter case together with the last clause, this might have been omitted without detriment to either pastor or people, on cold days, especially, since the churches were not provided with stoves or any other means of heating.

Dr. B. M. Schmucker, who is acknowledged to have been one

Digitized by Google

of the most learned Liturgiologists of this or any other country, thus speaks of this Liturgy: "It is the old, well-defined, conservative Service of the Saxon and North German Liturgies. It is, indeed, the pure, biblical parts of the Service of the Western Church for a period of a thousand years before the Reformation, with the modifications given it by the Saxon Reformers. It is the Service of widest acceptance in the Lutheran Church of Middle and North Germany, Denmark, Norway and Sweden."*

This Liturgy was never published. The pastors had made copies of it for individual use. For a period of thirty-eight years it was an acknowledged authority among Lutheran congregations in the eighteenth century. In 1782 the Synod of Pennsylvania ordered it published. This was done in 1786, but when it appeared in printed form under synodical sanction, it had been materially altered. These changes are noted. The rubrics, directing the minister when to turn his face to the altar, and to the people are omitted. Any suitable hymn is allowed instead of the invocation of the Holy Spirit. The *Gloria in Excelsis* is omitted. A voluntary prayer or a morning prayer is substituted for the Collect for the Day. The announcement of the Gospel and Epistle is omitted. The suitableness of the hymn to the season of the Church Year is omitted. The reading of the Gospel at the altar is omitted and it is read only in the pulpit. The people are no longer directed to stand during the reading of the Gospel. The Creed is omitted. Other texts than the Gospel are permitted, at the option of the minister. Another and much longer General Prayer is used.

Referring to these alterations and omissions, Dr. B. M. Schmucker remarks:—"Every one of them is an injury to the pure Lutheran type of the old Service. The chaste liturgical taste of the fathers has become vitiated. The accord of spirit with the Church of the Reformation is dying out gradually. The Service of the Church is sinking slowly toward the immeasurable depths into which it afterwards fell. The order of Service of 1748 is beyond comparison the noblest and purest Lutheran Service which the Church in America prepared or possessed until the publication of the *Church Book*."

In 1795 Dr. Kunze of New York, in order to make provision for the English portion of his congregation, published a transla-

* *Church Review*. Vol. I. p. 174.

Digitized by Google

tion of the Liturgy of 1786, in connection with a book of Hymns. It calls for no special mention. It seems to have been short lived, for, two years afterwards, Rev. Strebeck, who was associated pastor with Dr. Kunze, issued a work bearing the title:—*A Collection of Evangelical Hymns*, made from different authors and collections for the Lutheran Church in New York, to which was also added the Liturgy in a much changed and abridged form. Whatever may have been its merits or demerits, it evidently failed to meet with favor, as Rev. Ralph Williston who, after the defection of Rev. Strebeck to the Episcopal Church, became the associate of Dr. Kunze, published a *Book of Hymns and Liturgy of the Lutheran Church*. It appeared in 1806, with the approval and recommendation of Dr. Kunze, President of the Ministerium of New York. The Liturgy is evidently an adaptation of that of 1786, and parts taken from the *Book of Common Prayer*. From the copy before us, we give the order of Morning Service. After singing a hymn, the minister (from the altar) addresses the congregation and leads them in Confession of Sin—then follows the Salutation and Response. Then the minister prays extempore or uses the short form given, the congregation responding with the Amen. The Gospel and Epistle are read, a hymn is sung, the minister offers an extempore prayer (ending with the Lord's Prayer) in the pulpit, then the Sermon. After the Sermon the Litany may be used, or *Te Deum*. The hymn for the conclusion is announced and the Service in the pulpit concluded with the sentence, "The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus." Before the hymn is sung the alms are collected. Then the minister goes again before the altar and says: "The Lord be with you;" and the congregation responds: "And with thy spirit." Then follows an extempore prayer, or a form provided, closing with the Aaronic benediction, to which is added: "In the Name of the Father," etc. In the administration of the Lord's Supper the order, with slight modifications, is substantially that given in the Liturgy of 1786, with the exception that there is a separate prayer for the consecration of the elements, and in the distribution the words: "Jesus said," etc. are used. With the noting of these changes nothing further need be said.

In 1817 Drs. Quitman and Wackerhagen, at the instance of the New York Synod, edited and published a Hymn Book and

Digitized by Google

Enlarged Liturgy for the use of Evangelical Lutheran congregations. The liturgical portion of the work, like its eminent author, is rationalistic, liberal and un-Lutheran. It possesses not a single redeeming quality and its chief characteristic is that it is bad all the way through. It gives variety in overflowing fulness. Two forms of Confessions are provided; two other prayers after the singing of the first hymn, and eight general prayers are placed at the disposal of the officiating minister, wherein he may address his Father in Heaven, in the lofty titles of "Supremely Exalted and Adorable Jehovah," "Infinite and Incomprehensible Jehovah," "Self-existent and Infinite Jehovah." He is, likewise, given a long list of benedictions from which to make selection. A table of Gospels and Epistles is furnished him with the kindly assurance (?) that "there is an impropriety in congregations confining themselves, year after year, to these portions of Scripture." So, too, in the invitation to the Lord's Supper, he is enjoined to say, "All who receive Him as your Saviour and resolve to be faithful subjects to Him, ye are welcome to this feast of love." While in the distribution he may say, "*Jesus said*," etc., he is generously permitted to substitute any other words for these.

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania showed its dissatisfaction with its own and all other existing Liturgies by publishing in 1818 another Agende, from which almost every vestige of a responsive service is eliminated. Its order of Morning Service opens with a Confession of Sin, but without Absolution. A prayer may be substituted ending with the *Kyrie*, then follows the Salutation, the reading of the Gospel and Epistle or any suitable selection of Scripture, the Hymn, Sermon, General Prayer, *Votum*, Closing Verse and Benediction.

A second form is given beginning with a selection of sentences, among them the Versicles of Matins and Vespers, and part of the "*Venite Exultemus*." Then follows the Hymn, after which the pastor is directed to read at the altar, a modern version of the *Te Deum*; then another Hymn, Prayer in the pulpit, Sermon, Prayer, Hymn, Benediction.

Three forms are presented for the administration of the Lord's Supper, all of which are departures from the chaste ancient forms of the sixteenth century and devoid of good liturgical taste. In the distribution the offensive words, "Jesus said" are

Digitized by Google

used. It would be a waste of time to further discuss the incongruities of this religious Manual.

In September, 1833 the Tennessee Synod, then in session at Salem Church, Lincoln County, North Carolina, requested Revs. Andrew Henkel, Jacob Killian and Jacob Stirewalt "to complete a Liturgy for the use of our own Church." In pursuance with this action, as we are informed in the preface of the book, the Rev. Solomon Henkel issued from his press at New Market, Va., 1843, a *Liturgy* or *Book of Forms* for the use of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. It contains forms for the performance of all ministerial acts, and is mainly a translation of the Liturgy of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania of 1786. Its Order of Public Worship is very brief and simple. It contains no responses whatever, and only provides prayers for use before and after the sermon, and a number of benedictions. The other portions of the work are eminently Scriptural and in full accord with Lutheran doctrine. Special care is exercised to furnish suitable prayers for all festival days. It was highly esteemed by the Tennessee Synod and is still used by some of its old members and congregations.

In 1834 the New York Ministerium felt constrained to publish a new Liturgy for the use of its English congregations. It differed only on a few minor points from the Agende of 1818, and was possibly only a free translation of it. This was approved by the Pennsylvania Synod in 1835 and at its recommendation the General Synod adopted it at its meeting 1837, and ordered it to be appended to its Hymn Book.

Notwithstanding the fact that it had received such endorsement, the Liturgy of the New York Ministerium did not prove satisfactory, for in 1839 the Pennsylvania Synod appointed a Committee to prepare a new Edition of our Church Liturgy in an improved and more complete form. In this work it asked the cooperation of all Synods using the present Liturgy. The New York Ministerium and the Synod of Ohio willingly acceded to the request and appointed committees, so that the preparation of the proposed Liturgy might be made conjointly. The Committee charged with the matter, addressed themselves at once to the work and in 1841 reported the results of their labors to the Synod of Pennsylvania; and so well had the Committee met the expectation of that Body, that it ordered the Liturgy, prepared by them,

Digitized by Google

to be published. It appeared in 1842, signed by the committees of the respective Synods cooperating in its production. The General Synod, meeting in 1843, heartily approved of this Liturgy and commended it in highest praise to its German congregations, and at the same Convention appointed a Committee "to prepare a Liturgy in the English language, having reference to the German Liturgy of the Pennsylvania Synod, as the basis of the same, as well as other liturgical forms now in use in our Church." The Committee, consisting of Drs. C. P. Krauth, Sr., Benj. Kurtz, Wm. Reynolds, Ezra Keller, J. G. Morris and C. A. Smith, in 1845 reported that they had resolved to translate the German Liturgy of the Pennsylvania Synod and abridge or enlarge it as they deemed advisable. Two years hence they presented their work in a completed form, and claimed for it that it was more complete than any other Liturgy; that it was purely an American Lutheran Liturgy; that, if uniformity be desired, it will be reached by the adoption of these forms. Whether we attend German or English Services we will hear the pastor, as he stands before the altar, utter the same truths, address us in the same manner and pour out the same prayer to the Hearer of prayer; that no other Liturgy could have the same association and lastly, as a large number of Synods had already adopted the German Liturgy, it did not seem desirable to have an English Liturgy not similar to it, but if possible, the same in all its provisions. It was published in 1847.

But withal, this Liturgy, on which so many different Committees had wrought, and to which various Synodical Bodies had given generous approval from its incipiency until it was developed into an English speaking medium, was almost identical with that of 1835 and was scarcely an improvement over the Liturgy of 1818. It was no responsive Liturgy at all. There is no provision for the people's taking a part. The minister did it all and his congregation stood silent before him.

The Service opens with a *Votum* or an inspiring passage of Scripture; the minister then announces a hymn; after the hymn is sung, he goes to the altar, counsels the people to make confession of sins, or reads one of the general prayers. Then follows the reading of the Gospel and Epistle or any suitable selection of Scripture; another hymn is announced; the minister ascends the pulpit, prays, preaches, and prays again, gives out

Digitized by Google

another hymn and dismisses the congregation with a benediction. For the ordering of this Service there is an abundance of material provided. The minister has choice of five Opening Sentences and eleven Scriptural expressions, three forms of Confession, six prayers following Confession, four prayers after reading the Scriptures, three prayers after the Sermon and three forms of benediction. In Preparatory Services three forms are prescribed; the same number for the administration of the Lord's Supper all of a piece in their objectionable features. The one redeeming feature of the Liturgy is, it is not binding. The minister is left free to make his own selection. He can use any part or reject all and substitute his own, in harmony with directions of Luther given in his rules for ordering worship, when he says, "but the Antiphons, the Responsories and Collects, the Legends of the Saints and the Cross may, for a time at least, be omitted until they have been purified, because they contain a great deal of abominable filth."

It is not at all surprising that the publication of this Liturgy was a disappointment and did not supply the want of the Church. Owing to its many and grave defects it could not satisfy men of correct liturgical tastes, who loved the pure forms of Lutheran worship. Hence in 1850 we find the Pennsylvania Synod taking the initiative in securing the cooperation of the Synods which had participated in the publication of the present Liturgy, in the preparation of a new one in harmony with the doctrine and spirit of the Lutheran Church. This was readily secured. The committees of the Synods acted jointly with the encouragement and approval of the General Synod. After five years of patient examination and painstaking labor, they finished their work and the Liturgy of 1855 was published. Its advent was hailed with joy. It was a decided improvement over its immediate predecessors. It eliminated many of their objectionable features. It supplied many primitive orders. It restored the responses. It contained all the essential features of a true Lutheran Service, not in their natural and proper order, it is true, nor according to the true principles of liturgical construction, but in confessedly Scriptural purity. In the order of Morning Service the voice of the people is heard in the *Gloria Patri*, the *Excelsis*, the Amens, the Responses, the *Sanctus*, the *Agnus Dei* and the *Nunc Dimittis*. The Creed is made optional and its reading is assigned to the minister.

Digitized by Google

Although it has its defects it has much to recommend it.

Notwithstanding the many excellencies of this Manual, it was destined to be soon replaced by another. The Pennsylvania Synod had authorized the translation of the German Liturgy of 1855 for use of its English speaking congregations. The Committee entrusted with this work, consisting of Revs. Drs. C. F. Schaeffer, C. W. Schaeffer, G. F. Krotel, B. M. Schmucker and C. F. Weldin, had been instructed to omit much matter, as superfluous, and "to make a number of alterations, chiefly for the purpose of securing a stricter conformity to the general usage of the ancient and purest Liturgies of the Lutheran Church, and in a few instances, to conform to the practice of our English churches in this country."

Thus they provided a selection of Introits to be sung by the congregation, substituted a new form for Confession of Sin, added the Nicene Creed for occasional use, placed the General Prayer *before* instead of *after* the Sermon, supplied a number of General and Special Collects, and gave but one form for the performance of Ministerial Acts.

While the changes made by the Committee were not numerous, they were deemed important in order that their claim might be successfully supported, to wit: "that the present work will be found to agree more nearly with the ancient usage of the Lutheran Church, than any which has yet been published in the English language by any portion of our church in this country." It was published in this country in 1860. Its preparation and publication were the harbinger of a brighter day. It demonstrated that the leaven of a purer liturgical principle was working. It gave evidence of a love for the old faith and an appreciation of venerable forms. It breathed the pious longings for a return to the practices of the fathers. It revealed a veneration for the songs and prayers that were the delight of the Lord's saints in all the ages past, and it led the way to the preparation of the *Church Book* which has placed the Church of to-day in communion with the worshipping assemblies of ancient days, and enables them to join their praises with the angelic hosts, chanting their hymns in the courts of glory.

D. M. KEMERER.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE LITURGY OF THE ICELANDIC CHURCH.

I. THE PRE-REFORMATION SERVICE.

CHRISTIANITY was peaceably introduced into Iceland from Norway, A. D. 1000. Before that time, however, the first Christian churches had already been erected. Iceland was at that time a commonwealth or a republic and had a representative assembly, the so-called *Althing*. At the meeting of the Althing at *Thingvellir* in the southern part of the island, in the middle of the summer, the Icelandic chiefs, who had been converted to Christianity during their travels among their kinsmen in Norway and especially during their stay at the court of King *Olafur Tryggvason*, who was brought up in England, and, glowing with zeal for missions, preached the Christian doctrines to the assembled multitudes and celebrated the Mass according to the Roman Catholic ritual. Naturally there was a great deal of friction between the two parties, the heathen party tenaciously clinging to the old *Asa*-faith, and the Christian party, by all means, desiring to bring about the introduction of Christianity. To the latter party, however, belonged the more liberal-minded and progressive part of the people,—the younger generation of chiefs, who had received their education in foreign lands and were fully aware, that the world was fast becoming Christian. The Liturgy introduced was naturally that of the then universal Roman Catholic Church. The first books written in Iceland were in all probability books used by the clergy, such as Missals and Breviaries, containing the ecclesiastic forms, copied from books brought from foreign countries. As far as the present writer knows, none of these books have come down to us, intensely interesting as they undoubtedly would have been. But we may rest assured that they contained nothing original and did not in any way deviate from the fixed liturgical path of the Roman Church.

Digitized by Google

II. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORMATION.

Our review of the history of Liturgy in the Icelandic Church may, therefore, very properly commence with the introduction of the Reformation into Iceland. The republic had passed away, furnishing a glorious prototype to all later republics, with a most comprehensive code of legal procedure and its famous and excellent jury system. A union had been entered into with Norway under the rule of King *Hakon the Old*, in the year of our Lord 1262. Norway had in its turn, with Iceland as her dependency, passed under Danish rule in 1388. Hence it is that in Iceland the Reformation and the spiritual resurrection following it was brought about from Denmark. In that country the Reformation had triumphed in the year 1536. At that time Iceland was divided into two bishoprics, one at *Skalholt* in the southern part of the country, and the other at *Holar* in the northern part of the island.

The first echo of the great Reformation, heard in Iceland, probably was a sermon, preached by the officiating priest at Skalholt in the year 1530, on *Kindlemas-day* in which he denounced the practice of addressing prayers to saints or holy men as a damnable heresy. The bishop whose name was *Ogmundur Palsson*, an old man already by this time, was seriously offended, and more so because the priest happened to be a very intimate friend of his. He remonstrated, but in vain, as the priest was unwilling to recant; he was consequently removed to a neighboring parish.

But at Skalholt there were a number of young men, whose hearts touched by the fires of the Reformation, were quietly studying and preparing themselves for the inevitable conflict, without committing themselves too early. The most prominent among these were *Gizur Einarsson* and *Oddur Gottskalksson*. The former had been brought up from youth by the bishop and sent to Germany to complete his education. There he came into contact with the doctrines of Luther and embraced them in his heart. Oddur Gottskalksson was the son of the bishop at Holar. He was brought up in Norway, educated in Germany and there converted to the Lutheran faith. Both these men from prudential reasons concealed their convictions for some time and kept the worthy bishop in utter ignorance of their Lutheran proclivities. Oddur Gottskalksson however commenced at this time, his work

Digitized by Google

on the translation of the New Testament into Icelandic, but made a close secrecy of it.

In 1536 Christian III ascended the throne of Denmark. His ascension was hailed with much enthusiasm by the party favoring the Reformation, which then was at once consummated as far as Denmark and Norway were concerned. Shortly after a new law was drawn up to prescribe and regulate the then rather loose and irregular practices in the Danish Church. In this work a number of the greatest lights and most prominent dignitaries of the Church participated. This document is known as the *Ordinance of King Christian III.* It was sent to Martin Luther at Wittenberg for approval and subsequently corrected and revised by *Bugenhagen*, who was sent to Denmark for that very purpose. In the fullest sense it did not however become a law in the Danish Church before the year 1539, although it had been considered as the binding rule of the new Church for some time. This may best be seen from the fact that already the year before, 1538, it had been sent to Iceland with the view that it should become a law in that country. At the same time both the bishops in Iceland received royal orders to change the error of their ways and live from that time on according to this new ecclesiastical code. But they were both in their hearts fervent adherents of the old faith and shelved these royal orders as dead and impotent measures. Bishop Ogmundur Palsson however, blind and decrepit as he now was, desired to free himself from the arduous duties of his high office and brought about the election of Gizur Einarsson, his foster son, whom he did not in the least suspect of Lutheran heresy, to the episcopal office. The successful candidate at once sailed to Denmark to receive his ordination and get instructions from his government at the same time. And cheerfully did he vow to champion the Lutheran cause according to his ability and to preach the Word of God in its purity to his countrymen. His lay co-laborer and friend, Oddur Gottskalksson, followed him to Copenhagen and had his masterly translation of the New Testament into Icelandic printed in *Roskilde*, 1540.

In the diocese of Skalholt, comprising three-fourths of Iceland, the Lutheran Reformation was thus practically introduced with the elevation of Gizur Einarsson to the episcopal office. There the Church Ordinance of Christian III was at least nomi-

Digitized by Google

nally put in force, and we have no doubt that the young bishop put forth all his endeavors that it should also be followed in practice. But he had a fierce and persistent opposition to encounter. The old bishop was furious, but could not do much. But the bishop at *Holar*, *Jon Arason*, put up a prolonged and most obstinate fight against the new faith during the next decade (1540–1550). He was a very influential man in his diocese and in fact all over the island, upholding the old Roman Catholic authority and practice with a bold hand.

One of the melancholy incidents of that struggle was the death of the champion of the Lutheran cause, bishop Gizur Einarsson, before the victory was gained. At a noted farmhouse in his diocese there was a cross of much miraculous fame—one of the landmarks of the dying faith. To this cross pilgrimages were made from afar. To put an end to these superstitious practices the bishop travelled to the place and took the cross down with his own hand. But as soon as he returned home he was taken sick and died. The party which was yet loyal to Catholicism of course interpreted this as a miraculous interference of Providence. The antagonist of the Lutheran movement, Jon Arason, had however to suffer the penalty of his reckless violence two years later, when he met a violent death at the hands of his adversaries with whom he had been keeping up an armed warfare for a long time. After his decease the Reformation became triumphant in the whole island in the year 1550.

In the year 1571 *Gudbrandur Thorlaksson* was appointed by the King to the diocese of Holar. He was at that time by far the best educated man in his country and endowed with rare abilities. He is the real reformer of his country. He was a man of tireless energy, a strong will, fervent faith, profound learning and much literary ability.

III. THE REFORMATION SERVICE.

Bishop Jon Arason had imported the first printing press into the island shortly before his death. Of this printing press bishop Gudbrandur Thorlaksson now made a good use. He translated the Bible and issued an illustrated edition of it in 1584, having made the wood-cuts with his own hand. Besides he issued a multitude of religious books and in a short time transformed the religious life of the country according to the ideals of the Refor-

Digitized by Google

mation. In 1589 he published the first Hymn-book and then the *Graduale*, which after that was the only Church-book in Iceland until 1801. It appeared in no less than nineteen editions, the first of which was printed in 1594 and the last in 1779. He was bishop for fifty-six years and was untiring in his labors for the Church of the Reformation. His endeavors were crowned with so complete a success that the Church of Iceland became as truly Lutheran in faith and practice as any other part of the Reformation Church.

At first the Liturgy of the Danish Church was naturally in a rather unsettled condition. The first evangelical pastor at *Malmo*, *Hans Tausen*, had made a collection of the first Danish hymns to the number of about one hundred, and had his book published at Malmo in 1528. It also contained the Evangelical Order of Service, not a translation of Luther's work, neither the *Formula Missæ*, nor the *Deutsche Messe*, but an original adaptation of the Roman Catholic Service to the doctrines of the Reformation. This book is known as the *Malmo-book*. According to that the order of Service was as follows:—

1. A Hymn (*Adjutorium nostrum*).
2. Confession of Sins (*Confiteor*, in altered form).
3. Evangelical Absolution.
4. *Introitus* (*De profundis*, a Hymn).
5. *Kyrie eleison*, a Hymn.
6. *Gloria in Excelsis*.
7. Salutation and Collect.
8. Epistle, especially 1 Cor. 11.
9. Hallelujah.
10. The Gospel, especially John 6.
11. *Credo* and Hymn.
12. Sermon.
13. Hymn.
14. Luther's paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer.
15. *Sanctus*.
16. The Words of Institution with *Agnus Dei* and Luther's Exhortation to the Communicants; the Distribution; a Hymn of Thanksgiving.
17. Salutation and Luther's Collect for the Lord's Supper (*Deutsche Messe*).
18. Benediction.

Digitized by Google

19. The Ten Commandments in versified form by *Claus Mortensen*.

Sometimes the *Præfatio*, *Sursum Corda*, was sung before the Lord's Supper.

This is the very first Lutheran Order of Service, used in the Scandinavian countries. It is also one of the oldest Liturgies in northern Europe. I have therefore considered it of sufficient interest to be incorporated into this sketch. This Liturgy was printed in a separate form in Malmo in 1529 and 1535, probably at the instance of Claus Mortensen. In the year 1529 both *Hans Tausen* and *Olaus Chrysostomos* were called to Copenhagen, the Danish Capital, the latter from Malmo, to take charge of the pastorate at *Frue Kirke*, where the royal family worshiped, the liturgical practices at that church exercising in coming years normative influence all over the Danish Kingdom. Both these men have therefore ordered their Services according to the Malmo-book. The Malmo Order of Service is the foundation of the Swedish Liturgy, which was not published by Olaus Petri until the year 1531. In fact it came very near prevailing in all the Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and it is only to be regretted, that it did not prevail altogether in its main characteristics. It retained the old, time-honored feature of considering the Lord's Supper as the climax of the whole Service. Its most serious defect lies in the fact that the old system of Pericopes has been discarded. There seems to have been a good deal of vacillation in regard to the use of Pericopes and Confession of Sins.

As before stated, the first echoes of the Reformation began to be heard in Iceland about the year 1530. During the preceding decade the men who were destined to become the reformers of the Church in Iceland, Gizur Einarsson and Oddur Gottskalksson, had both been in Germany and Denmark, the latter having even been brought up in Norway. Both undoubtedly made themselves thoroughly conversant with the new order of things as it was taking shape especially in the Danish Kingdom. The probability is that they brought copies with them of the famous Malmo-book and that they, as soon as circumstances permitted them to do so, adopted that form of Service in their churches. We have no direct evidence of this however, as books began to be printed in Iceland at a much later date. But the probability is

Digitized by Google

so strong that it almost takes the form of certainty. We therefore take it for granted that it was the Malmo Order of Service which was first introduced into the Lutheran Church in Iceland; that this was done a considerable time before the Reformation was formally accepted all over the island, and that this same Service has been followed even up to the year 1560. As we shall see presently, a great many changes were introduced in Denmark, but the Icelandic Church has always been very conservative in regard to its Liturgy and naturally would be inclined to accept that Liturgy which best harmonized with old Roman Catholic practice.

The permanent stage had not been reached in Denmark by any means. The Malmo Order of Service did not satisfy the demands of the Danish reformers and had consequently to undergo violent changes. A draft was made by the most learned theologians in Denmark and the Duchies, and submitted to King Christian III, who had it revised and corrected by his secretary, *Jesper Brochmand*. He then sent it through his court preacher, *Andreas Jaedike*, to Wittenberg. It was to receive full sanction at the hands of German reformers, before it should be made finally binding on the churches. It was closely examined by "the worthy father, Martin Luther, and many other learned men at Wittenberg." Dr. Bugenhagen, the famous pastor and preacher at Wittenberg, was in 1537 called to Denmark for the purpose of perfecting the Liturgy and he is in this connection called "our beloved Bugenhagen." It was then finally adopted by the Royal Council in 1537 and afterwards by the Diet of *Odense* 1539. The first part of this new Service followed closely Luther's *Formula Missæ* as far as the Sermon. But the second part, containing the order for the administration of the Lord's Supper, was made to conform more closely to his *Deutsche Messe*.

This Service was the first Service officially introduced in Iceland. In all probability it was translated by Oddur Gottskalksson, the already famous translator of the New Testament. For a number of years this Order of Service existed only in written copies throughout the island. About the year 1560 it was published for the first time by *Olafur Hjaltason*, bishop of Holar, and printed on the first printing press, imported by bishop Jon Arason, as before mentioned, and located at *Breidabolstad*, in a small volume, called *Manuale*.

Digitized by Google

In this new Order of Service the Confession of Sins had been done away with in its original form. Kneeling at the Epistle-side of the altar, or the left corner, the minister was to pronounce the *Confiteor* in silence, while the *Introitus* was sung by the congregation. Then came the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria in Excelsis*, or *Cantus Angelicus*. The *Salutatio* with the usual response from the congregation preceded the Collect. The Collect, as well as the whole altar-service, was chanted or intonated by the minister. The old Gregorian Collects were used uniformly in Iceland, although in Denmark a new series of Collects was introduced in 1556, to be used along with the others, it being, as it appears, left to the individual judgment or preference of each pastor which to use. The new series of Collects was taken from a Postill by *Veit Dietrich* in *Nuernburg*, published in 1549, and was intended by the author to be read as prayers before the sermon. They are long and rather clumsy, although the spirit of the Reformation breathes in them. After first being used in the Danish Church along with the old Gregorian Collects, they altogether displaced these, and after the year 1564 the German Collects were used exclusively, although they had never been intended as Collects by their author.

Fortunately the German Collects were not introduced into the Icelandic Service until after the middle of the nineteenth century and then in a much altered and reduced form. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and down to the middle of the nineteenth the old, time-honored Gregorian Collects were used in the Icelandic Church, although these German Collects were in exclusive use in the rest of the Danish Kingdom, both Denmark and Norway.

But let us proceed with our description of this Order of Service, which might be adorned by the name of "our beloved Bugenhagen." After the Collect comes the Epistle with the Hallelujah and Sequence, varying with the Church Year. Then follows a so-called *Graduale*-hymn, with *Kyrie eleison*. After the singing of that hymn comes the announcement of the Gospel with a response from the congregation. Then the Gospel is chanted, followed by the Nicene Creed in versified form. At first the Nicene Creed was read in Latin and then the versified translation sung by the congregation in the form of a hymn. But later the reading in Latin was omitted. Now the minister ascends the pulpit,

Digitized by Google

announces his text, and the congregation rises and remains standing while it listens to the Divine message. The text was almost invariably the Gospel or Epistle for the day. Then the Sermon is preached. The Sermon is followed by a General Prayer from the pulpit in which the congregation is exhorted to pray for everything needful. This General Prayer is followed by the *Pater Noster*, the congregation uniting. Besides, the beautiful Litany was often used. Then follows a *versus* by the congregation. After that Holy Communion takes place, commencing with Luther's Exhortation, the Lord's Prayer and the Words of Institution. While the elements are being distributed the *Agnus Dei* is sung in the vernacular. If the communicants were many, *Jubilum S. Bernhardi*, *Jesu dulcis memoria*, or some other sacramental hymn was sung. At first it was the practice in the Danish Church that nothing should be said by the minister while the distribution of the elements was taking place, because everything had been said when the Words of Institution had been pronounced and needed not to be repeated. But as this custom prevailed in the Danish Church only till the year 1646 it is doubtful whether it ever became prevalent in Iceland. Still I am inclined to infer that it has also been the practice there for some time. After the distribution the Salutation with response was followed by Luther's Collect of Thanksgiving, the Aaronic Benediction and a Hymn. On the great festivals of the Church Year the Lord's Supper was celebrated with more solemnity, the *Præfatio*, *Sursum Corda*, and *Sanctus* being chanted by the minister before the Exhortation. Then also the *Pro Offertorio* was rendered, before the offerings were made by the congregation. At first these parts of the Service were rendered in Latin, but later they were gradually translated into the vernacular. The Confession of Sins with the Absolution has been eliminated from this Service, except in connection with the Communion, because Communion was administered at almost every Service during the Reformation Period.

IV. THE POST-REFORMATION SERVICE.

In time this excellent form of Service was destined to suffer several changes and modifications in the Danish Church as elsewhere, brought about by the corresponding changes in theology and in views regarding Divine Services. The Ritual of 1685 and

Digitized by Google

the Altar Book of 1688 give a greater prominence to the sermon and the singing of hymns. The Lord's Supper becomes more of an appendix to the regular Service than anything else. The old, time-honored *Heilige Worte* of the Church, such as *Introitus*, *Kyrie*, *Hallelujah*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Agnus Dei* are transformed into metrical paraphrases, called hymns. Each Sunday has a fixed hymn, characteristic for the day, in order to give prominence to the Church Year. The beautiful *Præfatio* was for the most part omitted after Latin was no longer used. Even the *Introitus*-hymn must also disappear and in its place the Service now commences with a short prayer, read by the deacon, from the chancel-door. The whole Service is also brought to a close by a corresponding prayer by the deacon, both these prayers being translated from the German of *Veit Dietrich*. The General Prayer now becomes a direct prayer by the minister and the sermonic part of the Service is brought to a close by the Aaronic Benediction from the pulpit. The whole tendency is to make the Altar-Service suffer from the encroachments of the Pulpit-Service.

All these changes and alterations were probably not introduced into the Service in Iceland, although it gradually has been by practice modified in the same direction. In its essentials the *Graduale*-Service in Iceland, which has been described above, held its own down to the year 1801, as before stated.

V. THE PRESENT SERVICE.

In the year 1801 a new Hymn-book was published in Iceland, suffering greatly from the theological and liturgical defects of the times. A Royal Rescript of 1802 further reduced and impoverished the Danish Service. And unfortunately it was now considered imperative to mould the Divine Services in the Church of Iceland into perfect harmony with that of the Danish Church. But the change was not a Reformation, but a deformation in accordance with the prevalent ideas of the eighteenth century. As this new form of Service has prevailed in Iceland through all the nineteenth century and up to the present time, a detailed account of it will be next in order.

When the church-bells have rung for the third and last time before the Service, the congregation assembles or is supposed to be assembled in the church. The minister takes his place before the altar, robed in his black gown of broadcloth, buttoned in

Digitized by Google

front, with narrow sleeves, and the large white ruffle round his neck. Then the deacon from the door of the chancel reads a short introductory Prayer or Collect, followed by the Lord's Prayer, the minister turning to the altar, the congregation bowing and covering their faces. Then an introductory Hymn is sung, usually an invocation of the Holy Spirit. During this time the minister remains standing, turned to the altar, the deacon assisting him, in putting on a surplice of pure white linen and a chasuble of purple silk-velvet, having a large gold cross on the back. At the end of the hymn the minister turns to the congregation chanting or intonating the *Salutation*,—"The Lord be with you," the congregation responding: "And with thy spirit." The minister then chants: "Let us pray," and turning towards the altar he chants the Collect for the day, which is followed by an "Amen," sung by the choir and the congregation. The minister now again turns to the congregation and announces the Epistle for the day. The congregation rises and the minister chants the Epistle. After the Epistle the congregation in a sitting posture sings a short Hymn, usually only one stanza, and a Hallelujah-verse is, for this purpose, introduced into the latest Hymn-book. While that is being sung, the minister turns his face to the altar, but at the end of it he turns to the congregation and announces the Gospel for the day, chanting. This is followed by a *Responsorium* by the choir and congregation, at the end of which the people rise, while the minister chants the Gospel, resuming their seats again at the end of it, and the minister turning to the altar. Then the congregation sings the chief Hymn of the day's Service, usually containing the chief thought of the Gospel for that day. While the last stanzas are being sung the deacon removes the chasuble and the surplice, laying both neatly folded on the altar, and the minister in his black gown and ruffle proceeds to the pulpit, where he arranges his books and manuscript, if he has any, and offers a silent prayer, while the last words of the hymn are being sung, covering his face with his hands. He then pronounces a short prayer, giving the main thoughts of his sermon prominence and thus preparing the minds of the people for what is to follow. He then announces his text, which usually is the Gospel for the day. Having announced his text, the congregation rises and remains standing, while the minister reads the same, resuming their seats

Digitized by Google

again when it is ended. He then pronounces the *Kanzel-gruss*, addresses the congregation and commences his sermon. In Iceland it is customary for the minister to use a manuscript, and the delivery of a sermon generally takes about half an hour. The sermon being brought to a close, the minister pronounces the *Gloria Patri*, introductory to the General Prayer which is very short, concluding with the Lord's Prayer. He announces the Benediction, the congregation rises and the Aaronic Benediction is pronounced, whereupon the congregation is seated again and the minister descends from the pulpit, taking his place before the altar. If Baptism is to be administered, a Hymn introducing that holy act is sung by the congregation and the Baptism takes place, a lady holding the child, and two male sponsors proceeding to the baptismal font. The baptismal formula commences with a biblical exposition of Baptism in general, translated from the German. The sign of the cross is made both on the forehead and the chest of the child, followed by a prayer, that the child may be received into the Kingdom of Christ and enjoy the blessing of Baptism. Then follows the usual Gospel selection with the Lord's Prayer, the minister laying his hand on the head of the child while pronouncing it. The questions are indirect, not directly addressed to the child as the case used to be before the present form was adopted. The Apostolic Confession is preceded by the Renunciation. The whole is summed up in one question, directed to the child, and answered by the sponsors, the pastor pronounces the name of the child and baptizes by aspersion of water on the head in the name of the triune God. Then follows the admonition to the sponsors concerning the education of the child in the Christian religion.

If there be a Communion, the communicants must present themselves in church before the regular Service commences, a short preparatory service then taking place, a hymn being sung and the communicants, gathering about the altar-railing, listen to a short address by the pastor on human sin and Divine grace, at the conclusion of which the Absolution is pronounced, *en masse*, and not severally. But the act of Communion itself takes place after the administration of Baptism, if there has been any, preceded by a Communion-hymn, sometimes the *Agnus Dei*, during the singing of which the minister has again put on the surplice and the chasuble with the assistance of the deacon. The

Digitized by Google

minister then turns to the congregation and the communicants assemble around the altar-railing. He then addresses Luther's Exhortation to them at the end of which he turns towards the altar, the communicants kneeling down at the same time on a cushion at the base of the railing. The minister now chants the Lord's Prayer and the congregation responds with Amen. Holding the plate containing the Communion wafers in his hands and raising it slightly above the altar-table, he pronounces the first part of the Words of Institution. He then takes the chalice, filled with wine, in his hands, lifts it up and pronounces the last part of the Words of Institution, also passing his hands over other vessels on the altar, containing Communion wine to be used that day. The congregation then sings the *Jubilum S. Bernhardi, Jesu dulcis memoria*, and the minister, turning to the people, commences the distribution of the elements. To each communicant he says: "This is the true Body of Jesus," and "This is the true Blood of Jesus." The distribution ended, each round of communicants is dismissed with the *Pax*. A short hymn is sung, after which the minister turns to the congregation, chanting the Salutation, followed by the Response and the *Oremus*. Turning to the altar he chants a Collect for the Communion. But if there be no Communion, he uses another Collect for the Word, or during Lent he uses still another Collect for the Passion, the congregation responding with an Amen. He then again turns to the congregation and chants the Salutation, responded to by the congregation as before. He then raises his hands, the congregation rises and from the altar he chants the Aaronic Benediction, which is followed by a thrice repeated Amen, sung by the congregation. The Service is now brought to a close by the singing of a Hymn by the congregation, during which the deacon relieves the minister of the chasuble and the surplice. The closing Hymn being sung to the end, the pastor in the same position with his face turned to the altar, the deacon pronounces a short concluding prayer, corresponding to the one introducing the Service, followed by the Lord's Prayer.—It will be seen that the minister remains standing during the whole Service from beginning to end.

VI. THE FUTURE SERVICE.

The above Order of Service has retained the main characteristics of the Reformation Service and has a simplicity and a dignity

Digitized by Google

of its own. It has, however, suffered to a very large extent from the blight of eighteenth century illumination. The original, beautiful Liturgy is cut down to a minimum and the Service has become somewhat barren, too much prominence being given to the pulpit-service and the Communion Service put in a rather loose and inorganic connection with the rest of the Service. The beautiful liturgical parts, *Introitus*, *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Præfatio*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei* have disappeared. The General Prayer has become short and shriveled, both in quantity and quality. The Aaronic Benediction is used twice, both from the pulpit and the altar, instead of using the Apostolic Benediction (2 Cor. 13: 13) from the pulpit to avoid the repetition. The too frequent use of the Lord's Prayer is not in good liturgical taste as it may occur at least five times during the same Service, if Baptism and Communion take place.

Until the latter part of the nineteenth century the Icelandic Service had preserved the Gregorian Collects, the common inheritance of the whole Christian Church. But in 1869 a new revision of the *Manual* was published, containing a great many alterations, introduced with the laudable intention to purify the language and make the Service more acceptable to the demands of the younger generation, bringing it at the same time into a still more perfect harmony with the Danish Service. The result of this may in some respects have proved beneficial, but in others detrimental. One of the innovations consisted in discarding the old Collects and introducing the German Collects, adopted in the Danish countries, Denmark and Norway, but never in Germany. It was found, however, that the popular taste in Iceland would not tolerate a literal translation of these, so they were shortened and softened down in a considerable degree, many of their most characteristic expressions being entirely left out. They have therefore lost a great deal of their force, and have neither the sober Catholic spirit of the old Collects, nor the fervent and almost defiant spirit of the original. The change was a mistake, done in perfectly good faith, but rather a loss than a gain from a liturgical point of view.

To remedy all these defects will be the duty of the future Service. The same movement will have to be inaugurated in Iceland as elsewhere in the Lutheran Church, to recover the lost liturgical treasures and reinstate them into their original place in

Digitized by Google

the Service. Sweden has its Liturgy in almost ideal form. The Norwegian Church now possesses a revised and extended Liturgy, which is a great improvement of lasting merit, although it may be perfected still more and undoubtedly will. In Denmark the good work proceeds very slowly, other matters of vital importance engaging the attention of the Danish Church. But a good deal of work has been done and is now taking shape. In Iceland interest in these matters is awakening and a committee has the work of revision in hand. The Icelandic Synod in this country has already introduced again some of the essential parts which originally belonged to the Service, such as the *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Gloria Patri*, *Kyrie*, *Hallelujah*, *Pro Offertorio*. And it is sincerely to be hoped that the future Service will also contain the Confession of Sins, the Absolution, the Creed and a full General Prayer from the altar, and not from the pulpit, as now is the case, and that it will reinstate the Gregorian Collects.

F. J. BERGMANN.

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

VOL. V.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE LITURGICAL INFLUENCE OF GREGORY THE GREAT.

GREGORY the Great stands unique in his work on the Roman Mass and liturgical development in general. It would be a mistake to regard him as the author of the Mass or even any large portion of it. A rich and varied material had accumulated prior to his time. He took the liturgical material of his age and with a masterly skill recast it, giving it a fulness and stability which it has not lost unto this day. In order to estimate correctly his influence in the liturgical development, two facts must be born in mind; first, the stage to which Liturgics had developed at about the time that he was elected Pope, (590); and the development subsequent to his death during the seventh and eighth centuries until we come into possession of the earliest MSS of his Sacramentary and a century later until we find his Antiphonary.

There are extant three depositories, Sacramentaries, of the purely Roman Liturgy; the Leonine, (440–461); Gelasian, (496); Gregorian, (590–604). Pope Gelasius edited the Leonine Sacramentary and this suffered minor changes under the influence of the old Gallic Liturgy in France and Spain. Gregory took again the material of the Leonine and reduced the confusion of the variable formulæ to a small and invariable number, as well as transposing, and adding material. We do not have the exact form in which it came from Gregory's hand. The oldest MSS date only from the eighth century and hail not from Italian but from Western territory. This is accounted for by the troublesome times in Italy during this period. The interval from Gregory's death to the close of the eighth century was fertile in liturgical development especially in the completion of the Church Year. There is a strong presumption that certain changes and modifications under Western influences, found their way into the Gregorian Sacramentary during this plastic stage. There are now five

Digitized by Google

MSS of this Sacramentary extant dating from the eighth to the eleventh century edited by Pamel, Rocca, Menard, Gerbert and Muratori. These MSS agree in the main parts but differ in minor points as might be supposed allowing for the interval of time and the still present leaven of development. It is supposed that the oldest of these MSS is that published by Muratori and it is assigned to the second half of the eighth century. The Sacramentary as first published by Gregory contained no rubrics, only the prayers and the sequences of the Mass; no lessons, no antiphons. The editor of the Muratori MS added a breviary to the canon of the Mass by the aid of which we can have a correct knowledge of how the parts were rendered, at least at that time.

The forty homilies published by Gregory the Great give considerable information on the liturgical development of his age. The Church Year was then not yet developed, especially the second half, the period without festivals. A curious circumstance comes to light in the superscription of these homilies assigning them to those Sundays which in subsequent times had the lesson which the homily treated as its text. These superscriptions are the work of a later editor who failed to inform himself of the contents of the homily. Thus the nineteenth homily is assigned to Septuagesima Sunday as it treats the text Matt. 20: 1–16. In point of fact this Sunday was not yet assigned in the Church Year in the time of Gregory. These homilies are, however, valuable in determining the Church Year as many of them mention in the text the time when they were preached. These lessons of Gregory are among the earliest that have come to us from this period.

The Antiphonary of Gregory contained the invitatories, responses, collects, all that was said or sung by the choir. But here again our earliest MS dates only from the ninth century. The Antiphonary comes to us a completed work. We have no means of tracing its development during its constructive stages such as we possess for the Sacramentary covering a period from the fifth to the ninth century. The Church Year is now completed. The Sundays after Epiphany and Whitsunday all have their appointments. Just how much of the Antiphonary is original with Gregory is hard to determine. That there was singing in the Mass before his time is self-evident; what was added after his time and ascribed to him we cannot determine. Berno Augi-

Digitized by Google

ensis, (1045), calls Gregory the Great the *ordinator libri Sacramentarium et Antiphonarium.* His biographer John calls him "wiser than Solomon because of his antiphons." Gregory is particularly known for his service in developing Plain Song (*cantus firmus, choralis,*) or the so-called Gregorian Chant. The singing that prevailed in the Church in his day was the Ambrosian Song, consisting of Greek melodies and ancient psalmody. In course of time the emotional element in the Greek melody developed into unsanctified worldly sentimentality. To counteract this tendency, Gregory introduced what is known as Plain Song. The characteristics of this "Gregorian Music" are such as to adapt it most fittingly to sacred purposes. It held its place all through the Middle Ages, was preserved in the Lutheran Service, and is now again becoming more and more popular in the Church. Gregory's service to the cause of Church Music was commemorated during the Middle Ages by singing a hymn of praise in his honor before Mass on the first Sunday in Advent. Gregory established a singing school in Rome and this became a centre for antiphonal singing. The choir composed largely of clerical members became a necessary adjunct to the rendition of the Mass. It was arranged in two parts, one on each side of the altar. One side under the direction of a leader intoned while the other side sang the response.

Upon an examination of the Sacramentary of Gregory, we find that the old threefold division of the Mass with respect to the attendants is abolished. But the Mass divides itself into three separate acts. First, the acts of the Lessons; second, the Offertory; and third, the Canon of the Mass proper. The sermon is no longer an integral part of the Mass. The General Prayer following the sermon in the Apostolic Constitution is either lost or as some think finds expression in the Kyrie. There are only two Lessons, the Gospel and Epistle, and one Collect. The *Ite, missa est,* formerly at the close of the homiletical service is now transposed as the closing formula at the end of the Mass. With these general remarks we will now examine the several parts of the Mass.

The Mass began with the Introit, which set forth a particular grace for the Season. The Introit was followed by the Kyrie which was sung nine times, after which followed the *Gloria in Excelsis,* intoned by the priest and responded to by the choir from

Digitized by Google

et in terra. This introductory Service is of special interest as it is of purely Roman origin. We have no Antiphonary which gives us the text of the Introits of this period. The position which the Kyrie occupies and its interchange with the Litany is worthy of note. The *Kyrie Eleison* was the response which the people made to the intercessory petitions in the Litany. Kliefoth advances the theory (III, 226), that the Litany was the later form of the General Prayer in the Apostolic Constitution following the sermon. During the sixth century the Litany was transposed to follow the singing of the Psalm in the Introit. It was, however, contrary to the proper liturgical conception to have a General Prayer at this place. Gregory took out of the Litany the *Kyrie Eleison* responses and assigned them to their present place in the Introit. This seems plausible, for on fast and vigil days the Litany is appointed instead of the Kyrie, when this and the *Gloria in Excelsis* are to be omitted. The Kyrie was intoned by the choir and the congregation responded with the *Eleison*. The Kyrie was repeated nine times. In the Apostolic Constitution and in the Greek Church the two words go together and are both spoken by the congregation. Gregory calls the Kyrie *Vox deprecationis*. He says after the congregation heard the word of grace announced in the Introit, the people cry for mercy. Upon this follows the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the hymn of praise of the angels. Before the time of Gregory it was not in common use. He appointed it for all Sunday and festival day masses when the bishop was celebrant and allowed it for the priests on Easter and the day of their consecration. When the Litany was used then the *Gloria in Excelsis* was to be omitted. Other hymns are not found in the Mass; these find their place in the *Horæ*. Nine hymns are ascribed to Gregory. The best known among these is *Rex Christe, factor omnium*. After this introductory part follow the Act of the Lessons, the Offertory and the Canon of the Mass in the narrower sense. In the conclusion of the Canon of the Mass, the priest is directed to put a little of the bread in the chalice and then to slightly elevate it. This marks the beginning of the elevation of the chalice. The consecrated bread is broken before distribution in order to deal with the sacrifice of the Mass in imitation of a Lamb that was slain.

Although Gregory encouraged the practice of preaching, yet in his Sacramentary the sermon is not an integral part of the

Digitized by Google

Mass. The Lessons have no longer a purpose and object of their own. The Word is offered to God in prayer and He is thanked for it, but the congregation no longer receives the Word and its explanation in the sermon. A similar displacement of the significance of the elements of the Lord's Supper has taken place. The early Christian Church regarded the distribution and the reception of the elements as the chief thing in the sacrament. All the other acts were really only preparatory to the reception. Gregory's sacrificial theory of the Mass placed the chief importance upon the offering up unto God the Body of Christ. It was immaterial whether there were communicants present to partake of the Body thus offered.

Gregory clearly teaches the doctrine of transubstantiation. He says: *Bonus pastor pro ovibus suis animam suam posuit, ut in sacramento nostro corpus suum et sanguinem verteret et oves, quas redemerat, carnis suæ alimento satiaret.** "The Good Shepherd offered His life for the sheep, that He might change His Body and Blood in our sacrament and might satisfy the sheep whom He had redeemed, with the food of His flesh."—The offerings brought by the congregation were changed through the operation of the Mass into the Body and Blood of Christ. Another passage: *Debemus quotidianas carnis et sanguinis hostias immolare. Haec namque illam nobis mortem unigeniti per mysterium reparat, qui pro nobis iterum in hoc mysterio sacræ oblationis immolatur.*†—"We ought to offer the daily sacrifice of His flesh and blood. This sacrifice indeed alone saves the soul from eternal destruction which procures for us that death of the Only-begotten through the divine mystery who is offered for us anew (*iterum*) in this mystery of the sacred oblations."

Gregory's doctrine of Purgatory found a practical support and mighty instrument in his theory of the Lord's Supper. He says: *Si culpæ post mortem insolubiles non sunt, multum solet animas etiam post mortem sacra oblatio hostiæ salutaris adjuvare, ita ut hanc nonnumquam ipsæ defunctorum animæ expetere videantur.*‡ "If sins are not atoned for after death it is wont that souls are greatly profited even after death by the sacred oblations of the saving sacrifice so that these souls

* Kliefoth III, 195.

† *Ibid.* III, 196.

‡ *Ibid.* III, 196.

Digitized by Google

of the dead sometimes appear to beg for this sacrifice." Gregory had much to say of the miraculous power of the consecrated bread and even recounted cases where the dead appeared as phantoms begging that Mass might be said for the repose of their souls.

Assuming the figment of purgatory and forcing the doctrine of the Lord's Supper to suit its exigencies, Gregory laid the foundation of one of the most gigantic errors with which mankind has ever been burdened. The steps in this ruinous system are easily taken. The chief importance in the Mass is its "imitation of a Lamb that was slain," i. e. being offered up. If the reception is not essential then the presence of the congregation or the individuals for whom it is offered is not necessary. This was so advocated. This then made the third step possible,—the Mass is efficacious for the absent ones whether living or dead. All this was in accord with the hierarchical tendency rapidly developing under the master exponent of that system, Gregory the Great.

The immediate effect of these principles of worship was the withdrawal of the congregation from the active part of the responses which had become more difficult under the new system of antiphonal rendering. The choir supplanted the congregation. The Latin language was the universal language for the Mass but the Germanic people did not understand this foreign tongue and in course of time this became a dead language even in Rome, but still there was no change, nor was the need for one felt, because the congregation had really no share or part in its rendering. The Word of God had lost its intrinsic value in the esteem of the hierarchical system, it was now only of value as a contributing element in the sacrifice of the Mass.

The age of Gregory was particularly propitious for the development of Saints' days, and the *ora pro nobis* among the people. Processions (Litanies) were common in the time of Gregory. April the 25th, St. Mark's Day was called *Litania Major*. On this day processions were made out into the fields. After Gregory was elected Pope, a pestilence broke out in Rome. He preached a sermon on the theme *de mortalitate*, at the conclusion of which he called the people to form in a sevenfold procession, classified according to their station in life.

The influence of Gregory has been that of a strong deter-

Digitized by Google

mined personality. He certainly did a remarkable work in editing and establishing the Roman Mass. He manifested in many parts good liturgical taste and judgment, but no doubt has done an irreparable injury to the cause of pure doctrine of the Word of God by distorting sacred truths from their foundation for the selfish purpose of building up the hierarchical power of the Roman Bishop.

A. L. RAMER.

Scranton, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE FUNCTION
OF THE MINISTER IN DIVINE WORSHIP.

EVERY good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with Whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning. (James 1: 17). According to this text we are indebted for every blessing, material and spiritual, to the grace of God. However, God does not directly and immediately minister unto us His bounties; but, indirectly and mediately through means and instruments. The refreshment and the energy which we secure through the medium of bread might in the exercise of the Divine power, have been transmitted directly to our bodies without means of bread, but this is not God's ordained method. Doubtless if He saw fit, He might immediately and directly bring to our souls the higher blessings we enjoy in the Bread of Life; however, He in His Wisdom has seen fit to connect them with the Means of Grace—the Word and the Sacraments. These Means are simply Means of Grace, and can not administer themselves, in like manner as a piece of the finest and most skillful mechanism can not run of itself without the intervention of a human agent. For the administration of these Means of Grace, whereby God communicates His blessings to His people, He has called a ministry. God's Word is always efficacious and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, whether meditated upon, or read; yet its solemn and authoritative use is associated with public worship, and its proper administration in such a service demands the services of a minister. Baptism can not ordinarily be administered without the intervention of a minister, and the Lord's Supper always demands the presence of the administering agent. A proper conception of the Means of Grace involves the recognition of the necessity of

Digitized by Google

public worship and of a ministry, even if this necessity were not plainly taught in the Sacred Scriptures.

It is evident that in Divine worship there are three elements, or factors:—God's people, who are to be fed with Heavenly blessings in Christ; the minister, who is to administer these blessings in God's appointed way; and the Means of Grace through and by which these blessings are brought near to the people and appropriated by them by faith. The function of the minister, then, is a very important and essential one, and worthy of our reverent consideration. Christ says:—(John 6: 44) No man can come to Me, except the Father Which hath sent Me draw him: and I will raise him up at the last day. By means of the Sacrament of Baptism, administered ordinarily by the Pastor, and by the preaching of the Word, the worshiping congregation has been called into being and been made possible by the drawing power of the Holy Spirit exerted through the Means of Grace. In the Sacrament of the Altar Christ, through the agency of the minister, comes to every communicant and imparts to him His Body and Blood—a savor of life unto life to them that believe, but a savor of death unto death to the unbelieving and the impenitent. Through the Word of the minister, which is God's Word, the precious blessing of Absolution is secured as surely as if God Himself spake it from Heaven. In the reading of the Word, God's Will and Grace are authoritatively declared through the mouth of the minister, and in the sermon the Gospel is applied to the present needs and wants of God's people.

This is, however, only one side of the minister's function. God gives in the Means of Grace, and He gives through the agency and mediation of the minister, as shown above. However, where God's grace is imparted, there a response always manifests itself. When God in the spring of the year gently caresses the seemingly dead earth with His zephyrs and softens it with His showers, it forthwith responds in a carpet of green and in a glory of bloom on shrub and tree. Likewise when God by His Means wakens a dead soul into life and makes it the recipient of Heavenly bounty, there naturally and necessarily follows a response in a service of prayer, praise and thanksgiving. These two elements, then, are found in every properly ordered Service. In certain parts of the Service God gives and bestows through the Means of Grace mediated by the minister. At these

Digitized by Google

times the believing congregation is devoutly silent and receptive. Here the minister, as God's agent and ambassador, speaks in the name of God and addresses the congregation. At other times in the Service, again, he is the representative and the mouth-piece of the congregation and directs his addresses not to the congregation, but to God. Here he in a measure fulfills the function of the Sheliach Tsibbur of the ancient synagogue service. We see, then, that the minister in attending to his specific functions in the worship of the Church stands in a representative capacity:—he is either the representative of God, speaking to His people, or the representative of the people speaking for them and in their name to God. In the singing of hymns he properly joins in the worship of the congregation as a member thereof. These two essential parts of the Service, called the *sacramental* and the *sacrificial*, dare not follow abruptly one after the other, but the good taste of the early Church has supplied us with chaste and Scriptural transitional passages by means of which there is an easy and natural progression from one part of the Service to the other. Naturally the minister, as the leader of the worship of the congregation, accords these parts of the Service their proper use, so that, like in nature, there may be no startling breaks in the worship of the Most High; but that there may be an agreeable and natural progression from the beginning of the Divine Service to its end.

With this statement of the function of the minister in public worship, this paper might end; yet we would all feel that a very important part of the discussion of this subject had been omitted. Just as in taking observations of the heavenly bodies the astronomer is compelled to take account of the "personal equation," so in the consideration of the minister's function in public worship, the bearing and the deportment of the minister demand a consideration, calling for more time than a positive statement of his function in Divine Service. Christ teaches us (Matt. 23: 2):—The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do. We are not held by any Donatistic views of the ministry, and we have learned long ago that God's Means of Grace are always efficacious. Water is water, and refreshes, whether it comes through a pipe of lead or of gold. God's Word, even if preached without any accompaniment of rhetorical grace, or to the detriment of the

Digitized by Google

King's English, is efficacious and powerful; yet who would not prefer to have the grace of the Gospel come to him with the embellishments of the graces of polite speech? The Sacrament of the Altar rightly administered is valid and efficacious, even if the nails of the administrator are in mourning and the proximity of his hands in presenting the sacred wafer brings unmistakable suggestions of the reeking atmosphere of the tobacconist's shop or the environment of the livery-stable, as has been the experience of more than one patient sufferer; yet who would not rather have the Means of Grace administered to him by one who does not shock refined sensibilities and who does not accompany the presentation of the pure Word of God with the exhibition of an utter lack of good taste? The minister's bearing and deportment, his "personal equation," if you please, in every part of the Service may be so offensive as to detract from the usefulness of his functions in worship and demands a more detailed consideration.

It must be acknowledged that it is rather a delicate task to present this phase of the subject. To a person who does not possess the genuine liturgical spirit, some of the things that must be said in this connection would seem trifling and perhaps ridiculous. It were folly to discuss colors with one born blind, or to risk incurring the enmity of the deaf by entering upon a controversy with them upon the merits of a musical opus by one of the masters. Being sure, however, of a sympathetic hearer, and in the conviction that I am addressing only those of refined liturgical taste, I address myself to the congenial task of delineating, in as practical a way as possible, the manner in which a minister's deportment and bearing in the conduct of Divine Service may detrimentally affect its usefulness, and the pleasure and profit derived from it.

The minister who is desirous of making the highest possible use of the Service of the Church for his people, must see to it that a number of things are attended to before he steps into the chancel to begin the sacred offices. The lessons must be hunted and clearly marked in the Bible on the Lectern so that there may be no awkward pause during the Service while the Pastor is searching for the place of the Lections. The pulpit Bible should be open at the proper place and all manuscripts and notes conveniently arranged. The service books, and everything else required should be so placed as to be at hand when needed. To

Digitized by Google

defer this work until after the minister has come before his people to begin the Service, leaves the impression that he is not possessed with a sense of the importance of the Services of the House of God. To see a minister rush precipitately from one side of the chancel to the other, to be subjected to the ordeal of seeing him handle nervously the pages of Sacred Scripture in hunting the Lections, we know by frequent experience, is not edifying.

Not only need the attention of the officiating minister be directed to the chancel and what he needs in the sacred ministrations, but to his personal appearance as well. Anything striking and diverting in his appearance must be studiously avoided. We all know that a distinctive robe for the minister is adiaphoristic, as a liturgy itself, in fact, yet we are all agreed that a chaste liturgical taste demands a distinctive badge of office. This fact is recognized even in the practice of congregations of culture and refinement in unliturgical denominations. It is not the province of this paper to define what are the strictly Lutheran vestments. Practices differ in different places, and we cheerfully accord to each one what he prefers. But having chosen a vestment, let him see that it is properly put on, and secured so as to run no risk of falling off, as has happened in more than one instance. Regard must also be had to proper fit. In a church near Philadelphia not many years ago a clergyman, approximating the stature of the son of Kish, preached a trial sermon in a robe, the property of the congregation, which had been made to fit the proportions of their former pastor who in size suggested Zacchaeus the pulican. The effect was too ludicrous for even that devout congregation, a good sermon made no impression and an estimable man waited in vain for a call to a desirable congregation.

Let us suppose, then, that all necessary arrangements have been made, and the minister is ready to begin the Service. Precisely at the time appointed let him enter the chancel. His way of entering into the presence of the congregation and the manner in which he moves from place to place in the chancel, are not without their effect upon the Service, and demand some consideration. Two extremes must be guarded against. He will not enter the chancel with swinging arms and in a rapid stride, nor will he make a cross-cut, and approach the altar from the side. On the other hand he will not by the painful slowness of his move-

Digitized by Google

ments and his precise posturings give the suggestion of an automaton. Good taste demands a devout and reverent bearing in keeping with the character of the place. Any suggestion of affectation on the one hand or of levity on the other is detrimental.

The consideration of the minister's walk naturally suggests other bodily movements which must not be passed over. Involuntary movements, which betoken nervousness, and are a waste of vitality, like fidgeting, are extremely exasperating to a person of refined sensibilities, and produce a detrimental effect upon even the uncultured, although they may not be able to tell the cause of their unfavorable impressions. Such movements plainly show a lack of self-control, and are fatal to personal magnetism. He who can not control himself cuts a sorry figure in trying to hold and influence a congregation in public discourse. Among such vicious involuntary movements we would enumerate thrashing the handkerchief, playing with the mustache, with a button, or a watch-charm, or walking up and down during the sermon. We have read the praises of peripatetic philosophers, but we can give our testimony as the result of more than one painful experience as a victim, that we never saw anything to recommend in a peripatetic minister.

Here, too, we must record our conviction that it is offensive to correct liturgical taste and conducive to the marring of a Service to have the minister move about in the chancel when the congregation is worshiping. When he is not addressing the congregation in the sacramental parts of the Services, or speaking to God in the sacrificial acts, let him join in the worship with the congregation of which he is a part. We have frequently seen ministers move from the center of the chancel to the Lectern while the congregation was singing the Amen after the Collect. It is a common thing to see a minister use the time during which the congregation sings the closing stanzas of the hymn before the sermon, in going into the pulpit and in getting into adjustment for the sermon. Let the minister retain his seat and let him worship to the end of the hymn and then let him deliberately proceed to the pulpit. If he needs private prayer before the sermon, let him teach his people that they need prayer as well to receive it properly.

Here, too, is the place to pillorize the trousers-pocket brigade. It is a sad commentary upon the condition of the litur-

Digitized by Google

gical taste in our English Church to be compelled to treat a subject like this in a paper of this character. We should have spared you this if a Service had not been spoiled for us not many months ago by a performance of this character. One naturally associates the trousers-pocket gesture with the racy anecdotes of the mountebank and the hawker of cheap jewelry. When this attitude is assumed by a minister in Divine Worship, the effect is worse than that of the proverbial fly in the ointment. The only way to be sure that one's hand will not furtively glide to its favorite repose in the trousers-pocket when mininistering in the chancel, is never to let it rest there outside of that sacred place.

A vicious fault on the part of the ministering clergyman is the practice of looking over the congregation during the singing of the hymns and at other times when the minister is not speaking. It always makes the impression upon us that the pastor is taking a mental note of absentees or trying to feed his vanity in endeavoring to estimate the number of people to whom he is ministering. If he must ascertain who is present, and cannot do so unconsciously during the sermon, when he ought to look his people in the eyes; or if he must count noses, let him delegate this unbecoming work to some one else. Only let him bear in mind the disastrous experience of a greater than he who indulged a penchant for numbering the people. It is to be hoped that the progress of sound liturgical teaching will soon bring it to pass that our cultured congregations at least will insist that they see the pastor's face only when he is addressing them.

Having passed in review some of the more flagrant faults of the officiating minister as far as they concern his bodily movements which always mar a Service more or less, let us pass to a consideration of the utterances of his mouth. In passing let us emphasize the fact for the purpose of vindicating the use of so much space in discussing this phase of the subject that what a person says with his body may cry out so loud that what he says with his lips may make no impression.

One of the most common faults of the minister in performing his functions in the chancel is the injection of the dramatic element, and the bringing in of the thread-bare devices of the cheap teacher of dramatic and elocutionary reading. Scripture is to be read intelligibly and with proper decorum and reverence. The fact must always be kept in mind that it is God's Word, and that

Digitized by Google

the officiating minister is simply the agent through whom this Word is mediated to the people. He is not to read it in such a way as to show off obtrusively his elocutionary skill. The highest art is to conceal art. It is not considered good liturgical taste to look up from the page in reading Scripture. Let the Book be so adjusted as to afford an unobstructed view of the face of the reader, and let him read reverently and devoutly, with proper emphasis to bring out the meaning. Let him not fall into the unliturgical practice of commenting while he is reading Scripture. Let nothing but God's Word be heard at this time, and let not man's word and God's be indiscriminately mixed up in such a way as to lead to an unpleasant perplexity on the part of the hearer as to what Scripture says or what is the extempore effusion of the reader. All explanation of Scripture comes properly in the sermon. Here a minister may comment to his heart's content, if he has the ability to do it well; if not, the less the better.

Many of our ministers in reading the sacrificial parts of the Service have the ghastly habit of turning up their eyes toward the ceiling, doubtless to indicate to the people that what is said is intended for Him Who inhabiteth the Heavens. This trick we are justified in qualifying as ghastly, for we all know by experience that the spectacle of a person exposing the whites of his eyes is not a pleasing one. Since there is a desire manifested in this disagreeable practice to indicate the sacrificial parts of the Service, when God and not the people are addressed, why not in accordance with the pure practice of our Church where she has not been adversely influenced by coming in contact with other denominations, reintroduce the practice of indicating the sacrificial part of the Service by the minister's attitude with reference to the altar, the center of the church? During prayer, the people face the altar. The minister is a member of the congregation as well as its minister. He is not praying at them, but they are praying through him as their mouth-piece and spokesman. He is not praying his private prayers, which are properly reserved for the privacy of his own room, but he is making audible their petitions at the throne of grace. His posture ought to emphasize this fact in a liturgical Service conducted with due regard to taste and the eternal fitness of things. True, there are but few of our English congregations far enough advanced in their ap-

Digitized by Google

preciation of correct liturgical principles to adopt this eminently beautiful practice with edification. Then, too, it is reprehensible to disturb the peace of a congregation, and perhaps do violence to the welfare of immortal souls by throwing a stumbling-block in their way in the reintroduction of a practice, right and good in itself, but naturally regarded as strange and foreign to the genius of the Church by one whose horizon is bounded by the limits of the parish. Our people must be patiently taught to appreciate correct practices, and then they will demand their observance. To introduce them before they are ready to appreciate and enjoy them is not wise. A pastor stultifies himself by unnecessarily creating a disturbance by the introduction of an adiaphoron. Here as elsewhere patience must do her perfect work. The same may also be said of the eminently beautiful and churchly practice of intoning the Service. There is no more reason for a congregation to sing its responses than for a pastor to sing his parts of the Service. It seems one-sided and unnatural for the minister to speak and the congregation to sing. Let both either speak or sing, but let each do the same thing. Only let it be done well. Only the best dare be tolerated in the House of God. Unless a minister is possessed of a sweet and flexible voice and understands music, let him not attempt the intonations. I would say the same of the congregation. If they are not willing to learn to sing the responses well, let them not sing them at all. One who is acquainted with the condition of our English Church knows full well that the general practice of intoning is impracticable on account of the wretched liturgical taste prevalent among us, and the lack of musical training among the overwhelming majority of our clergymen. The reintroduction into our churches of the beautiful practice of intoning, which is recommended by all the authorities on Liturgics who are entitled to a hearing, would solve many of the problems suggested in a consideration of the use by the minister of his voice in the Service of the Church, either to its making or marring.

Again, many a minister sins egregiously against good liturgical taste and feeling in conducting the prayers of the congregation. In many quarters the impression of many pious souls seems to be that the public prayers of the congregation are the minister's prayers; and they, in their innocence of the first principles of congregational prayer, demand that the minister make

Digitized by Google

"his own prayers." They usually are his own prayers, too—his very, very own, considered from the standpoint of grammar, diction and arrangement. He prays at the people, preaches to them under the pretense of prayer, sometimes flatters them, interjects "Ohs," and "Would thats" *ad museam*, often transgresses the second commandment by his battological repetitions of the Name of God, introduced for the purpose of saying something while he is thinking of something else to say; and usually makes such an exhibition of wretched taste as almost to turn a person against extempore prayer. Then good, pious souls whom Satan uses to flatter their dear pastor, assure him with tears in their eyes, that his prayer was "so touching," and did them so much good. We believe in extempore prayer properly conducted, and employed it when in the active ministry, but we always felt like turning to sack-cloth and ashes when assured that our prayer was touching and did good. A prayer that touches the people and treats them to the luxury of tears is no prayer, but an exhortation masquerading as an address to the throne of grace. It is a sham and an impertinence. The reason why there is so little genuine, public prayer in our English Churches, is because in the first place our people do not more generally practice private prayer. Private communion with God is a *conditio sine qua non* of public prayer. If people prayed more assiduously in private they would not be so eager to hear some one else make his private prayer in public, but they would come together to offer up at the throne of grace their common supplications, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings. In order to do this in accordance with the proprieties which ought to obtain recognition in the House of God, they would make themselves familiar with the chaste and Scriptural forms of public prayer which have come down to us, hallowed and redolent with the worship of the saints of all ages. When there is occasion for extempore prayer their good taste and devotion would absolutely refuse to tolerate the crudity, the individualism, the gush, which characterize so much of what is called public prayer and disgrace our worship. They would demand that they be informed beforehand what is to be prayed for, and then they would insist that the petitions be formed in accordance with that which characterizes the pure prayers of the Church. They would demand what Schoeberlein loves to call the "lapidarstyl."

Digitized by Google

The last fault of the minister in public Service upon which we desire to dwell for a moment is the practice of changing arbitrarily the hallowed responses and formularies which have come down to us with so many precious associations, that the slightest change in their wording startles one, and mars the enjoyment and the profit which might otherwise be gotten out of the Service. A pertinent illustration is the unwarranted dilution of the Apostolic benediction from the simple and chaste form as it occurs on the sacred pages to something like the following: "The grace of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, the infinite love of God, our Heavenly Father, and the communion and fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all now and forevermore." When a man quotes Scripture, he ought, in due respect to the inspired Word, quote it correctly. Such arbitrary conduct which characterizes much of the Service as administered by some ministers is inexplicable. We have heard the simple, direct, Scriptural sentences provided for the administration of the elements and the dismissal of the communicants distorted beyond recognition. A man is not compelled to use the Service in its entirety, nor indeed any part of it. In fact, in some places, we would deem it advisable not to use any liturgy at all until the people had learned to appreciate the use of a common Service over against an individualistic one. However, what is used, let it be used as given in our formularies, or do not use it at all. A garbled use of a formula or of a Service is apt to be exasperating.

What surprises us still more is the fact that these brethren who habitually change these formulas, to change which lays one open to the charge of vandalism, are often vehemently vociferous in their insistence not to make the slightest change in the rubrics, which have by no means the authority of the text of the Service itself, not having been agreed upon by the Joint Committee entrusted with the preparation of the Service itself, and some of which, we fear, received their present form about thirty-five years ago in the attempt to adapt a liturgical form of Service to liturgical conditions existing at that time in certain parts of the Church.

In conclusion, what must be done to bring about such a condition of things in our English Churches, with which alone the writer claims an intimate acquaintance, and of the liturgical condition of which he is not in any ways proud, in order that our

Digitized by Google

ministers may perform their functions in such a way as to contribute to the edification of our people? Our people love beautiful things and can be led to an appreciation of beautiful art-forms in worship as well as elsewhere. Our congregations are to be congratulated upon the patient endurance of much that is positively ugly and repulsive in worship. Where the ministry has no knowledge of the principles of worship, there you look in vain for an appreciation of beautiful art-forms among the people. Like priest, like people. Water cannot rise above its source. It rests with our theological seminaries to furnish the answer to this question. The principles of pure Liturgics must be thoroughly taught. But this is not all that is required. We learn far more through the eye than through the ear. The theoretical teaching of a Seminary upon the subject of Liturgics may be above the suspicion of a reproach, but if the daily Services of the students and the example of their professors constantly transgress these principles, nothing but disappointment can result. There must be here as elsewhere a beautiful and consistent union of theory and practice. Let it be our part, whether as teachers and pastors, or churchmen in the pew, to study that in all our ministrations and Services we so conduct ourselves that the injunction of the Apostle be honored:—(1 Cor. 14: 40). *Πάντα δὲ εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γινέσθω.*

ELMER F. KRAUSS.

Chicago, Ill.

Digitized by Google

A LAITY LITURGICALLY WELL-INFORMED.

THE primary object of a Christian congregation, from the human side, is the worship of God and the edification and salvation of souls. Everything that pertains to and can assist in this object is relatively important. It is well that we have the most expressive form of architecture in church building, the most suggestive arrangement of nave and chancel, the most helpful fixtures for Sunday School work, and strive after the best style of Church Music and the most devout utterance of our public devotions.

There is, no doubt, a great awakening along this line in the Christian Church in general. This is especially true of our Evangelical Lutheran Church. Our ministers and pastors have taken up with loving hearts and devout souls the study of matters pertaining to the best expression of the devotions of the Church toward God and have given us many learned writings on the subject. We are grateful. But what benefit to our congregations if our pastors can learnedly discuss the influence of Gregory the Great on the ancient Liturgy, or tell what the Margrave of Brandenburg had to do with the placing of the Confession of Sin in our Lutheran Liturgies, unless there is some way of sharing both the enthusiasm and information with our congregations. What we need now, is not less information for our Pastors, but more enlightenment for our Laity. The present paper is written partly as the result of the experience of the writer or of other pastors and partly on the basis of all pedagogical principles.

I. METHODS OF INSTRUCTION.

There are two main methods of instruction—the abstract and the concrete.

The abstract is that in which the theory precedes the practice. This method, as applied to Liturgics, would first explain

Digitized by Google

the beauty, propriety, Scripturalness, and all the qualities and history of the purest and best forms of worship. It would show that all these things are to be found in our Common Service for Evangelical Lutheran congregations. Then should follow the practice. This is certainly the ideal method. Know a thing—then do it. While this method may be very applicable to younger pupils in school, where mind is still plastic and open to new impressions it has rarely been found best for older persons whose opinions are set like the cast steel in its mold and whose practice is in a rut as deep as the valleys of a river. A person may be informed but not enlightened. A questioner may be silenced yet not convinced. The abstract method seldom enlightens and convinces a congregation.

The concrete method is that in which practice precedes theory. This method would introduce, use, enjoy that which is best and when it has been tasted then to bring the explanation and theory and all the history of the Liturgy in order that the users may be ready always to give a reason for the practice in which they engage as well as for the faith which is in them. This is perhaps the easier, and for the many, the more usual method. More things are learned and done by imitation and example than as the result of ratiocination. To be sure we meet here also the inertia of old practice, but we need not immediately answer the prejudices of a mistaken or ignorant mind. Wisely used, for young and for old this method would be the more likely to succeed in enlightening a congregation as to the best in worship.

The ideal method would be that in which the abstract and concrete, theory and practice, go hand in hand. That would require the ideal congregation, as well as the ideal pastor. Perhaps there are but few such. We must then endeavor to see how we may best enlighten our people as we find them.

II. THE PURPOSE OF SUCH AN EFFORT.

The purpose of enlightening our laity on liturgical matters is a very important and practical one. Ignorance is not the mother of devotion. Ignorance has quite another brood following her chief among which is prejudice. If our Lutheran Church and people are ever to occupy the position which God seems to indicate it is absolutely necessary that we cultivate a laity well-informed on all matters concerning the Church.

Digitized by Google

Worship originates indeed as a wholly spiritual act. But to express itself it must use sight, sound, gesture, which are presented in words and music, building and furniture, posture and actions. This brings us immediately into the province of art, for art is the expression of spirit or principles. Now if worship is worth expression it is worthy of the best expression, i. e., of the most artistic. What is the best and truest expression, i. e., the most artistic, of the worshipful idea? What is true and what is false expression or art in worship? The question here is not the question of worship or no worship, but the liturgical question is altogether a question of the expression or art-form of public worship. That expression is not confined to what is called Liturgy in the narrower sense, as the form of an Order of Worship, but it embraces everything which conduces to the expression of the spirit of a Church, as architecture, music, methods of working and propagating itself, in short the whole method of realizing its life.

There may be three ways of arriving at the expression of congregational worship. There are three clear types of worship, which have each had their time and place in our land and our Lutheran churches as there have been three distinct types of church buildings expressive of the forms of liturgical worship. Each of these may still be seen, especially in the eastern part of Pennsylvania.

The first way we might designate as the congregational style. Each congregation is a law and a judge unto itself. When the minister comes the word is "we are accustomed to have our services conducted in such a way." The people that can determine such a matter must necessarily be well-taught. They must know much of the mind of Christ, of biblical practice, of Church History and the most perfect expressions of art. Of all congregations such an one should be the most willing to receive the fullest instruction on worship. They are generally the least willing. To this class belongs the first style of our church buildings, the high pulpit on its slender pillar, the altar almost in the middle of the church, with the pews arranged on three sides and often the high galleries. The minister stands behind the altar, speaking over the altar, the sacramental part very prominent.

Then follows the way of the "other denominations" and "sister churches." The minister officiating for the day is the

Digitized by Google

sole judge of what shall be the expression of the worshipping congregation. His feeling or indisposition shall, or in fact must, condition the whole form and matter of worship. The minister that is willing to do that must needs have great confidence in his own ability and the congregation much more. He must have exceeding personal information and ability always at the moment to be able to find both the most Scriptural and the most suitable art-form for the occasion, and the congregation should have even more, under such circumstances, that they may know that they are not misled. This form of liturgical worship exalts the personal and individualistic over the public and congregational. It has its architectural expression in the second style of church building found in our churches. The pulpit remains, but the altar is gone. A table takes its place. Or if something representing an altar remains, it is given the only space left for it,—the space immediately below and against the pulpit. The congregation has lost the sacramental in the exaltation of the sacrificial.

A third way is this, that the pastors and Church leaders who have both the ability to judge and the learning to comprehend as well as the sensibility to appreciate what should be the most Scriptural, most churchly and most artistic expression of public worship should present the same to the Church and its congregations. This from every point of view would be the most practical and common sense method of procedure. And that is exactly what our Lutheran Church has always done, from the first book of Luther down to the Common Service adopted by three of the general bodies in the United States. Such a method brings into co-ordination all the elements of the Church, the wisdom of the general bodies in preparing, the practical leadership of the pastor in introducing, and the intelligent participation of the congregation in using, the best possible form of worship. This restores again the two necessarily essential parts of every public worship, to wit, the sacramental and the sacrificial. This restored congregational worship has also again brought back a churchly, in many things also a restored, architecture. It is generally gothic. On entering the eye falls on, and the mind gratefully recognizes both a pulpit and an altar, a Church both of Word and Sacrament, in which both the subjective and objective have their place.

Such a history of our Church shows both what losses and ills

Digitized by Google

came upon us because of a want of proper information, and again what advancement will follow when both clergy and laity are enlightened liturgically.

But we plead for a laity liturgically well-informed for the continued defense and upbuilding of our Church. If it was needed in years gone by and we suffered because we had it not, let us remember that in these intense and strenuous times we need it much more if we even expect to hold our own, and if we hope to advance, it is one of the absolute imperatives.

On what ground do we gather in and hold the allegiance of our members?

Once the chief argument and reason was "the Church of our fathers." With most of us the reason we came into the Church is, we were born into it by our natural as well as by our spiritual birth. With many the only reason why they remain members is because their parents were such. There may come a time when some will forget the "fathers" or indeed become ashamed of them. Then the result will be they will forget and be ashamed of the "fathers'" Church. Of course on such a ground no Church could ever hope to become a missionary Church or expect to exert any influence beyond its own borders. Such are the arguments which are still being used in great measure when we ask an offering for Home Missions to gather in the thousands of "Lutherans" instead of the millions of "sinners." Such are the reasons given when there is a question as to the Order of Services. What wonder that such arguments and reasons convinced no one except the person that used them, and that under them the Church continually declined. The lack was information.

Then the ground on which Church-allegiance was asked advanced a large measure. It was then the "Church of the pure doctrine." This claim was also preeminently true. Only, too often the true doctrine was buried too deep in the heart. It never came forth. The world never saw it or heard it. Why it was true or how, could be shown by but few. Many never even knew the doctrine which they claimed to be true. Naturally came the conclusion that there is "no difference," that we are "all the same." Such a conclusion could only result from a want of information. But on these questions there was often no means of information to the laity, and when there was, the questions seemed too abstract to interest them very much. There was no

Digitized by Google

concrete point on which our members could lay hold. The Baptists could rally around the fact of immersion, the Methodists around a mode of conversion, and all their members could grasp the practical point and give their reasons for it; but the Lutherans could only claim the abstract of "pure doctrine" without, as far as the laity was concerned, being able to give example or proof of their claim.

There is, however, one all-pervading, ever-obvious activity of the Church,—that is, its worship, its modes of working, its form of life. The very building in which it meets preaches. The manner of working declares a difference. The Order of Services bears constant testimony of our faith. Why such a style of church-building, why a chancel, why a pulpit, altar, lectern, baptismal font, why a clerical gown and liturgy, why infant baptism, catechetical instruction, confirmation? These are all questions that belong to the liturgical disciplines. They are practical, concrete questions. This includes the "fathers" and is based on "pure doctrine."

It is along this line that we must seek to bring to our people the most permanent and all-pervasive instruction. When they shall have and use the best that Scripture, history and a consecrated art can give and when they can give the reason for such faith and use, then may we indeed expect to have our beloved Church enter upon her heritage and exert her influence far beyond her own borders.

III. WHAT THE PASTOR MAY DO.

The task and duty of informing the members of our congregations in this, as in most other Church affairs, devolves on the Pastor. Our people have often neither the time, nor the inclination, nor even the opportunity to inform themselves. The work is one which should be undertaken with zeal and in which there must be constant perseverance, for it can never be completed.

Permit the writer to indicate a few lines along which he has endeavored to work.

There is no more fruitful field for liturgical work in most congregations than that of Church music. The best place to begin is with the children of the Sunday School. It does very little good simply to declaim against the modern abomination of jingle-music for Church and Sunday School. Then again how often we are pained by the choir-music which is introduced simply and on-

Digitized by Google

ly for the sake of entertaining and pleasing. Both Methodist layman and Papal head of the Roman Church declaim against the abuse of music in the sanctuary. The first writes in the *New York Independent*, "The greatest handicap of the Church is the false and harmful conceptions of the function of music in public worship. Music is appropriate and helpful in a service in so far as it is used by the members of the congregation to express their religious emotions. . . . . As a means of entertainment it has no place at all in the distinctly religious meetings of the Church. . . The concert room and the Christian sanctuary cannot be successfully combined under one management."

The Pope of Rome has undertaken lately to inaugurate certain reforms in ecclesiastical music in France by prohibiting exactly the same class of music, namely, the sentimental and operatic, of which the Methodist layman complains. Experience has shown that the only way to drive out the worse is to use the better. A child, and a person of unvitiated taste, will just as readily learn and sing a chorale as a waltz or two-step time, except that the latter, being the flippant repetition of a few-note theme and often of meaningless words, will not require as much mind or soul. Learn the worthy and noble and there will not be so much danger of the unworthy. The theoretical and practical may well be united for the congregation by the Pastor taking an augmented choir and using five or six hymns for a Vesper Choral Service. Let him precede the singing of each hymn and tune with a brief history and a few incidents and he will find that a new interest is connected with such a hymn. Four or five such services a year may very profitably be continued for years and afford the opportunity of saying many necessary things. The first and great commandment is to love God, so the highest object of Church music is to praise God. Dr. Stainer, who himself wrote much excellent Church music, says, "After all, the best tunes, and the ones we learn to love the most, are the ones our grandmothers loved."

In the matter of congregational liturgical worship we come to the very heart of the subject before us. The writer believes that ordinarily, the practical use of the Liturgy must precede any extended theoretical instruction. The congregation must use, and use well, before it is in a condition to judge. Not knowing the better how is it in a condition to decide anything in regard to

Digitized by Google

it? Here lies the difficulty. The congregation cannot judge rightly until it has used, and the Pastor cannot introduce a better Service until the congregation knows. Here again the Sunday School as the more malleable material is the better element to begin with. At the many and beloved festival seasons of our Church, the Sunday School can give the congregation a taste of a well-rendered liturgical Service. Often a temporary use may create a permanent love. As in one case the writer suggested that in a series of special sermons where sermon outlines and the Vesper Services were printed on the same sheet the congregation try the Vesper Service for three months and then if not satisfactory it would be possible to go back to the old (no) order. But when the three months were past, every one having found it possible to unite in the Service from the printed services, no one was willing to go back to the old. At the same place the Sunday School has been using for the last two years the music of the Gregorian Plain Song, and rendered it before the congregation at every festival occasion. It would be entirely feasible, if it were desirable, to introduce its use to the congregation.

Undoubtedly the introduction of liturgical worship should, when the congregation is fully settled in the use of it, and it is no longer a matter of dispute, be followed by full information on the principles, reasons, Scripturalness, etc., of such a Service. They should know the why and wherefore, not that they may necessarily enjoy it any more themselves, but that they may be able to give such reasons and arguments to others. Such information can only be given by the Pastor, either in his pastoral visitations or publicly in sermons, for it would seem almost impossible to reach the heart of the congregation through the printed page. He also is most interested in doing so. We may all feel the beauty of melody as it is carried by a single voice, touching our heart, but there is something in a harmonized chord that we can never get from a succession of notes, a melody. There is beauty, grace, blessing, in private devotion and prayer. In the worship of the congregation, where all states and conditions of men join there is not only an intensification of the individual's devotion. It has a new quality. It has become the Communion of Saints.

In the matter of Church Architecture theory must precede practice; for when once a thought is put in stone and iron it is more apt to be permanent for at least fifty years. As we have

Digitized by Google

already indicated, the doctrinal and liturgical history of our Church in America may be read in the three eras or general styles of church buildings. If Ruskin has defined architecture as frozen music, we may certainly be right when we say that Church Architecture is faith and life done in stone. Every church building expresses something. Some time ago in going through a church that cost almost a hundred thousand dollars, built in the Byzantine style of the round arch, after going through ladies' parlor and gentlemen's parlor, and kitchen and dining room and stage with curtains, coming at last to the amphitheater "auditorium" the long-suffering visitor exclaimed, "O, Church of the Holy Bake-oven!" And it was no slander. The writer knows of a congregation which put a twenty thousand dollar addition to its old church building. A true churchly floor-plan was suggested by the Pastor and adopted by the congregation. Then that the prejudices of certain parties might be carried out the Pastor was excluded from the building committee and a committee appointed of which at least three members confessed that they had never been inside of any other Lutheran Church than their own old one. Those who know better have been compelled to apologize for conditions ever since. How can we expect our Church to have its proper influence until our members know what style of architecture is expressive of our faith and worship and why it is so? Why and where do we have an altar? Why we place baptismal fonts in our churches? What is the proper order of font, pulpit and altar, and why? These are the simplest and most fundamental questions, yet to many of our members are unsolvable enigmas.

How much there is to learn by our laity concerning our methods of working? How many or rather, how few, can give the reasons why we do not, and cannot join the denominations in their methods and ways of working? Is it only narrowness, bigotry and arbitrary selfishness which moves our Pastors to occupy the position which they assume? If there is no reason, or if the reason is not known, which amounts to the same thing for the ignorant, then it must be all that it seems. Pastors have good reasons for what they do. The people must know them if Pastors expect to hold them. How are our people to learn that the whole method and spirit of the popular revival meeting and system is foreign to our Lutheran Church? By pointing out that

Digitized by Google

the revival system is based on an altogether different view from the Church system. The revival system at least belittles, if it does not directly contradict, the grace which the child receives in baptism, the ordinary blessings of God's Word, the regular and orderly worship of God's House, the sufficiency of the regularly called pastorate. In short, it is the direct opposite, not only in practice but much more in spirit, of our Lutheran faith and worship and the Lutheran pastor or layman who would take part in them thereby denies everything he once confessed. What member of the Church that is well-informed can fail to see that the whole Y. M. C. A. movement with its disparagement of sacrament and ministry is a movement on the same principles and lines as the monasticism of the Middle Ages and will surely at last undermine the Church and teachings of Christ.

Nor can we forget that the demand for special weeks of prayer and the numerous requests for sermons on special subjects are all directly opposed to the Church Year which lies at the very center of our worship. All these things lead directly away from the Church with its pure faith and holy practice. And our people instead of standing in the attitude of apology should know how to propose something better. Until they do we shall not be able to occupy our rightful position. We cannot unite with other bodies, but if we had knowledge enough of our own position, our faith, our practice we might easily be leaders. We need above all things intelligence, clear perceptions along these lines. There are individuals and congregations who are in the clear in regard to these things. They are to be congratulated. They are our leaders. But there are many who are yet only moving toward the light. Let us help them all we can.

The ideal Church or congregation is that in which God is worshipped in spirit and in truth, which expresses that spirit and truth in the purest art forms, and which does it intelligently.

A. B. MARKLEY.

Warren, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SYMBOLISM AND ITS EMPLOYMENT IN THE SERVICE OF THE CHURCH.

"THE invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen being understood by the things that are made." This is symbolism. A symbol is something that, not being a portrait, stands for something else and serves either to represent it or to bring to mind one or more of its qualities; especially something so used to represent or suggest that which is not capable of portraiture; as an idea, state, quality or action. The oak is the symbol of strength, the sword of slaughter, the trident of Neptune, white of purity.

That symbolism is very beautiful, useful and scriptural is freely admitted by most scholars. This subject, therefore, needs neither formal introduction nor any apology. It is in the front among present-day questions of churchliness and artistic beauty. It must be considered. A new conscience concerning the arrangement and ornamentation of churches is making its voice heard among thoughtful Christians. There is also a manifest awakening on the subject of the relation of Art, in its diversified forms, to the Church and her Services. This is a very significant tendency and should be encouraged by every lover of devout worship and true Art.

Symbolism is both a *science* and an *art*. As an historical science, it has a special field for investigation, which field has been indicated in the definition of the term, *symbol*. As an art, its province is to make practical application of these historical facts and principles to the Service and life of the Church. The origin of symbolism is very remote. Evidences of its existence are found in the earliest records of India and China, of Chaldæa, Assyria and Babylonia. In these ancient nations symbolism was always associated with the religious life of the people. We also

Digitized by Google

find that symbolism was one of the most striking features of the Jewish religion. The Passover, The Cleansing of the Temple, The Feast of Tabernacles, The Morning and Evening Sacrifice, The Sabbatical Year, The Jubilee were, all, in the highest degree, figurative. The stones in the breastplate of the high priest have each a special signification. And thou shalt set in it settings of stones, even four rows of stones: the first row shall be a sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle: this shall be the first row. And the second row shall be an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond. And the third row a ligure, an agate, and an amethyst. And the fourth row a beryl, and an onyx, and a jasper: they shall be set in gold in their inclosings. And the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, like the engravings of a signet; every one with his name shall they be according to the twelve tribes. (Exodus 28: 17–21.) Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Joshua and David are most remarkable *types* of Christ.

In like manner do we find in the New Testament authority for the principle and for the practice of symbolism. From the beginning the chief doctrines of Christianity were set forth in type and symbol. The Flood is used to typify Regeneration. The Ark is a type of the Church. The Manna and the Smitten Rock are emblematic of the Bread and the Wine in the Holy Eucharist. St. Paul symbolizes the enactments of the Law by the ox forbidden, while treading out the corn, to be muzzled. The Revelation of St. John the Divine is one long-continued symbolic poem of marvellous beauty and impressiveness.

But the strongest argument in behalf of the principle and practice contended for in this paper is found in the fact that Christ Himself employed the symbolic method in teaching the great truths concerning His spiritual kingdom. The phenomena of nature was the fruitful source from which He drew the most striking spiritual likenesses. When He said, "I am the Door," "I am the Vine," "I am the Way" He used the purest symbolism and thus is involved the well-known principle of pedagogic science, *from the known to the unknown*. It is to be noted also, that the train of thought, the every-day observances, and, above all, the religious ceremonies of the early Christians were highly figurative. Almost every great doctrine of the Christian system had been symbolized at a very early period. The Resurrection

Digitized by Google

was set forth by the Phœnix rising renewed and purified from its ashes. The meritorious Passion of our Saviour was typified by the Pelican piercing her breast and feeding her young with her own life-blood. The blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper was beautifully symbolized by the Grapes and the Wheatears. The Dove was the emblem of purity and innocence. The Hand was the symbol of the First Person of the Trinity. But the most favored of all symbols, the one best-understood and most-beloved was the Cross, the symbol of Christ, while the triangle and the trefoil were emblematic of the Godhead. The four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John were represented respectively by a human figure, a lion, an ox and an eagle.

This symbolic material was introduced into the early patristic literature and it passed very rapidly from rhetorical decoration in Christian homilies to artistic decoration in architecture and painting. As a result we have in use to-day many beautiful and helpful symbols that were found originally in early Christian edifices and places of worship, and, though the originals lack accuracy of drawing and artistic proportion when measured by present day standards, they set forth divine truth in a clear and impressive manner.

The Bible is an *explicit* revelation of God. There is also an *implicit* revelation of Him. It is found in Nature. "To him who in love of Nature holds communion with her visible forms, She speaks a various language." There is a *symbolism* in Nature. The doctrine of the Resurrection is powerfully set forth by the season of Spring. Winter and night typify sin and death. Among the flowers named from some extraordinary property or peculiarity of form which they possess we find the Herb Trinity, the Passion Flower, and the Lacrima Christi, while the phrases, Lily of the Valley and the Rose of Sharon, are suggestive rather of "Him Who was altogether lovely" than of particular species of flowers.

The Holy Sacraments are examples, in the highest degree, of this principle of symbolic teaching. Whilst it is true that divine grace is imparted with the earthly elements yet these elements are the visible symbols of that very precious spiritual gift. It is not to be concluded from these facts that Christianity and the Church are any the less real, visible and practical but rather that they are the more real and practical because their teachings

Digitized by Google

are not merely objective and material but subjective and anticipative of that which is eternal.

Three great doctrines of the Christian system, namely, The Holy Trinity, Regeneration and The Atonement, have been symbolized in a most effective way. The first, by the architectural design and interior arrangement of churches as seen in the triple tower, triplicate windows, three-fold arches and the three-part arrangement and furnishing of the chancel. The doctrine of Regeneration is typified particularly by the octagonal form of the baptismal font for the reason given by Ambrose, namely, "as the *old creation* was completed in seven days, so the number next ensuing may well be significative of the *new*." On some of the fonts of the early churches are sculptured three fishes intertwined in an equilateral triangle, typifying our regeneration in the three persons of the adorable Trinity. The fish is the emblem of the Christian from the fact that the letters of the Greek form of the name I-X-Θ-Y-Σ are interpreted "Jesus Christ, God's Son, the Saviour."

The doctrine of the Atonement by Christ is symbolized by the cruciform plan of churches as found even in the early Romanesque period and reaching its clearest expression in the glorious Gothic cathedrals. Thus in the very ground-plan of the buildings consecrated to Divine worship, "Christ and Him crucified" is preached to every thoughtful beholder. That which was once the by-word of pagans, the instrument of scorn and suffering, has become the symbol of hope, of glory, of joy and of eternal felicity for all who were embraced by the Saviour's outstretched arms upon it.

It is not only Christianity that is symbolized, every religion is. Symbolism is thus shown to be an expression of a natural impulse in man, quite as innate as the religious idea itself. The religion of the Greeks and Romans, though pagan and false, was symbolic. The philosophers of the time of these nations' highest intellectual development introduced symbolism into their philosophic systems in order to increase their efficiency. The Hindu religion is full of symbolism and many of the Hindu religious fables, derived from whatever source—whether from unwritten tradition or from contact with the Jews—possess this feature in large measure. One example will suffice, viz., Krishna suffering —Krishna triumphant. This divinity is represented by a human

Digitized by Google

figure bound in the coils of a venomous serpent which fastened its teeth in its victim's heel. The representation of Krishna triumphant shows the same figure crushing with his heel the head of the monster. Though the *doctrine* here symbolized has long been forgotten by those among whom the *legend* is sacred, it is founded, very evidently, upon the promise concerning the Seed of the woman and the serpent's head. This is a striking instance of the fact that truth will live in symbols long after it has perished in other and more generally used forms. When the time shall have come for the conversion of all India to Christianity thousands will receive the truth the more willingly because they have had a representation of it, distorted, it is true, set before their eyes for so many centuries.

Symbolism is thus the true sign of the cross, hallowing the unholy. It is a good salt which, cast in, purifies the spring. Origen recognized in the Scriptures a three-fold sense,—the literal, the moral, the mystical and to this latter sense symbolism is closely related.

Among the many symbolic passages of Old Testament and of New Testament Scriptures the following are notable:

Isaiah 54: 12, And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones.

Psalm 23: 1, The Lord is my Shepherd. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures, He leadeth me beside the still waters.

John 10: 11, I am the Good Shepherd: the Good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep.

Matthew 26: 39, O My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me.

The Book of the Revelation of St. John the Divine is rich in symbolism but it is a remarkable fact that scarcely a single symbol is new. The figurative ideas of the Old Testament are borrowed and transfigured. They are intensified, massed and associated with new applications. The writer of this Apocalypse seems to feel that no symbol can be sacred enough for his use unless it has been hallowed by associations with the ancient prophecies. Here is a seven-fold vision, made up of visible emblems which are echoes from the prophecies of the past. There is reference here to the golden candlestick, seen by Zechariah; to the wheel within wheel, seen by Ezekiel; to the Slain Lamb, seen by Isaiah; to the burning mountain, seen by Jeremiah; to the

Digitized by Google

sickle, seen by Joel. There is in this Revelation frequent use of the symbolism of numbers. While we must be careful not to read meanings where they were never meant the significance of the number seven is clearly indicated in many parts of the Bible, particularly in the last book of the New Testament, e. g., the seven golden candlesticks, the seven seals, the seven churches, the seven apocalyptic angels, the seven stars, the seven trumpets and the seven spirits before the throne of God.

Further reference to the symbolism of number will be made at the close of this paper.

With symbolic writings, enactments, events, personages, observances, buildings, and vestments for her guidance, how can the Church of to-day be true to her history and to her evident instructions if she fail to adopt and follow symbolism as a divine and an historical principle? Symbolism uses real personages, real actions and real things as emblems of the truth. The only real objection that can be urged against it is that there is danger of giving reverence to the symbol rather than to the truth symbolized, and the same objection may be made against Art in every form—against architecture, music, painting and poetry—but that is the *misuse* and not the *right use* of that which in itself is altogether good. It is one thing to adore a picture and it is quite another thing, by means of a picture, historically to learn what should be adored. Rightly understood and used symbolism is a powerful aid to devotion. It may require courage and a venture of faith in ministers and churches to break away from the popular and puritanic system in Art and forms of worship and accept a system without the prestige of present and local popularity, but if the new is in the way of historic Christianity it ought to be accepted at once.

The mind clings tenaciously to ideas made familiar by the usages of a life time or of generations. We look at truth through surrounding conditions. Our prejudices are often mistaken for principles, but we must come up to the level of our religion or we shall bring our religion down to a level with ourselves.

"The invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made."

The use of symbolism, by the churchly communions, for the purpose of teaching Christian history and impressing Christian truth, is but a practical application to the life of the Church of

Digitized by Google

one phase of Christian Art. It is but the adaptation of an efficient means to an end not otherwise attainable. But the purpose and the possibilities of symbolism in the Service of the Church cannot be attained without an understanding and appreciation of the historic symbols themselves. It is earnestly hoped the following list of most frequently used symbols may prove interesting and useful to many readers.

SYMBOLS AND THEIR SIGNIFICATION.

Symbols of God the Father.

1. The Hand Issuing from the Clouds,—Omnipotence.
2. The Eye,—Omniscience.
3. The Flood of Light, Ezekiel 8: 2,—Omnipresence.

Symbols of God the Son.

1. The Fish,—I-X-Θ-Y-Σ.
2. The Cross,—Christ's Suffering—His Humanity.
3. The Lion.
4. The Lamb.
5. The Vine.

Symbols of God the Holy Ghost.

1. The Dove.
2. The Tongue of Flame.

Symbols of the Trinity.

1. The Triangle, sometimes within the Circle, the symbol of Eternity.
2. The Three Triangles, interlaced.
3. The Three Circles, interlaced.
4. The Three Fishes.
5. The Two Human Figures with a Dove between them.
6. The Father holding by its cross-beam, a Cross with the Figure of Christ upon it, and a Dove proceeding downward from the Lips of the Father.

Symbols of the Passion and Crucifixion of Christ.

1. The Cock.
2. The Purse.
3. The Sword (of Peter).

Digitized by Google

4. The Ear (of Malchus).
5. The Scourge.
6. The Spear.
7. The Nails.
8. The Sponge.
9. The Crown of Thorns.
10. The Heart, the Hands and the Feet, each pierced.

General Symbols.

1. The Cross, in general,—Christianity.
In particular,—The Sufferings of Christ.

The Cross is sometimes shown with precious stones at the extremities and at the intersection, typifying the five wounds in the body of the crucified Christ. There are various forms of the Cross: the Roman, most used; the Greek, four arms of equal length; St. Andrews, like the letter X; St. Anthony's, like the letter T; the Labarum, i. e., the Roman Cross with X P (Chi Rho) interlaced.

2. The Lamb—Christ our Sacrifice.
3. The Lion—Christ the Lion of the Tribe of Judah.
4. The Pelican—Christ shedding His Blood for the Life of His People.
5. The Serpent, trampled under foot, or twined around a globe—Sin.
6. The Hart, (Psalm 42: 1)—Religious Aspiration.
7. The Olive Branch—Peace.
8. The Palm Branch, (Revelation 7: 9)—Martyrdom.

The Sword, Flame, Arrows, Cauldrons, Wheels, Poniards,—Martyrdom.

9. The Lily—Purity.
10. The Apple—Original Sin.
11. A Lamp, Taper, Book—The Holy Scriptures.
12. The Crown and Banner—Victory over Sin and Death.
13. Wheat Ears, Grapes, Wafer and Cup—The Lord's Supper.
14. The Ark—The Church.

The Symbolism of Numbers.

One—The Unity of the Godhead.
Two—The Dual Nature of Christ.
Three—The Holy Trinity.

Digitized by Google

Four—The Evangelists: Sts. Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.

Five—The Wounds in the Body of the Crucified One.

Six—The Attributes of Deity—power, majesty, love, wisdom, mercy, justice.

Seven—Perfection.

It is interesting to notice how often this idea is involved in its use, e. g.,—

Balaam built seven altars and prepared seven oxen and seven rams for sacrifice to test the will of God.

Job referring to the effectual protection of Providence, says, "In seven troubles there shall no evil touch thee," and again, "Wisdom hath hewn her seven pillars."

As a sign of perfect submission Jacob bowed himself seven times before his brother.

Jericho was circled seven times before it fell.

Naaman was commanded to bathe seven times in the Jordan.

Samson was bound with seven bonds.

The Jewish Church has seven great holy days in each year.

The first board of Deacons in the early Church consisted of seven men of honest report.

"How oft shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him. Till seven times?"

The seventh year was to be observed as a Sabbath and at the end of the seven times seven came the great year of Jubilee.

The seventh period marks the completion of God's creative acts.

There are seven penitential Psalms, viz., vi, xxxii, xxxviii, li, cii, cxxx, cxliii. Many other examples of the significant use of the number seven might be cited.

Eight—Regeneration.

Forty—The Period of Probation or Trial.

The Israelites wandered forty years in the wilderness.

They were forty years in bondage under the Philistines.

Moses was forty days on Mount Sinai.

Elijah was in hiding forty days.

The rain descended for forty days when the earth was destroyed.

The Ninevites had Jonah's warnings for forty days.

Our Master fasted in the wilderness forty days.

Digitized by Google

Symbolism of Color.

White—Innocence, Purity, Holiness.

Red—Ardent Love and Burning Zeal, Divine Love.

Green—Life, Hope, Fruitfulness, Victory.

Purple—Royal Majesty, Imperial Power, won by Humiliation and Suffering.

Black—Deep Grief, "The Wages of Sin."

Blue—Heaven, Truth, Constancy.

Yellow—Goodness of God, Richness of God's Mercy.

GEORGE J. GONGAWARE.

Greensburg, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE COLLECTS.

PROBABLY there is no other subject in the whole liturgical domain so fascinating and so richly capable of repaying study as the Collects. In the pericopes we have parts of the Word of God used from of old by the Church to give expression to the central truths of Christ's redemptive work and its application to the life of the Church. In the Introits, the Psalter, the Antiphons, the Invitatories, the Responsories, the Canticles, with a few exceptions, and almost every other part of the Service we have the choicest outbursts of saintly devotion transferred from the written Word to the Church's Liturgy. To the writer one of the greatest charms as well as one of the chief sources of helpfulness of the beautiful Lutheran Services has always been its large infusion of the very words of Holy Scripture resulting in a quickened zeal for the closer study of God's Word and a heightened appreciation of its inestimable treasures. In the reverent use of our Service we are indeed translating God's revealed truth into terms of our own devotion and so making it part of our Christian experience. The sacramental element predominates in the Lutheran Service because the Lutheran Church always magnifies the gifts of God's grace, especially the gift of His love in the Incarnation. Therefore, as her theology is Christocentric, her Service ever keeps close to the cardinal truths of God's coming to man to save him and God's working in man to will and to do of His own good pleasure. No other liturgy makes so much of the Divine element in worship as in life. None other so exalts our God and His Christ. We cannot do otherwise without losing our heritage of truth and betraying the Lord of our lives. Our Service stands first and supremely for the declaration of God's will and God's love, for the impartation of God's life to human needs, for the promotion of God's Kingdom and the doing

Digitized by Google

of His will among men according to the divinely-revealed standard, for the praise of the glory of His grace. Whether the act be liturgically classified as sacramental or sacrificial, the words, as far as possible, are the words of the record of revelation, the words of the Holy Spirit penned by prophet and psalmist and evangelist and apostle. The lover of the Word cannot help admiring the Lutheran Service reverently rendered. The devoted Lutheran worshipper must become a student of the Word whose atmosphere he breathes throughout the Service. This is the glory of our Service, that we seek to give Christ His rightful place and to hear the Holy Spirit speak in Word and Sacrament, that we cultivate therein the fellowship of the Spirit of God.

Not that the human element is either crowded out or crowded into a corner in the Service. Taught by the Spirit Himself to speak the language of God, the believer is trained in Christ's school of prayer to respond to His overtures of grace and to accept His gifts of mercy. In confession and creed, in hymn and prayer, we approach God with our own words as we offer to Him those sacrifices which it becomes His spiritual priests to render. And yet not really with our own poor, feeble, lifeless words but rather with His own rich, life-giving words which we have translated into the language of our desires and our praises. Prayer is pleading God's promises with God or since all the Divine promises to man are fulfilled in Jesus Christ, it is pleading Christ's merits with our reconciled Father. Keeping this truth in mind, we can never go very far from God's Word in our prayer life and yet keep very close to our God. If we have been with Jesus, we must reflect Him to the world and if we have been students of God's truth, we must show the results of our study when entering the presence of the Divine Teacher. To examine ourselves whether we be in the faith is to test ourselves by God's Word and to enjoy the blessings of the life of fellowship we must pray as did the disciples, "Lord, teach us to pray." The Divine standard cannot be lowered. As Moses was commanded to build the tabernacle according to the plan showed him in the holy mount, so must our prayers and our praises be the personal, believing, loving, hopeful appropriation of God's truth in Jesus Christ.

The lover of the liturgy must be an apologist. The Lutheran teaching concerning Church Services and ceremonies is so

Digitized by Google

catholic and so harmonious with the spiritual worship of the God Who is spirit that great care must always be taken not to offend weak brethren nor to cause a schism among the members of the Body of Christ by even unduly urging the preeminent claims of our wondrously beautiful Service. Our own people uninstructed and often prejudiced against what is churchly because of outside influences are often found speaking of "our denomination" and so really losing sight of the fact that ours is the Catholic and Apostolic Church continued in unbroken succession from the earliest times even to the present. Let the pastor teach his catechumens that they are in the Church of Christ by virtue of their Baptism and are to receive His Body and Blood in His Church. We need not be rude nor uncharitable to our neighbors but we ought to realize that, as Dr. Philip Schaff said of the Augsburg Confession, so may we say of our Service, "It is the most Christian, the most catholic, the most conservative in Christendom."

Particularly in reference to our set forms of prayer, forms of sound words, are we assailed by many within our own Communion. Formal, mechanical, cold, lifeless, perfunctory, our prayers are said to be. Often, perhaps, justly so characterized because of the slipshod, slovenly manner in which they are read. Often likewise so described simply because the book is used and the minister's own words are considered superior to the words which have helped and comforted saintly souls for many ages. To exercise the wisdom of serpents with the harmlessness of doves is necessary here as elsewhere. We may use free prayers in our Services but if substituted for the set Collects *de tempore* which is hardly conceivable where there is any Lutheran consciousness whatsoever, or for the General Prayer after the sermon which is quite frequent, we must be careful to let the prayers not be the expression of individual but of congregational needs, of the needs of Christ's universal Church. The free prayer, according to Lutheran usage, is properly used in connection with the sermon. Correct teaching concerning the nature of prayer and the difference between Church prayers and private prayers will help to do away with the complaints often made of the cold and prayerless life of the Lutheran Church. Never was the Church of Christ so richly fitted for an ardent devotional life as when with purified teachings, her Services were likewise purified. God help us to

Digitized by Google

realize the wealth of blessings left to us in the Collects and to use them to His glory.

The prayers of the Lutheran Liturgy properly consist of the Litany which stands by itself, the General Prayers and the Collects. The Lord's Prayer of course occupies a unique position. The value of the Litany only those will learn to know who use it all the year round and not only in Lent. Responsive prayer is surely as helpful as the antiphonal use of the Psalter. The General Prayer is really a series of amplified Collects. The Collect usually has one central thought while the short prayers, which joined together constitute the General Prayer, elaborate the main petition and, like the Litany, enumerate those for whom we pray. It would perhaps be a good thing were our General Prayer to be so arranged with the proper invocations and conclusions that the people might respond Amen. Its real structure would then be more easily apparent.

The meaning of the word Collect is surrounded by considerable doubt. Various significations are suggested according to the varying points of view which are taken. "The Latin word is *Collecta*, which may mean a gathering of any sort—of money, as at a collection in church for some charitable object; or of people, as when two or three are 'gathered together' for common prayer; or of subjects of thought or study, as when an author at the end of a chapter gathers up in a short summary or recapitulates what he has said."* The idea of a gathering is contained in the word. What is gathered together in this prayer? Is it the prayers of the people which the minister, in using the Collect, presents in the briefest possible collected form before God? Is it the teaching of the Gospel and the Epistle for the day, whose central truth and promise become the basis of our plea before God? Is it that collectedness of mind required in all true worship, and without doubt so admirably expressed by the Collects? Or did the word originally mean only a gathering of people in the church and was it an abbreviated form of the fuller expression, *oratio ad collectam*, a prayer to be used at an assemblage for Divine worship? Each of these meanings is suggestive and each may be applied to the Collects as we have them. Beginning with the last, we may say that the Collect is a puplic rather than a

* *The Collects of the Day* by Edward Meyrick Goulburn, D. D., D. C. L., sometime Dean of Norwich, Vol. I, p. 11.

Digitized by Google

private prayer, intended for the Service of God's house though not inappropriate to the privacy of individual prayer. It does denote the concentration of mind and singleness of purpose which ought to characterize true worship in that its very brevity requires careful attention and thought to be helpfully appropriated. It is always in harmony with the Gospel and Epistle and often throws much light upon their central teachings. And without doubt the testimony of our own experience in the use of the Collects leads us to acknowledge that they gather up the throbs and the desires of many hearts and present them in one overwhelming desire, resting upon a Divine promise before the mercy-seat. The Collect then is a brief congregational prayer resting upon a particular promise of God's Word and uttering the need of the Church in her weakness and sorrow. Note its marks. It is brief and concise in form, Scriptural in content, pleading God's promises, congregational in use and application, voicing human needs and specially the needs of God's Kingdom among men.

The structure of the Collect is very interesting. In its full form it has five parts thus stated by Neale:—I. The Invocation. II. The Antecedent Reason. III. The Petition. IV. The Benefit Desired. V. The Conclusion. The Collects are usually addressed to the Father, sometimes to the Son, occasionally to the Holy Spirit. The antecedent reason deals with some attribute of God which is made the basis of the special petition offered, or lays hold upon a special promise which faith desires to realize. The petition proper is contained in a single sentence. The benefit or blessing to be obtained from this petition is then stated. The conclusions are uniform even when not so designated. If the Collect be addressed to the Father, the words are: "*Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium Tuum, qui Tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum.* Amen." If to the Son: "*Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum.* Amen."

To show these five parts take for example that incomparably beautiful Collect, the Collect for Purity (No. 66 of the Collects and Prayers in the Liturgy) which is called the Constant Collect in the Communion Office of the Book of Common Prayer. The Latin and its English rendition are here presented side by side:

Deus, cui omne cor patet et omnis voluntas loquitur et quem nul-	O God, unto Whom all hearts are open, all desires known and

Digitized by Google

lum latet secretum; purifica per infusionem Sancti Spiritus cogitationis cordis nostri; ut Te perfecte diligere et digne laudare mereamur. Per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*

from Whom no secrets are hid; cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love Thee, and worthily magnify Thy holy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

I. THE INVOCATION: "O God."

II. THE ANTECEDENT REASON: "Unto Whom all hearts are open, all desires are known and from Whom no secrets are hid." All things are open unto the eyes of Him with Whom we have to do. He reads the human heart like an open book. Every desire finds a voice when it wings itself to the throne of grace. Nothing lies hidden from Him. Compare these words with Psalm 139.

III. THE PETITION PROPER: "Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit." "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he," said the wise man, and a wiser than Solomon said, "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." The prayer of the *Miserere* recurs to our minds: "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from Thy presence and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me." The Holy Spirit must lead us to think God's thoughts after Him that we may attain the blessing.

IV. THE BENEFIT TO BE OBTAINED: "That we may perfectly love Thee and worthily magnify Thy holy Name." Perfect love toward God and perfect praise of His Name can result only from perfect heart harmony with His blessed will, from purified thoughts inspired by the Holy Spirit.

V. THE CONCLUSION: "Through Jesus Christ our Lord." In this exquisite Collect the fatherly care and providence of God, the sanctifying work of the Spirit and the mediation of Christ are beautifully recognized. It has been thus fully treated simply to show the wonderful mines of hidden spiritual treasures in the Collects of the Church.

* *Mereor* in mediæval Latin is used in a lower than its original sense, to deserve. Even in classical Latin the verb *mereo* has hardly any thought of merit connected with it, meaning simply to win, gain, attain unto. Mr. Maitland in his *Dark Ages*, p. 387, Note 4, thinks there is very little of the popish doctrine of merit in this word in ecclesiastical Latin.

Digitized by Google

Though the writer desires to make this paper appreciative rather than historical, realizing that volumes have already been written on the subject of the Collects, yet it is necessary here briefly to refer to the origin of these admirable prayers.

The Collects for the Sundays and chief festivals are almost entirely of pre-Reformation origin. They are taken from the Leonine, the Gelasian and the Gregorian Sacramentaries. A Sacramentary was a book containing the Collects and the unchangeable part of the Service called the Canon of the Mass just as the Lectionary contained the Epistles, the Evangelistary the Gospels, and the Antiphonary the Anthems. The earliest in date of the Sacramentaries is known by the name of Leo I, Bishop of Rome, A. D., 440 to A. D. 461. The following Collects* in our Service are Leonine, i. e., assignable to that Sacramentary but in use probably very much earlier: III Sunday after Easter (Jubilate), the IV, the XII and the XIII after Trinity. They are here appended in order to show that they were prayers that Christ's people might be kept faithful in that period of storm and stress.

III Easter: "Almighty God, Who showest to them that be in error the light of Thy truth to the intent that they may return into the way of righteousness: Grant unto all them that are admitted into the fellowship of Christ's religion that they may eschew those things that are contrary to their profession and follow all such things as are agreeable to the same; through our Lord Jesus Christ."

IV Trinity: "Grant, O Lord, we beseech Thee, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by Thy governance that Thy Church may joyfully serve Thee in all godly quietness; through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord."

XII Trinity: "Almighty and merciful God, of Whose only gift it cometh that Thy faithful people do unto Thee true and laudable service: Grant, we beseech Thee, that we may so faithfully serve Thee in this life that we fail not finally to attain Thy Heavenly promises; through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord."

XIII Trinity: "Almighty and everlasting God, Give unto us the increase of faith, hope and charity; and that we may obtain that which Thou dost promise, make us to love that which

* Taken from *The Lutheran Movement in England* by the Rev. H. E. Jacobs, D. D., p. 297.

Digitized by Google

Thou dost command; through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord."

In writing of the Collect for IV Trinity Goulburn beautifully says: "When the Goths, the Huns and the Vandals were hovering over the moribund Roman Empire like a flight of vultures preparing to pounce upon a dying camel in the desert as soon as the breath is out of his body, there was certainly some point and there was likely to be some sincerity in such a prayer." And to-day when Mormonism is rampant and Dowieism about to swoop down upon New York with thousands of its fanatical followers and Christian Science spreading among cultured people because of its attractive way of putting away sin and promising rest, surely Christ's people need to eschew those things that are contrary to their profession and to follow all such things as are agreeable to the same. With the Goths and Vandals of destructive criticism and iconoclasm and moral laxity due, to a great extent, to religious indifference threathening us on every side, we need to purify our prayer life and pray earnestly that Christ's Church may joyfully serve Him in all godly quietness. There is, indeed, food for thought in these beautiful prayers.

Gelasius was raised to the Bishopric of Rome A. D. 492. In the very next year Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, at the head of his army of barbarians, assassinated Odoacer and succeeded him as king of Italy. Rome was no longer the seat of the imperial government. The emperors had withdrawn to Ravenna, a great naval and military station on the Adriatic, and the barbarian kings who succeeded them made Ravenna their capital. The power of the popes was rapidly increasing and political changes and religious controversies made the time one of great unrest. The Collects of this period bear unmistakable traces of the prevailing unquietness. To-day of course we give a spiritual interpretation to these frequently-repeated petitions for peace and quietness, but it is very interesting to note the times which gave rise to prayers such as these. And amid our distress and in the restlessness of modern life we find these Collects wonderfully helpful. The following Collects are traceable to the Gelasian Sacramentary: II, III, IV Advent, Christmas Eve, Christmas, the First of the Other Collects for Advent, Palmarum, Easter Eve, Easter Day, II, IV, V Sundays after Easter, the Sunday after Ascension, I, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XIV,

Digitized by Google

XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX after Trinity.* A few of these Collects are here given.

For Advent: "Mercifully hear, O Lord, the prayers of Thy people; that as they rejoice in the Advent of Thine Only-Begotten Son according to the flesh, so when He cometh a second time in His Majesty they may receive the reward of eternal life."

For Christmas Night: "O God, Who hast made this most holy night to shine with the brightness of the true Light: Grant, we beseech Thee, that as we have known on earth the mysteries of that Light, we may also come to the fulness of its joys in Heaven."

For Christmas Day: "Grant, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, that the new birth of Thine Only-Begotten Son in the flesh may set us free who are held in the old bondage under the yoke of sin."

Palmarum: "Almighty and Everlasting God, Who hast sent Thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, to take upon Him our flesh, and to suffer death upon the cross, that all mankind should follow the example of His great humility: Mercifully grant that we may both follow the example of His patience and also be made partakers of His Resurrection."

Easter Eve: "O God, Who didst enlighten this most holy night with the glory of the Lord's Resurrection: Preserve in all Thy people the Spirit of adoption which Thou hast given, so that renewed in body and soul they may perform unto Thee a pure service."

Easter Day: "Almighty God, Who through Thine Only-Begotten Son, Jesus Christ, hast overcome death and opened unto us the gate of everlasting life:† We humbly beseech Thee, that, as Thou dost put into our minds good desires, so by Thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect."

IV Easter (Cantate): "O God, Who makest the minds of the faithful to be of one will: Grant unto Thy people that they may love what Thou commandest and desire what Thou dost promise; that, among the manifold changes of this world, our hearts may there be fixed where true joys are to be found."

III Trinity: "O God, the Protector of all that trust in

* *The Lutheran Movement in England*, p. 298, taken from Gerbert's *Monumenta veteris Liturgiæ Alemannicæ*, supplemented by Muratori's *Liturgia Romana*.

† The following part of the Collect is Gregorian.

Digitized by Google

Thee, without Whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy: Increase and multiply upon us Thy mercy; that Thou being our Ruler and Guide, we may so pass through things temporal that we finally lose not the things eternal."

V Trinity: "O God, Who hast prepared for them that love Thee such good things as pass man's understanding; Pour into our hearts such love toward Thee, that we, loving Thee above all things, may obtain Thy promises which exceed all that we can desire."

VI Trinity: "Lord of all power and might, Who art the Author and Giver of all good things: Graft in our hearts the love of Thy Name, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and of Thy great mercy keep us in the same."

XI Trinity: "Almighty and Everlasting God, Who art always more ready to hear than we to pray and art wont to give more than either we desire or deserve: Pour down upon us the abundance of Thy mercy, forgiving us those things whereof our conscience is afraid, and giving us those good things which we are not worthy to ask but through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord."

XX Trinity: "Grant, we beseech Thee, merciful Lord, to Thy faithful people pardon and peace, that they may be cleansed from all their sins and serve Thee with a quiet mind."

But perhaps the most beautiful as it is probably the best known of the Gelasian Collects is the Collect for Peace printed three times in our Liturgy, as the fixed Collect for Vespers, at the close of the Litany and at the close of the Suffrages. "O God, from Whom all holy desires, all good counsels and all just works do proceed: Give unto Thy servants that peace which the world cannot give; that our hearts may be set to obey Thy commandments, and also that by Thee, we, being defended from the fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness; through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour."

"One has seen at the root of a decaying tree tufts of wild hyacinths or primroses, the seeds of which, wafted by winds or carried by birds or insects, have found in this friable, corrupting soil a congenial habitat. And there are correspondences in the moral world with this natural phenomenon. When the old Roman Empire was in its last stage of decay, when all old landmarks were being removed and old institutions were going to pieces,

Digitized by Google

then appeared for the first time these bunches of fragrant beautiful prayers, giving token of a spiritual vitality below the surface of society, a sure evidence that all was not corrupt, that the antiseptic salt of God's grace in the hearts of His elect still endured and had not lost its savor."*

Gregory the Great became Bishop of Rome A. D. 590. The following Collects are taken from his Sacramentary: I Advent, Sunday after Christmas, II Other Collect for Advent, Epiphany, I, II, III, IV, V after Epiphany, Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, II, III, IV, V Sundays in Lent, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in Holy Week, Other Easter Collects, I after Easter, I for Ascension, Whitsunday, Monday in Whitsun-Week, XVI, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV after Trinity. "In comparing them with the Anglican Collects we must remember that, after the Third Sunday after Trinity, the Anglican Collects fall one Sunday behind, and that elsewhere, as in the first three Sundays in Advent, the Anglicans have composed new Collects while we retain the ancient Collects."†

Besides the Collects *de tempore* our Book contains a number of beautiful Collects and Prayers classified as follows: For the Holy Spirit, For the Church, For the Civil Authorities, In Time of Affliction and Distress, Thanksgiving, For Special Gifts and Graces, For Answer to Prayer, and Litany Collects. All of these would well repay special study but it is not within the scope of this paper to take them up in detail. We are immeasurably indebted to the compilers of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer for the beautiful versions of the Collects which we use in common with that branch of the Church. One of the four variable parts of the Service, like the Introits, the Gospels and the Epistles, the Collects, always tell us of the great fact and truth commemorated by the Church. They are our response to the Heavenly gifts of life and godliness.

Brief but comprehensive, Churchly, catholic, Scriptural, the Collects, like the hymns unite us with the Church of Christ in every age and in every land. As a common confession of faith is made, as common praises ascend from many sanctuaries, so in the Collects do we have real common prayer. Let us study them ourselves and teach them to our people. As the Salutation

* *The Collects*, Goulburn, Vol. I, p. 38.

† *The Lutheran Movement in England*, p. 298.

Digitized by Google

and the *Oremus* always precede the Collects, they should indeed be made the prayers of the worshipping congregation. They are congregational prayers, fit offerings for the priesthood of believers. God help our people to learn more of this precious manual of prayer and to use these glorious petitions to His glory and our eternal welfare.

SAMUEL A. BRIDGES STOPP.

Doylestown, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF DIVINE SERVICE.

I. DEFINITION.

DIVINE Service or, which is the same, Public Worship, consists in the drawing near to God of His people with the offerings of humble, contrite and thankful hearts, prayer, praise and thanksgiving, that God may also draw near to them to impart His grace.

II. ITS ORIGIN.

Before the Exodus the worship of God was patriarchal, each head of a family conducting the same when, where and as he saw fit. But after the people had been united into a congregation, God Himself laid the foundation of Divine Service in the command and promise: (Ex. 20: 24) "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto Me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen. In all places where I record My name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee."

For the execution of the principle here laid down the tabernacle, and afterwards the Temple, was constructed from God-given plans, and an order of Service was established by Divine law. In this order the people approached God and He approached them; but, as redemption was not yet accomplished, it could be conducted only through the mediation of a special priesthood.—Through the priest the people drew near to God and through the priest God also drew near to them. He did not dwell in the court among the people nor yet in the Holy Place among the priests, but in thick darkness, on the mercy seat between the cherubim in the Holy of Holies, which was separated from the priests' and the people's place by a thick vail. Only the High

Digitized by Google

Priest, enveloped in a cloud of incense and with the blood of the atoning sacrifice, might go behind the vail, and that only once a year. Whatever the people offered to God must be presented through the priest and whatever grace God bestowed upon them was conveyed to them by the priest.—The offerings were largely propitiatory, symbolizing the one sacrifice yet to be offered once for all sin by the Great High Priest.—For the time being God agreed to accept the symbolic sacrifice,—but, as it only foreshadowed the atonement, it had to be repeated year by year. This worship, consisting in types and shadows of good things to come, was only "a figure for the time then present." "The way into the Holiest was not yet made manifest." (Heb. 9: 8). "But Christ being come a High Priest of good things to come . . . . entered once into the Holy Place, having obtained eternal redemption for us." He fully accomplished, by the sacrifice of Himself, all that was symbolized by the Aaronic priesthood. Through the rending of His body the vail of separation was rent asunder, and the way to God was fully opened and made manifest. He no longer dwells in thick darkness behind the vail, but in the midst of His people. Hence in Christ the fundamental principles of Divine Service, as expressed in founding the Old Testament worship, are fully realized. From this the Apostle draws the conclusion: (Heb. 10: 19–22) "Having therefore boldness to enter into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way, which He hath consecrated for us, through the vail, that is to say His flesh, and having a High Priest over the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience and our bodies washed with pure water."

Thus the symbolic worship of the Old Testament has had its fulfilment in Christ, in Whom God's "covenant of peace" is established with us, and "His tabernacle is with us," so that what was only foreshadowed in the Temple Service has become a reality. The Word has become flesh, and dwells, not at a distance from us, but among us.

The hour has come, when, not only in Jerusalem, but in all places, where believers meet in His name, they may worship Him in spirit and in truth. The Temple Service, with its priesthood, has passed away, but the principles upon which it was based, realized in Christian worship, abide forever. Jesus Himself made

Digitized by Google

them the foundation principle of the Divine Service of His Church, when He said: (Matt. 18: 20) "Where two or three are gathered together in My name there am I in the midst of them." (See also Matt. 28: 19–20). The conditions for the fulfilment of this promise were present for the first time on Easter Sunday evening, when ten disciples of Christ and the two Emmaus believers were assembled in Jerusalem. Then He stood in their midst, imparted peace to them, communicated the Holy Spirit, confirmed their faith and filled them with gladness. This assembly may be taken as the type of all future assemblies for Divine Service.

It demonstrates the truth that the principle underlying the public worship of God in both Testaments is the same, viz., That God has a Church, a congregation of believers, which draws near to Him to seek His grace and present its offerings, and to which He also draws near to impart His grace. Hence in the tabernacle there were certain symbolic representations, appearing to the eye. The images of the cherubim, always connected with God's throne, on the vail in front of the Holy of Holies, reminded of God's presence to bless His people; and the altar of burnt offering in the outer court and the altar of incense in the Holy Place reminded the people that they must also bring something to Him, i. e., their offerings. By the death of Christ the outer court with its altar for propitiatory sacrifices was abolished and the Holy of Holies was united with the Holy Place, to which, with its altar of incense representing the prayers of the people, all believers, now become a royal priesthood in Christ, were advanced. The three parts of the tabernacle have now become one, in which God dwells in the midst of a congregation of priests. The fundamental principle of the worship in this tabernacle is this: The people assemble in the name of Jesus, and He, in Whom the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily, is in their midst. They are here to worship Him with prayer, praise and thanksgiving; He is here to accept their offerings and to bestow His grace.

III. TWO KINDS OF ACTS.

From the above it must be evident that true worship consists in two kinds of acts, sacramental acts and sacrificial acts—acts of God and acts of believers.

By *sacramental acts* we mean those acts of God, by which He

Digitized by Google

imparts His grace. For this purpose He draws near to the congregation: "There will I come unto thee and I will bless thee." These acts of God are represented to the eye in the house of God by the pulpit, the font and the altar. God bestows His grace by the Holy Spirit through the Word and the Sacraments. The preaching of the Word and the administration of Baptism and the Holy Supper are all sacramental acts, wrought by Almighty God, through the minister as His instrument. By these acts He imparts the grace sought by His people. There can be no true worship without them. The people cannot draw near to God, unless He first draws near to them; nor can they give anything to Him, unless He has first given to them, as Paul writes to the Romans: (Rom. 11: 35) "Who hath first given to Him and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of Him and through Him and to Him are all things." Therefore these sacramental acts are not only an essential part of Divine Service, they are its most prominent parts, yea, without them the other parts are not conceivable. Yet they alone are not public worship; the sacrificial acts must be conjoined with them.

By *sacrificial acts* we mean the acts of the people,—what they bring to God. He has given something to them; they must also give something to Him. This part of the Service is represented by the altar. Whatever is given to God is called a sacrifice, and its presentation is called an offering. But this is a priestly act, and it implies that those who perform it are priests, who have the right and duty of ministering at the altar.

The Church of Rome has a sacerdotal order, to which alone she accords public priestly functions. Hence she fences the altar off from the people; and they have no access to it except through the priest. But this does not accord with the teaching of the Divine Word. It does not warrant the distinction between priest and laymen. Christ instituted a ministry but no special priesthood; and the functions of the ministry are sacramental, not sacrificial. As our High Priest He has offered Himself once for all sin, and has obtained eternal redemption for us. Not even He can repeat that offering. But as our High Priest He still prays for us and with us. He is the Head of the only priesthood recognized by the New Testament. He dwells in the hearts of believers by faith; and they are all equally priests in Him. Hence Peter writes: (I Pet. 2: 9) "But ye are a royal priesthood

Digitized by Google

. . . that ye should show forth the praises of Him, Who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light." This being true, the functions of each and every believer in the house of God are priestly, i. e., to offer sacrifices. What kind of sacrifices? Surely not of a propitiatory sort, such as the Jewish priests very properly offered as types of the one sacrifice offered on Golgotha, much less of the Romish sort, to make satisfaction for the sins of the living and the dead, by the bloodless repetition of the offering on Calvary.

The altar of burnt offering no longer stands, but the altar of incense, i. e., of prayer does. The New Testament requires that here all believers shall offer eucharistic sacrifices, i. e., thank-offerings, first of themselves, as Paul writes (Rom. 12: 1) "I beseech you therefore by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." To this must be added prayer, praise, thanksgiving and of our substance,—the offerings of humble, contrite and grateful hearts. These sacrificial acts were so prominent in connection with the sacrament of the altar, in the early Church, that the latter was called the Eucharist. Here we have the most intimate communion with God: He gives Himself to us and we give ourselves, with all that we have and are, to Him.

It is the privilege and duty of every believer to engage in all these sacrificial acts, with heart and voice and hand. They must not be idle spectators, or a mere audience, to witness what is said and done in the house of God, but active worshippers. In this sense also they must be "doers of the Word." Each and every one of them must bring something to God as well as receive something from Him. To obtain the blessing of God's sacramental acts, we must draw near to Him with sacrificial acts.

IV. THE OBJECT.

The object of this Service, or worship, is to secure the growth in grace and the spiritual development of all who participate therein. Hence our fathers called it the cultus, from the Latin *colo*, to cultivate. The Church is a vineyard, planted with precious vines, each one of which should grow continually and bring forth fruit. This end is accomplished in a natural vineyard when the vines are pruned, watered and nurtured, when the husbandman does his part and the vines render the befitting response.

Digitized by Google

The sunshine and the rains descend upon the plant, then in response it lifts up its head towards its benefactor, buds, blooms and brings forth fruit. This is successful culture. So in the Church the object of the cultus is attained when God bestows His grace through the Word and the Sacraments and the believing people respond to this grace and render the ripe fruits thereof to its Author in the sacrifices that proceed from humble, contrite and thankful hearts.

That the above purpose may be accomplished,

V. AN ORDER OF DIVINE SERVICE,

that makes provision for all of these twofold acts, sacramental and sacrificial, is necessary. Where a number of people are to unite in doing the same thing—as in "glorifying God with one mind and one mouth"—there must be a place, time and manner of doing it, which all understand and approve. Private worship may be rendered by the individual at any place and time and in any manner that he may choose. It concerns only himself and his God. But to worship God collectively as a congregation, we must first have a suitable place. This should be a house of God, constructed in such style and furnished in such manner as to bespeak its purpose. God instructs us through the eye as well as the ear; and every thing that strikes the eye as well as the ear should be of such character as to direct our thoughts Heavenward and to-God-ward. Not only should there be a pulpit to represent the preaching of the Word, by which the Holy Spirit works faith, a font to remind us of Baptism and our covenant relations with God, and an altar to set forth our priestly functions and the Holy Supper, in which the sacramental and the sacrificial are beautifully combined and which establishes our most intimate Communion with God and each other,—God bestowing the living meat and drink and believers responding with heartfelt thanksgiving. But, in addition to this, works of sacred art, that suggest devout thoughts, are very useful and much more helpful than blank walls. The decorations of the Temple, planned by God Himself, teach us that such works are pleasing to Him.

But the most suitable places of worship would fail of their purpose without fixed seasons and times for the assembly of the congregation. Under the Old Testament both place and time were fixed by law.

Digitized by Google

The Temple was ordinarily the place, and the Sacred Year provided the seasons and the days of public worship. From this we observe that it is the mind of God that there should be such fixed seasons and times. But under the New Testament it is left to the liberty of the Church, guided by the Holy Spirit, to arrange all such matters. In the exercise of this liberty, in the light of the revelation of the mind of God, the Church very early ordained the Christian Year, with its seasons and holy days, for the systematic "learning" of God's Word.

On the same principle the Church has also developed an Order of Service, which provides for the practical application of the New Testament principles of Divine worship. The Lord Himself pointed and led the way to such an order. In His public life He conformed strictly to the forms in use under the Old Testament dispensation. The sectarian idea of spirit without form has no place in either His teaching or His example. The Psalms, the inspired prayer book of the Hebrews, were very dear to His heart, and He prayed from them even when He was dying on the cross. His "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me," was from a written prayer, the twenty-second Psalm; and His last prayer, "into Thy hands I commend My spirit," was from the thirty-first Psalm. With this practice accords His teaching. When He taught the individual how to pray alone He gave no form, but said, "When Thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and, when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father Which is in secret." But when He taught the disciples how to pray collectively, as a congregation, He inculcated both the spirit and the form, or "manner," saying: "After this manner therefore pray ye: "Our Father," etc. Thus we have it from Him that the spirit of Divine Service should be clothed in an appropriate form.

VI. LITURGICAL FORMS.

Of all existing liturgical forms, i. e., forms for the people's worship, the Order of Service of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, as contained in the "Common Service," most fully embodies all the fundamental principles of Divine Service.

The Church of Rome pushes aside and obscures the sacramental acts by the sacrificial, leaving little or nothing for God to do. With her the arrangement of the Jewish Temple still seems to stand,—God is still removed from His people, behind the vail,

Digitized by Google

and the people are still in the outer court, with no way of communication with Him, except through a spurious priesthood, which usurps the rights and privileges of the "royal priesthood," which, with Christ's high priesthood and based upon it, is the only priestly order known to the New Testament. The Sacrament of the Altar is perverted into the sacrifice of the Mass, offered by the priest for the living and the dead, so that, to be benefited by it, it is not necessary to be present at its celebration. The beneficiary may not even be upon earth; he may be in "purgatory." Altars, dedicated to the saints, supposed mediators between God and men, are multiplied; the pulpit is made subordinate and placed in an obscure position; the preached Word becomes a matter of indifference; and the direct application of the Word to the individual in the absolution is made nugatory by the penances upon which it is conditioned. It is therefore not a matter of surprise that the worship is conducted in an unknown tongue and that the active participation of the people in the Service is not encouraged. The priest and the choir can do all that is to be done, and it is not necessary that those, for whose benefit the Service is rendered, should witness it, much less participate in it. The worship consists principally in what the priest offers to God for the people, and there is little place for God in the entire Service. It makes the impression that the vail in the Temple is still unbroken and the way to God still closed; that He is still unreconciled to His people; that He has no Gospel for them, nothing but law, the threatenings of which must be silenced by the propitiatory sacrifice offered by the priest and the intercession of the saints.

The Reformed Churches and the sects have fallen into the same error, although from a different standpoint. Whilst they have banished the altar, which represents the sacrificial part of the Service, they make nearly the whole worship sacrificial, and retain very little that is sacramental. Dr. Kliefoth, quoted by Dr. Jacobs, has well said: "Antagonizing the Romish propitiatory sacrifice, they make the Service almost entirely eucharistic sacrificial. In the Lord's Supper He really gives nothing to them, but they memorialize His death. The application of grace is conceived as occurring immediately, from spirit to spirit. The constant presence of the Holy Spirit with the Word and Sacrament is denied. All liturgical acts are expressions of faith al-

Digitized by Google

ready wrought. The sacraments offer nothing from the Lord. . . The Word does not bring the Spirit but the Spirit brings the Word. Through the exposition of the Word the preacher simply gives testimony to his faith. Believers come together chiefly for common prayers, confession, praise, thanksgiving, etc., to exercise their faith." Thus it will be seen that the Order of Service of the Reformed Church and the sects fails to combine properly and to harmonize the two fundamental principles of Christian worship. It is only in the Lutheran Church that the two essential elements of a complete Christian cultus are accorded their relative importance and their proper place. This will become apparent when we notice briefly

VII. HOW THESE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES FIND EXPRESSION IN THE "COMMON SERVICE."

Here we have:

a. *A Preparation* for the Service, which consists in the solemn announcement by the pastor, sealed by the "Amen" of the people, that we are assembled in the Name of the Triune God, and that in this Name we begin, continue and end the worship. This reminds us of the promise (Matt. 18: 20) upon which the Christian assembly is based, and we are here to claim its fulfilment. We are gathered around the Lord, Who is present to impart the blessing, which we seek. This is a holy presence; and the first thing we ought to do is to put away our sins. What God commanded Moses to do in a symbolical manner (Ex. 3: 5) we are to do in reality: "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

This is done in the *confiteor* and the Declaration of Grace that follows it, to which we are invited by the minister; and the source of the ability and the manner of so doing is expressed in the words: "Our help is in the Name of the Lord, Who made Heaven and earth." "I said I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and Thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin." The confession of sins, original and actual follows, as also the cry for "mercy" and "forgiveness" and the "increase" in us of the "true knowledge of God" and His will and "true obedience" to His Word by the Holy Spirit, indicating the purpose for which we draw near to God. Then comes the Declaration of Divine Grace,

Digitized by Google

pledged to us in Baptism and about to be communicated to us more fully by the Word and Sacrament.

This preparation having been made, the Service proper for the day begins with

b. *The Introit*, a sacramental act, in which God expresses the leading thought for the day,—a communication of the Word.

The names of the Sundays are largely derived from the Introit. It is usually taken from the Psalms, consisting of an Antiphon and a Psalm. The *Gloria Patri*, (sacrificial) which follows, is the believer's joyful response to the Antiphon. Then follows:

c. *The Kyrie*. God is present, according to His promise, and He has spoken in the Declaration of Grace and in the Introit. Hence the people, feeling the misery that has come of sin and realizing that the Healer is in their midst, cry to Him for mercy which heals, as grace pardons. The *Kyrie* is not a confession of sin, but, as in the case of blind Bartimæus, a plea for the removal of the misery and suffering that remains as a consequence of sin, as spiritual blindness or weakness or any kind of spiritual or bodily want or wretchedness. Then follows

d. *The Gloria in Excelsis*, in which the minister calls upon the congregation to unite, as it assures them that grace and mercy have fully come in the Person, Whose presence God announces through the angels. This, their song over Bethlehem's manger, has this purpose: "That faith is aroused and takes the Word from God's lips." (Jacobs). Faith being thus enkindled and awakened, we prepare to enter more fully upon the sacrificial parts of the Service, viz.,

e. *The Salutation and Collect*. In the Salutation, "The Lord be with you," the minister prays for the people, imploring, not the general presence of God, according to which He is present everywhere by His omnipotence, but His special, gracious presence, to impart His blessing through the means of grace. The people also, in the same spirit comfort and pray for the pastor in the response, "And with thy spirit."

Having prayed thus separately for each other the pastor now invites the people to pray with him unitedly (collectively) for the special grace to be sought this day. This is done in the Collect, spoken by the pastor and approved and sealed by the

Digitized by Google

Amen of the people. It consists in an address to God, usually the Father, a ground of expectation and a petition based upon it, and a doxology, or ascription of praise to the Trinity. This prayer God now answers in

f. *The Scripture Lessons.* First an Epistle is announced and read, usually, but not always, from the New Testament. This corresponds with the reading of the Law in the Synagogue Service. The Epistles are the New Testament Law, now a delight to Christians, because it has been fulfilled by Christ, and is written, as a rule of life, in their hearts. Hence they joyfully respond to it by singing the "Hallelujah!" which proclaims the Lamb victorious in the fulfilment of the Law, according to Psalm 118.

Then the Lamb draws nearer to them in the announcement of the Gospel, by which He speaks to them more directly. At this the congregation, realizing more fully that He stands in their midst and is about to speak to them in His own words, joyfully greets Him with the words: "Glory be to Thee, O Lord!" Then rising in profound reverence for His gracious presence and for the truth He is about to utter, the people devoutly hear Him, standing upon their feet as good soldiers of the Cross, ready to execute His will. The precious Gospel of peace having been heard, what could more suitably follow than the response, sung with heart and voice, "Praise be to Thee, O Christ!"? The Lord having now spoken in both forms of His Word, and that having been thankfully acknowledged, they, that believe with their hearts "unto righteousness," also confess their faith "with the mouth" "unto salvation," by the use of

g. *The Creed.* Here, not the Apostles' Creed, which is the confession at baptismal Services, but the Nicene, which is the creed of the Communion, is used. In the Lutheran Church it is not hurried over, as if it were a mere form or a task to be ended as quickly as possible, but spoken distinctly, with a loud voice earnestly, it being a precious privilege to confess our faith in the Triune God, Who created, redeemed and sanctified us. Then after a hymn follows

h. *The Sermon*, the explanation and application of the precious message, which the Lord has delivered to us in the Gospel, which is intended to impart the special grace announced in the Introit and asked in the Collect. The selection of themes

Digitized by Google

not contained in the Gospel mars the Service and measurably defeats the purpose of the systematic arrangement of the Lessons for the Church Year: that the people may receive "grace for grace," each grace in its proper season and in the right relation to all others. The sermon closed, with "the peace of God," which the Gospel conveys, pronounced upon the congregation, it is followed by

i. *The Offertory and General Prayer.* God having richly bestowed His grace through the sacramental act of the Word, there should be some sacrificial return for His goodness. This is devoutly and thankfully acknowledged in the Offertory, which tells whence the sacrifice should proceed, from "a broken and a contrite heart," and looks to God to cleanse its source—"a clean heart." The General Prayer immediately follows, in which thanksgivings and praises are offered and all sorts and conditions of men are remembered before the throne of grace and all the wants of all mankind, especially of the sick and suffering, widows and orphans and of all in authority, are laid before God. It ends with the Lord's Prayer, spoken by all the people, the best and highest of all prayers, certain to be acceptable to God and heard of Him, because Jesus, Who prays with us, has commanded us to say these words and promised that the Father will surely grant our petitions offered in His Name, as God's dear children.

The prayer ended, thank-offerings, gifts of our substance,—alms, are laid upon the altar, the place for everything sacrificial.

Then follows the culmination of the cultus:

The Holy Communion.

Here we have the most profound mystery and, at the same time, the highest privilege of Christian worship: a fore-pledge of the final consummation, when the saints shall be the table guests of the Lord in glory; here we enter the sanctuary of the sanctuary, beyond which there is nothing but Heaven itself, the summit of our liturgical cultus. Hence all parts thereof are so arranged as to enable the believer to realize a repetition of the act of the night of our Lord's betrayal in breaking the bread and blessing the cup, and imparting His own broken Body and His shed Blood to each of His guests. It has these several parts:

I. The Introduction. This part of the Service, which is partly eucharistic sacrificial and partly sacramental, begins with

Digitized by Google

1. *The Salutation.* Here, as before the Collect and introductory to the sacramental act of God in imparting the grace of His Word, the pastor prays for the special presence with the people of the WORD as the Lamb of God, as the Host communicating the Sacrament and also as the "Passover sacrificed for us." But there the reference is to His presence through the Holy Ghost, His representative, as our Prophet, about to speak to us through the Word; here, however, it is His presence as our Priest and King, in a glorified, personal and bodily manner, "so that we may, in this transaction, call the Lord Himself to us in a peculiar manner of personal presence, such as is accorded alone in the institutional promise." (Zeschwitz). In the same manner the people also comfort the pastor, as the instrument of the Lord, in the response: "And with thy spirit." Then comes

2. *The Sursum Corda:* "Lift up your hearts," i. e., raise them from all things earthly, above the desires, cares, ambitions and treasures of the world;—this because they now stand at the very vestibule of Heaven. Realizing the solemnity of the Service upon which they are entering, the people reply: "We lift them up unto the Lord." Raising their hearts to Him, what are they now to do? The minister answers with

3. *The Gratias:* "Let us give thanks unto the Lord," which St. Augustine thus explains: "That we lift up our hearts to the Lord is God's gift, for which then we are bidden to give thanks to our Lord God." (Dr. Jacobs). And the people devoutly answer with

4. *The Dignum:* "It is meet and right so to do." Then the minister, taking this acknowledgment out of the mouth of the people, raises it to Heaven in the words: "It is truly meet (because He has redeemed us), right and salutary (because He is about to seal His grace to us), that we should give thanks to Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God."

Then having acknowledged the special grace of the season or day, as imparted through the Gospel, in the "Proper Preface," the pastor and people, realizing the sacramental presence of the Lord and the fellowship of the Heavenly spirits, unite in the seraphic song, (Isa. 6) "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory." Thus God is praised by the Church on earth and in Heaven for the Lord's sacramental presence. Then realizing that He is drawing near to us as

Digitized by Google

the Lamb that was slain for us, to impart Himself to us as our Passover, we greet His approach with the great Passover Hallelujah (Psalm 118), which was sung at His entrance into Jerusalem as the Chosen Lamb and again at the Last Supper: "Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest." The people now consecrate themselves to the Lamb by saying the prayer He taught them to say: The Lord's Prayer, and He proceeds to answer their prayer, first in

II. THE CONSECRATION. The Lord Jesus Christ now takes the bread and the cup, through the hands of His servant, and, by his mouth, He speaks the consecrating words:

1. *The Words of the Institution.* He makes the Sacrament by adding His Word to the element. The people, now believing that He is present at His table, humbly cry, not to the bread, but to Him, in the words of the

2. *Agnus Dei*, first for His mercy, to remove their misery, and then for His peace,—the crowning grace, that flows from the complete pardon of sin. This is what He promised His people: "My peace I give you." He answers their prayer with

3. *The Pax*, spoken through the minister: "The Peace of the Lord be with you," a pledge that the peace prayed for in the *Agnus Dei* is about to be imparted. The people accept this pledge with a trusting "Amen." Then He proceeds to impart this peace in

III. THE ADMINISTRATION. Here He approaches and deals with each individual, saying to every communicant: "Take and eat, this is the Body of Christ, which is given for thee." "Take and drink, this is the Blood of the New Testament, shed for thy sins." Then, assuming that the communicants have believed these sacramental words, they are dismissed with the blessing: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ and His precious Blood strengthen and preserve you in true faith unto everlasting life." Having now reached the summit of Divine Service, beyond which there is nothing but Heaven, there is nothing left but

IV. THE POST COMMUNION, which must needs be brief, and consists almost exclusively in devout thanksgiving, Christ having imparted to us forgiveness of sins and, therefore, life and salvation; the peace prayed for in the *Agnus Dei* and proclaimed in the *Pax*, has been communicated by the Sacrament. We need nothing more. The Lord has nothing more to give us. There-

Digitized by Google

fore we sing with Simeon, whose most devout longing had been satisfied:

V. THE NUNC DIMITTIS: "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace," etc. Then calling upon each other "to give thanks unto the Lord," we repeat the Thanksgiving Collect. Pastor and people once more comfortingly salute each other, blessing and thanking the Lord; and the whole Service is closed with the Benediction, which consists in a threefold putting of the Name of the Lord upon His people for their blessing, keeping and their peace. How otherwise should this last sacramental act be received than with the threefold "Amen?"

It will thus be seen, that the Lutheran Order of Service most perfectly embodies and applies all the fundamental principles pertaining to Divine Service contained in the Holy Scriptures, and that each part is in its proper place. And whoever intelligently and devoutly joins in every part of this Service will experience that it contains everything necessary to our edification and growth in grace. Any man that cannot profitably unite in such worship must be sadly wanting either in Christian intelligence or devotion, or both. By its diligent and faithful use all may "come to the fullness of the stature of new men in Christ Jesus."

G. W. MECHLING.

Lancaster, Ohio.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

REGULATIONS AND CUSTOMS PERTAINING TO THE USE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

It is well known that the Protestant denominations, generally, recognize two Sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper,—whereas the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches recognize seven. It might be supposed that where there are only the two Sacraments, the Protestant wing of the Church would be able to agree on those two in the matter of doctrine and practice; but whether possible or impossible, the fact is they do not. Each has some distinctive practice respecting the divergences on the doctrinal acceptation.

It is almost a truism in the Lutheran Church that the practices grow out of the doctrine; and hence, the practices conform to the essentials of the doctrine in such a way that the didactic result of the practice ought not, and should not, vitiate the doctrinal position of the Church. We are well aware that the Church is careful to define her doctrines with exactness and clearness of language; so too, it is, that the practices are expressive of the content of the doctrine.—One might almost say that the practices are to the content of the doctrine, as the adjectives and adverbs are to the definition of the doctrine.

When it happens, and it does happen, that a doctrine is ill-defined according to Scripture, or that the content of the word is minified or magnified, we may see this reflected in the rubrics and regulations of the Church or Christian body. Take for instance the doctrine of the Word, as held by the Friends, respecting the Sacraments. Here we see a low conception of the Word. Its authority, *per se*, is very limited, when compared with the authority of the Spirit. As a consequence the Sacraments are set aside. Such a doctrine practically gives us a Spiritless Word, and a Wordless Spirit; and supersedes Christ by the Spirit.

Digitized by Google

A somewhat different phase is suggested by the combination of necessary immersion with the absolute requirement of definite and personal faith, in order to constitute Baptism. This insistence accords to Christ scarcely more than the establishment of the Sacrament; while the essence of it, if there is an essence, comes from human faith, judging by the practice. It involves a confusion between the essence and the benefits of the rite. Another phase may be seen in the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper, compared with the Lutheran, as a type or system. Here is seen a species of emptying the Word of its content and laying the stress upon the Spirit beyond the Word, upon human faith, and the spiritual participation of the communicant, in the Communion. This not only eliminates Christ from the Sacrament, and goes entirely outside the rite; but makes the Sacrament depend upon a human condition, and in fact makes the Sacrament little more than a pious action on the part of the participant.

Take this instance:—*The distribution is to be made with these words—"The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for *thee*, preserve thy *soul* and *body* unto everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for *thee*, and feed on Him in *thy* heart by faith with thanksgiving." "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for *thee*, preserve *thy soul* and *body* unto everlasting life. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for *thee*, and be thankful." Italics in the text.

We find something very similar to this conception concerning the commemoration and the human faith in the Westminster Confession† and Common Prayer.‡

Jesus says, "Take, eat; This is;" but these forms virtually say, "This was," for a remembrance has to do with that which is past· and it is specifically stated "Which was given for thee" and "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee." The practice in the distribution is all the more strangely contrasted by the practice in the consecration, which uses these words § " . . . According to Thy Son our Saviour

* *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1880, New York, p. 291.

† *Westminster Confession of Faith*, Presbyterian, Phila., 1896, pp. 150–153.

‡ *Book of Common Prayer*, Episcopal, 1891, p. 244.

§ *The Doctrines and Discipline of M. E. Church*, 1880, N. Y., p. 290.

Digitized by Google

Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood; Who, in the same night that He was betrayed, took bread; and when He had given thanks, He broke it, and gave to His disciples, saying, Take, eat; this is My Body which is given for you; do this in remembrance of Me. Likewise after supper He took the cup; and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins; do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of Me." The administration is made to ministers first if present, then to the congregation, kneeling, being given into the uncovered hands.

Why the consecration should be in the present tense while the distribution is in the past, we understand from the doctrine: but why they ought so to be, we cannot understand as a matter of truth. Nor do we understand why the participants in the consecratory prayer have a present Christ, and in the distribution a few moments afterward have to make a memory leap over 1800 years, a feat which is impossible to any present living individual, except historically.

According to Scripture, the memory leap which one class of people has to make is not much greater than the mental leap which another class has to make in order to compass transubstantiation, as set forth in practice. The more so when the transubstantiation is so applied that one element comprises the two. It would seem that sacerdotal transubstantiation of the elements almost requires the transubstantiation of the priest into Christ.* We find the priest is the deputy of Christ and through this deputy, in the Mass, to the Catholic believer there is given "to each of us in particular: 1st. To join our Lord and Priest in offering the Divine Victim of Calvary, present on our altars, to the Eternal Father."

But concerning the ceremonies etc., of the Catholic Church several quotations from Dr. Bruno may speak for themselves.

†"Ceremonies do not form an essential part of the institution of Christ, most of them having been added by the Church in the time of the Apostles or in subsequent ages. Consequently they

* *Catholic Belief*, JOSEPH FAA DI BRUNO, D. D., Benziger Bros., N. Y., p. 104.
† *Ibid.* p. 105.

Digitized by Google

may, by the direction of authority, be changed or omitted (as in fact in cases of necessity they are omitted), without affecting the validity of the Sacrament. But as they are prescribed by the Church, acting under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, in order the better to show forth the dignity and the effects of the Sacraments, and to dispose us to receive them in a more devout manner, it would be wrong to omit them, except in case of necessity." *"If solemn ceremonies were not used in the celebration of the Mass, Catholic belief in the real presence of Christ upon our altars would not be fitly expressed. If the faithful saw the altar stripped of ornaments, and the officiating priests without distinctive vestments, not bending the knee, and not giving any outward token of worship before the consecrated elements, their Catholic instinct would be shocked. On the other hand, when they see the great pains taken and the great cost often incurred for the becoming adornment of the house of God, for making the Altar, the Tabernacle, and the Throne gleam with rich ornaments; when they see that the priests and their assistants are robed with distinctive emblematic vestments, and especially when they see them bend their knees in humble adoration before the consecrated Host and the consecrated Chalice, their faith and devotion are strengthened, and the practical lesson they receive is likely to do them more good than any sermon on the subject."

Concerning the Mass the Doctor says: † "Let us consider these externals, first, with regard to the officiating priest, and afterwards with respect to the people." . . "The Mass ordinarily consists of the following things:—The Forty-second Psalm, beginning, *Judica me Deus*, the *Confiteor*, the *Introit*, *Kyrie Eleison*, repeated nine times, *Gloria in Excelsis*, Collect, the Epistle for the Day, the Prayer, *Munda cor meum*, the Gospel for the Day, the Nicene Creed, the Offertory, part of the Twenty-fifth Psalm, Oblation Prayer, the Prayer called Secret, the Preface, the *Sanctus*, the Canon, or prayers according to solemn, unvarying rule, the Consecration of the Host, the Consecration of the Wine, Prayers after Consecration, the Lord's Prayer, *Agnus Dei*, three prayers before Communion, Communion of the Priests, Prayers after Communion, the Blessing of the People, the last Gospel, most frequently from the first chapter of St. John."

* *Catholic Belief*, DR. BRUNO, p. 106.

† *Ibid.* p. 107.

Digitized by Google

*Continuing he says:—"Now, it appears that all this is thoroughly spiritual, and without any ceremonial formality, especially when we consider that the greatest part of this is said or done by the priest in secret, that is, in a low tone of voice." "What is less important in the Mass, and what may strictly be called ceremonial, consists in the priest changing his position; in his reverently bowing the head and kneeling; in kissing the altar and paten; in joining or raising his hands; in looking up towards Heaven, or to the crucifix on the altar; in making repeatedly the sign of the Cross; and in turning towards the people when addressing them, as when he says, *Dominus vobiscum* and *Orate fratres.*"

*"Men are struck at the reflection that many of these things Jesus did, and that, therefore, they cannot be called valueless formalities, unless indeed we were to say that the priest does these things without the proper interior spirit, which would be an accusation our Lord forbids us to make under pain of sin: "Judge not, that you may not be judged."

"In the Mass there is no set form of prayers required to be repeated after the priest in a formal way by the people, as there invariably is in Protestant churches and chapels, but the people are left free to follow the Mass in spirit, either meditating on the Passion of our Lord, or making some acts of repentance, love, praise, adoration, and other acts of devotion; or reciting prayers, each in his own way, in keeping with each one's capacity, needs and desires; or following the Mass according to the direction of the book of devotion which each worshipper may have chosen for his own use."

There may not be very much formality about this outline of worship and ceremonial principles as stated by Dr. Bruno; but there is undoubtedly a goodly quantity of fixity in their use. Here is regulation in detail, and a little margin for personal liberty. The principle might be stated:—That formality is to be used which the Church prescribes, subject to cases of necessity.—The Church here practically becomes the priesthood, inasmuch as the highest act of worship, the Mass, can be and is conducted while the people are absent, as shown by the "Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament,"† and the way the people who are present participate, as quoted previously.

* *Catholic Belief*, Dr. Bruno, p. 108. † *Ibid.* p. 115.

Digitized by Google

In comparison with this ceremonial fixity and regulation we may cite Dr. Jacobs, for the Lutheran Church, as to the fundamental basis of Lutheran doctrine—the doctrine involves the Word and the minister must subscribe to it:* "It is well to notice that it is not the acceptance of the Augsburg Confession, but the acceptance of its doctrines which determines the Lutheran character of a teacher or Church body." This subscription to the doctrine underlies the whole regulative portion of the Lutheran practice, and carries with it the weight of consentient opinion in regard to the uniformity which the Church general deems desirable in her forms of worship; such opinion being set forth in her authorized Liturgy, subject to a certain liberty in things unessential, as circumstances may dictate.

With Lutherans, therefore, regulation is according to doctrine, and it is so far the practical expression of the Church's life, working out the requirements of doctrine.

Custom may be called the unregulated portion of practice, that is, unregulated by doctrinal necessity; and it derives its privilege from the doctrinally unessential features of the Church's life, and the exigencies of the occasion or age, according to the principle that "What is not contrary to the Word of God may be accepted." Under this principle, which at once affirms Gospel liberty and excludes legalism, iconoclasm and fanaticism, various adiaphoristic customs are permissible, which the Reformed dictum, that whatever is not expressed in the Word of God is forbidden, affords no place. The Lutheran spirit does not foster anarchy in practice, nor can it countenance "authority" not allowed in the Word of God.

The Lutheran Church does not reside in the priesthood, but is found in the "communion of saints;" and the authority of the Church resides in that communion, that is, the primary and residuary source of Lutheran authority is the congregation, the earthly side of the communion of saints.† "The true Lutheran principle of congregational right and authority demands the cooperation of the congregation in the Service;" and Dr. Jacobs,‡ "The congregations are the primary bodies through which this power (of Christ) is normally exercised." This cooperation is

* *The Doctrines and Usages of the Lutheran Church.* p. 96.

† *Lectures on Liturgics*, DR. SPAETH.

‡ *The Doctrines and Usages of the Lutheran Church*, p. 106.

Digitized by Google

seen in the representative production called "The Order of Service" in our Church Book, wherein, notwithstanding Dr. Bruno's restriction, the congregation has its place. If Lutheran doctrines are measurably correct, Lutheran members cannot be excluded. Nevertheless the Church is not made up of externals alone, either in practice or organization; but is the compact, consentient body of believers. Forms are made for man and not man for the forms.

In order to simplify the further consideration of this topic, and to eliminate some items which will need no extended reference, it may be well to state that the concensus of opinion of the fathers of the Lutheran Church is that neither the time nor the place of the administration of the Sacraments, nor the quantity and quality of the elements* with exceptions to be noted later, nor the personal character of the minister† affect the validity of the Sacrament. The prayers, the exhortations, the general Scripture lessons, the laying on of hands, the exorcisms, signs of the cross, standing, kneeling, etc., are not essentials. The pastor is the organ of the congregation, of which himself is a part, so that his character and his intention are not elements of validity. Of course, the character of the minister as a moral example and shining light are of consequence to the life of the Church, and should be above reproach. So too, the prayers, Scripture lessons, the laying on of hands are edifying, and fitting for the instruction of the congregation, calling to mind the vows which have been made by the members; and are helpful in preserving and impressing upon the candidate and congregation the serious importance of the Christian life and duty. They are not, however, essentials, though they are not to be trifled with to suit the whim of the person.

BAPTISM.

In regard to baptism, there are three instances of administration to be noted, viz:—Infant, adult and emergency baptism, or Noth Taufe. In each instance the Sacrament is the same. It never varies, as the human portions or practices may. That is, the essentials of the Sacrament never change, however much the circumstances accompanying the administration may.

* *Baptist System Examined*, SEISS, p. 185 sq.

† SCHMIDT'S *Doctrinal Theology of the Ev. Lutheran Church*, ed. 1876, pp. 562–5. *Catholic Belief*, DR. BRUNO, p. 108 *supra*, intention.

Digitized by Google

The primary regulation, effective both for pastor and congregation, is to see to the validity of the rite.

Validity. The insistence upon the validity of the Sacrament is absolutely fundamental, for without this the administration is useless, if not culpable contempt of the Lord's command.*

Without going into the doctrinal side of the Sacrament, it is to be observed that the Sacrament is the institution of Jesus Christ, and as such, comes to us with all the power and authority of His Divine personality. No man has the self-assumed privilege of doing or refraining from doing what He has commanded.

However, it is not appointed in every case what details shall be fulfilled. In such case it falls to the duty of the Church general to appoint such undetermined portions, so far as occasion and circumstances warrant; and also to see that such appointments are respected. God is not the God of anarchy but of order; and His Church should be likeminded.

The validity of the Sacrament of Baptism rests upon three points, none of which are subject to personal human liberty.

One essential for validity is that there shall be an earthly element used. This element, according to Scripture, is water.† It may be noted that some persons, in cases of necessity, do not consider water to be the sole possible element, where water is not obtainable; but this is not allowed by others,‡ and so far as we are concerned, water would seem to be the only element. The real question to be decided is whether the element is superior to the Sacrament as commanded; or whether, without water there can be a Sacrament.

As before mentioned, the quality of the water is not essential; but decency would insist that it be clean, as well as the vessel and the minister.

While the Lutheran Church does not deny that immersion is baptism, providing other essentials are present, yet the practice is sprinkling or pouring.§

* SCHMIDT'S *Doct. Theol. of the Ev. Luth. Church*, ed. 1876. pp. 540–4, 554 sq.

† *Ibid.* pp. 543–6. *Book of Concord*, JACOBS, p. 468.

‡ DR. SPAETH'S *Lectures on Catechetics. Book of Concord*, JACOBS, p. 82. *The Catholic Christian Instructed*, DR. CHALLONER, N. Y., p. 24. *Westminster Conf. of Faith*, Phila., 1896, p. 146. *The Doctrines and Discipline of M. E. Church*, 1880, N. Y., p. 265. *Book of Common Prayer*, 1891, pp. 261, 247. *Conservative Reformation*, KRAUTH, p. 519. *Church Book*, p. 347.

§ *Elements of Religion*, DR. JACOBS, p. 173. *Bap. Sys. Exam.*, SEISS, p. 189. *Bk. of Com. Prayer*, Episcopal, 1891, p. 257. *Conservative Ref.*, KRAUTH, p. 519. SCHMIDT'S *Doct. Theol. of the Ev. Luth. Church*, ed. 1876, p. 560.

Digitized by Google

The second essential to the validity of baptism is to use the words of institution, viz:—"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," in other words, the trinitarian formula. The minister has not the privilege of making a formula to suit himself, for it is Christ's institution.

The third essential of validity is that the element shall be applied to the person (or head) of the candidate; preferably at the pronunciation of the personal names of the Trinity.*

A distinction is made between the validity of the Sacrament and the benefits derived therefrom. The validity depends upon the intention and purpose of Christ, and the act of the congregation, administered through the administrator, according to Christ's Word, and not the intent of the administrator, as set forth by the Catholic Church,† but the benefits depend upon the faith or state of the recipient.

The general rule for baptism is that it should be administered in the presence of the congregation, in church, except cases of necessity, and by the pastor, or ordained minister. The Westminster Confession (p. 145) allows only the minister.

Infant Baptism. It may not be admitted that infant baptism is a regulation; but it is the purpose just now to take it in that sense. Among Lutherans there is no question that infants are to be baptized; but the practices going on around us in other denominations, or the failure to practice, is very prevalent. Not only so, but some are hostile to the rite, and we feel the reflex of the hostility in a tendency to let such matters pass without concern. It is well known that the Catholic Church demands infant baptism as "absolutely necessary"‡ while the Lutheran Church demands it as necessary, or rather the Word of Christ and His provision demand it. It has been a struggle ever since the Reformation to keep this truth before the Church, because the lax sacramental views of many, and the hostile views of others lead into carelessness and denial.§

* *The Lutheran Cyclopedia.*

† SCHMIDT'S *Doct. Theol. of Luth. Church*, ed. 1876, pp. 472, 550, 546. *The Cath. Chris. Instr.*, DR. CHALLONER, N. Y., p. 24. *Cath. Bel.*, DR. BRUNO, p. 82.

‡ *Cath. Bel.*, DR. BRUNO, p. 81. *Conservative Ref.*, KRAUTH, pp. 430, 444. SCHMIDT'S *Doct. Theol. of Luth. Church*, ed. 1876, p. 554-3. *Book of Concord*, JACOBS, p. 471.

§ *Westminster Conf. of Faith*, p. 185. *Book of Concord*, JACOBS, p. 174. *Conservative Ref.*, KRAUTH, pp. 430, 574.

Digitized by Google

The Lutheran Church holds that the infant is planted into Christ, and is made a member of the Church of Christ by Baptism.* The indifference and hostility of others persistently resist the manifest intention of Christ; and by so doing, they virtually cast off the babes like waifs on the street. They, indeed, believe, in a way, that the adult is made an heir of Christ and His merits by adoption, through baptism outwardly, and faith inwardly; but their babes are made spiritual orphans and foundlings. Parents are the natural guardians of their own children, they have brought them into the world through no Divine necessity, but of their own action; yet they ignore their spiritual responsibility to the spiritual nature of their child, which is just as real as the physical. They affect to cast the helpless little one upon the all-embracing love of God, and thus evade their responsibility to the whole nature of their offspring. Christian parents esteem fellowship in the Church; but practically exclude their little ones from the same privilege.†

We do not say that the Lord will not take up the children of those who forsake them, but we do say they forsake them and throw off on God their own responsibility, which should be as inalienable as physical or moral care.‡

Of course, there is a doctrine at the root of the irresponsibility, but the doctrine is man-made, while the responsibility is God-made. The Lord gave the Sacrament, and the Lord gave the child, and the Lord gave to us the duty to obey. It is not a wild guess that the Lord will also adjust the Sacrament to the child if any adjustment is called for.

It is a Lutheran principle that the adiaphoron becomes fundamental under certain conditions, much more then, in this age of biased interpretation, devitalized sacraments and creed discrediting, infant baptism becomes a regulation.

Instruction. With this regulation goes another, scarcely less important, and scarcely less ignored. This is instruction in the catechism.

The child is in profound need of knowing the will of God, so that he may do it. It is also a profound need that the child know what to believe, not alone for the knowledge sake, but for

* *El. of Relig.*, JACOBS, pp. 165, 179. *Biblical Psychology*, DELITZSCH, p. 413.
† *Bap. Sys. Exam.*, SEISS, pp. 322, 368.
‡ *Conservative Ref.*, KRAUTH, p. 438.

Digitized by Google

his soul's sake, that he may apprehend Christ aright, make a good confession, and be thoroughly furnished unto all good works.

Communion through prayer, comfort in trial, strength in adversity are certain needs, which are provided for in wise instruction; to say nothing of the duties and responsibilities of his own adult life which need a solid foundation, and a vital realization.

Sponsors. Dependent upon infant baptism, is the custom of having sponsors to stand for and with the infant; to take vows in its behalf assuring its proper up-bringing and training in Christian truth, until the child assumes responsibility for itself.

The Lutheran Church, as do the Catholic and Episcopal, recognizes this institution; and endeavors to have sponsors fulfil their whole duty under the serious import of the assumed vows. But it is not to be supposed, that the Christian parents lessen their obligations thereby. They are the natural sponsors always, and without choice; but other persons whether relatives or friends are also admitted to the function, by their voluntary assumption of the required vows.

Sponsors must be believers, in good standing in the Church, preferably members of the Church in which baptism occurs (Catholic Church admits only Catholics, and sponsorship is an impediment to marriage;* Episcopal Church asks two male and one female sponsor for a male child, two female and one male for a female child†). The sponsorial vows are such that a member of another denomination could not very consistently take them, and really ought not, unless their own belief accords sufficiently with the baptizing Church so as to permit such care as is involved. Honor dictates that the vows be kept inviolate.

Persons unbaptized, persons not in good standing, and those who have made a breach of wedlock, whether parents or others, members or not, are not fit subjects for sponsorship. Sin lieth at the door.

Personally, it would seem to be wise if this custom were to go the way of all the world. For—If the Church is the earthly source of authority, it ought also to be spiritually responsible for its own, as the parents are naturally and spiritually. 2. If the

* *The Cath. Chris. Instr.*, DR. CHALLONER, p. 29.

† *Book of Common Prayer*, 1891, p. 247.

Digitized by Google

Church prays for them at baptism, she ought to work for them afterward. 3. The shifting of the population at this day is inimical to care. "Out of sight, out of mind." 4. In the event of the parents' death, the laws of the land give the control of minors into the hands of guardians, which does not legally call for spiritual oversight, and may indeed install a guardian hostile to all religion. 5. Christenings, which are misnomers to-day, thanks to laxity, may often be spelled carousals; but even when they are not so spelled, the parents of the child often have sponsors more for the sake of the possible temporal advantage to the child than anything else.

Here it is well to note that infant baptism is not to be repeated, if reasonable assurance is given of a former correct baptism, baptismal hallucinations, notwithstanding. This is not because of a "*character indelibilis*"* but because of the Divine origin of the Sacrament.†

Adult Baptism. Adult baptism differs from infant baptism in respect to the candidate, and not in respect to the Sacrament. The latter is fixed by the Word. In respect to the person the difference is in age, and the requirement is that he have faith, personal and publicly confessed. In order that he may be able to give a reason for the hope that is in him, he is to be instructed before baptism, in like manner as the one baptized in infancy is instructed for confirmation. He has no sponsors, for he is self-responsible.‡

He is baptized upon the confession of the Lutheran faith whereas the infant is baptized upon the general faith, or Apostle's Creed.

By baptism, the adult is made a member of the Church, all the prerequisites being present. Confirmation of the adult is a subdivision of adult baptism, but is not the actual admissionary rite. Where congregational charters require confirmation, that is legal, and belongs to Cæsar; but confirmation is purely human, though desirable for the adult. Nevertheless, it is scarcely consistent to debar from the Lord's Supper because the Bishop has

* *Cath. Bel.*, DR. BRUNO, p. 82.

† *Book of Concord*, JACOBS, p. 472. SCHMIDT'S *Doct. Theol. of Luth. Church*, ed. 1876, pp. 569–13. *Westminster Conf. of Faith*, Phila., 1896, p 149.

‡ SCHMIDT'S *Doct. Theol. of Luth. Ch.*, pp. 564-9. *Bap. Sys. Exam.*, SEISS, p. 321. DR. FRY'S *Seminary Dictation on Pastoral Theology.*

Digitized by Google

not laid his hands upon the baptized adult,* for that supersedes the Divine institution by a human one. The Episcopal Church excludes from the Lord's Supper until confirmation. A similar objection lies against the probationary system, which follows upon adult baptism;† besides this, there is suggested the tacit fear of defection, the tacit questioning of the power of the Holy Spirit to keep one, and the virtual separation of the visible from the invisible Church.

However, stringency upon adult baptism is necessary, because the candidate thus enters the very life of the Church, as well as its activity in and before the world. All the privileges of Church membership are his when once he becomes a member, and he cannot be deprived of them for insufficient causes; and more than this the male candidate, or member, is a potential officer of the congregation, with full power to influence and affect the Church's life to the extent of his capacity;‡ wherefore care is necessary. It is hardly necessary to mention that adult baptism should occur in the presence of the congregation, at a regular Service, and be administered by the minister.

Emergency Baptism. In this instance, as in the preceding instances, there is no difference in the Sacrament, *per se.* The variations are due to circumstances, and are in unessentials.

Whether the candidate be infant or adult the degree of necessity, the immanence of death, for it is only in such cases we have emergency baptism, controls the externals. The esentials are reducible to a few moments of time, being the element, the application and the use of the institutional words. Upon the occasion of less seriousness more of the prescribed forms are to be used. This applies to infants only, however,

Upon very pressing circumstances, the pastor should officiate, but, if he cannot be gotten promptly enough, then a Christian, or failing a Christian, another person may administer, but always in the proper manner. The baptism should then be reported to the pastor, with the evidence of proper baptism, and he shall make proper record and public statement in confirmation of the act. If the person lives and the baptism be valid, it shall not be repeated; if of doubtful validity, it should be properly administered.

* *Book of Common Prayer*, 1891, p. 257.
† *The Doctrines and Discipline of M. E. Church*, 1880, N. Y., pp. 272–279.
‡ SCHMIDT'S *Doct. Theol. of Luth. Church*, 1876, pp. 552–14, 555.

Digitized by Google

The adult person, near to death, may be baptized if he is sufficiently conscious to understand the act, and to make true and proper confession, however abbreviated it may be. This virtually requires the pastor to officiate.

Dr. Fry* would withhold baptism from a candidate who refused to receive the Lord's Supper, on the ground that he does not apprehend the purpose of the Sacrament; in-as-much as the Lord's Supper should follow adult baptism.

The Catholic Church admits the baptism of blood, for those martyred, and the baptism of desire, or by desire, when the exigencies of the occasion prevent formal baptism, and the person desire it;† it is possible in this Church to receive three indelible characters, through baptism, confirmation and ordination.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

As with baptism, so with the Lord's Supper, there are essentials and unessentials. The essentials are not subject to Christian liberty, but the unessentials may be so. There are also some practices which for the sake of truth and doctrine are to be rejected.

Among the rejected items we place that practice, which depends upon the purely memorial conception, and makes a distinction between the consecration and distribution, previously mentioned. The practice which withholds one element, which carries the Host around,‡ the practice which considers one consecration a permanent one,§ that offers the Sacrament for the dead, or during the absence of the worshippers, or if present not distributing to them; also that the priest makes the Sacrament.

It is not a sacrifice which the priest offers up; it is not medicinal;‖ it is not magical;** it is not to be used to cure diseases, it cannot be partaken spiritually while the Host is offered up.††

Among the non-essentials are the language, English, German; the kind of grain, wheat, rye, barley, rice flour; the shape of the loaf, wafer or loaf, round or square; leavened or unleavened; broken or unbroken; how much is received; genuflections at reception; as to the wine, whether red or white, mixed with water or not; if the bread may be leavened or unleavened, wine

* *Sem. Dict. on Pastoral Theol.*
† *Cath. Bel.*, BRUNO, p. 82. ‡ *Ibid.* 117. § *Ibid.* 115, 116. †† *Ibid.* 122.
‡ SCHMIDT'S *Doct. Theol. of Luth. Ch.*, 547, 591. ‖ *Ibid.* 594. ** *Ibid.* 547.
‖ *The Cath. Chris. Instr.*, CHALLONER, p. 76.

Digitized by Google

may be fermented or unfermented.* But each element should be genuine. Whether the reception be in the hand or directly in the mouth is not essential; but the mouth is to actually receive it one way or the other.† Standing or kneeling is immaterial; though standing seems to imply a feast rather than a fast.‡

In cases of private or sick communion, the Service may be abbreviated to the confession, which also may be abbreviated, and the essentials.§

A rule is given that only the minister may administer this Sacrament;‖ but some take exceptions to this rule. The character or intention of the administrator is not an impediment to validity;** but of course this does not mean that the minister may be anything he pleases.

It is a standing rule that preparatory or confessional Services shall precede the Communion,†† so that members, by proper meditation and preparation may approach the table worthily.‡‡

This Service gives opportunity for self-examination and also for the Church examination through the Council, where this followed, of those who purpose to commune. Gerhard would exclude those who do not examine themselves, those who cannot, or do not discern the Lord's body, among which are those unconscious, those who do not show forth the Lord's death, persistent heretics, notorious sinners, the excommunicated, the possessed, maniacs, demented and infamous persons.§§

The Westminster Confession (p. 152) says that after the consecration the minister is to "take and brake the bread, to take the cup, and . . . . to give both to the communicants; but to none who are not then present in the congregation." Also (p. 154) "Wherefore all ignorant and ungodly persons, as they are unfit to enjoy Communion with Him (the Lord), so they are un-

* *The Doctrines and Discipline of M. E. Church*, 1880, N. Y., p. 284. prescribes unfermented. † *Ibid.* p. 291.

† SCHMIDT'S *Doct. Theol. of Luth. Church*, ed. 1876, p. 582. ‖ *Ibid.* pp. 548, 593, 594. ** *Ibid.* pp. 548–10. §§ *Ibid.* p. 592.

‡ DR. FRY'S *Sem. Dict. on Pastoral Theol.*

§ In *The Doctrines and Discipline of M. E. Ch.*, p. 295, the Elder may omit all but the consecratory prayer, the invitation and the confession, when time is short.

‖ *Liturgics*, HORN, p. 41.

** *Book of Concord*, JACOBS, p. 477. §§ *Ibid.* p. 614.

†† *Church Book.*

‡‡ In *The Doctrines and Discipline of M. E. Church*, p. 287, the pastor confesses for the people.

Digitized by Google

worthy of the Lord's Table, and cannot, without great sin against Christ, while they remain such, partake of these holy mysteries, or be admitted thereto." The Doctrines and Discipline of the M. E. Church, (p. 287) admits those who are penitent, are charitable and in love with neighbors, and purpose to live a new life, following the commandments of God.

The faith of the recipient does not constitute the Sacrament but affects his benefits,* nor does it invalidate it.

The validity of the Communion rests upon the two elements of bread and wine being present and being distributed and received by the participant and the use of the words of institution as given by Christ.†

It follows, then, that only baptized and confirmed or received members, and those in good standing, those who have the mind of Christ respecting the Sacrament, and the worthy, are eligible to it.

The appointed place is the church, the appointed time is a regular meeting, without a general invitation, the preparatory Service is the occasion to settle such matters; and the appointed recipients are those who are worthily prepared.‡

The act of consecration seems to lie in the distribution and reception of the elements in connection with the words of institution.§ The Methodist Episcopal consecration would appear to be found in the consecratory prayer;‖ the Westminster Confession gives no formula direct.**

IRA M. WALLACE.

Morgantown, W. Va.

---

* SCHMIDT'S *Doct. Theol. of the Ev. Luth. Church*, ed. 1876, p. 549. † *Ibid.* pp. 547–8, 587–11. § *Ibid.* pp. 547–8.

† *Biblical Psychology*, DELITZSCH, p. 412. *The Cath. Chris. Instr.*, DR. CHALLONER, N. Y., p. 87. *Cath. Bel.*, DR. BRUNO, pp. 100–105. § *Ibid.* p. 116.

‡ *Liturgics*, HORN, p. 118. † *Ibid.* pp. 41–44, 118.

§ *Elements of Religion*, DR. JACOBS, p. 171. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 166.

‖ *The Doctrines and Discipline of M. E. Church*, p. 289.

** *Westminster Conf. of Faith*, p. 152.

Digitized by Google

LITURGICAL ACCURACY AND SPIRITUALITY.

BEFORE treating of our theme itself it will be profitable, if indeed not absolutely necessary, to consider a few questions which certainly are germane to it, and though the ground suggested by these questions has already been covered by previous papers published in the MEMOIRS of this Association certain phases which have to do directly with the subject in hand must be, if only briefly, touched on.

I. WHY WE HAVE A LITURGY.

The question why we have a Liturgy is not now nearly so pressing as it was a generation ago; for this we are profoundly thankful. The Lutheran Church is a liturgical Church. To quote the striking and eloquent words of one of her sons: "During the last fifty years the Lutheran Church of this country may be said to have been in a steady process of recovery, finding herself again with all the treasures that had been her inheritance since the days of the great Reformation. She had, indeed, wandered away from her Father's house where there was bread enough and to spare. She was begging for bread at the door of strangers, and perishing with hunger. But at last the time came when she said: 'I will arise and go to my Father,—to the Rock from which I was hewn.' And so she returned to the same experience which the reckless and deluded son in the parable made when he came home to the fatted calf, the best robe, the ring and the shoes, the feast and the music. Thus our dear Church, in the time of her gracious revival, returned to the sound, substantial Gospel doctrine of the fathers and to the beautiful robe of her glorious Service." It is true there are still a few prodigals who claim their right to do with the portion of goods that falleth to them as they please, who have no Liturgy or their own substitute for a Liturgy, or a crippled and stunted Liturgy, but their number is surely

Digitized by Google

growing less, and even aliens no longer class the Lutheran Church with the non-liturgical denominations.

The practical unanimity with which, at least the English portion of our Church, has accepted the Common Service, is the strongest argument for the use of a Liturgy in congregational worship. Much more than in the Anglican denomination our use of a common form of Divine Worship is a proof of the fact that our congregations themselves need and want a Liturgy, for the Episcopalian must have his Liturgy because his Church proclaims its universal use as one of her fundamental and irrefragable laws, while the Lutheran must have his Liturgy only because his heart cries out for it; with him it is a matter of personal conviction more than Church-loyalty.

At least this should be so. And yet we can hardly ignore the fact that in some of our congregations the Liturgy owes its place and use more to the sense of loyalty to the Church which has provided it and urges its use than to a real desire and love for it on the part of the congregation. Here then the question "Why have a Liturgy?" is still important and an answer very necessary, and we venture to give an answer though the answer has been given, one would think, often enough.

1. We need and have a Liturgy because we need and must have congregational worship. "The authority of Christ as distinctly requires common prayer as it requires prayer in secret. If He said: 'Thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet,' He also said: 'After this manner pray ye, Our Father Who art in Heaven.' The last as clearly implies a social act as the first implies a solitary act; and, in enjoining the duty, He also gave the form of words to be made use of. . . . The first devotional utterance, therefore, of the disciples, was common prayer." It should be clear to every one that there can be no true congregational worship without words and forms which express not private and personal but public and universal needs, which convey universal gifts.

2. We need and have this particular Liturgy, because it is rooted in the fundamentals of congregational worship found in the true Church of Christ from the days of the Apostles and is an expression of faith as well as of devotion, an assurance of Divine blessing (reception of Divine gifts) as well as an offering of Divine honor in words of praise, prayer and confession.

Digitized by Google

In a series of lectures on "The Prayer Book and the Christian Life" Archdeacon Tiffany says: [In it] "the worshipper voices his prayers and praises in the language of other men and other times. No objection need lie against such worship as archaic and artificial, as a crass conservatism which cramps worship by restricting its expression to an ancient formula, and by depreciating the utterance of present wants in the language of the present hour, for the fundamental wants of human nature and the essential adoration of the heart are the same in all ages. What has once expressed them well has capacity still to utter them. Common worship can only voice the fundamental and, because fundamental, the common wants of men. The special exigency of each individual must find its expression in the closet. 'The heart knoweth its own bitterness, and the stranger intermeddleth not with its joy.' In the congregation we must express what we share in common, one with another. If ours is to be common worship, not individualistic, a common form must fashion it. It cannot depend upon any man's mood, nor express itself through any one man's interpretation. The demand of common worship is for common utterance. Now what common utterance can promise so much completeness as that which is common, not merely to one community or to one age, but which is replete with the aspiration and supplication of all the ages; which is not a modern manufacture but an ancient growth; which condenses into itself the sighing and singing of hearts long since at rest, together with the exaltations and the plaints of those still compassed about with the trials and the joys of this present time? . . . . .

"There was temptation enough at the time of its [the Prayer Book's] formation to cut off altogether from past usages which had been so overladen with abuse. But the liturgical instinct was keen and subtle enough to respond to the vibrant touch and living association of the old forms of devotion. The Reformers did not think they were cutting themselves off from the true life of the past. They were reaffirming it rather by their excision of so much cumbrous and illegitimate overgrowth, which hid the form and perverted the spirit of that past. They felt the more drawn to the heroes of the age of primitive simplicity, in that they were striving to restore that primitive simplicity. They would not make or declare themselves ecclesiastical orphans by

Digitized by Google

rejection of the fathers. The fires of devotion which burned anew in them leaped in response to the enkindling devotions of the olden time. Thus out of that past they drew those matchless forms and set them to our lips, so that, with hearts attuned to the same sanctity of desire, the mouth might speak with the same melody of utterance."

The closing paragraph of this eloquent defense of and tribute to the Liturgy leads us directly to the third point we wish to make and this is really the point of our whole subject:

3. We need and have our Liturgy because its proper use is the surest method of begetting and developing a deep spirituality in the congregation.

If this cannot be demonstrated then every use of liturgical forms, whether accurate or inaccurate, is vain. It will not help the Liturgy to prove that it satisfies the æsthetic sense, that it is art, a thing of beauty and a joy forever. Some men have no æsthetic sense and even its perfect gratification may leave the soul empty and starving. Nor are men saved by art. True we are bidden to worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness; but it is the beauty of HOLINESS. Holiness is the one supreme *desideratum* of worship. It is the one great object of God's work for man, of God's revelation to man. The Church of Jesus Christ is the *Holy* Christian Church, its members are the Communion of *Saints*. To save men not merely from final destruction, from eternal doom, from hell-fire, but to save men from present destruction, from the world and the flesh and the devil, from the bondage of sin and the service of Satan, to convert and regenerate and sanctify them, for this Christ gave His life, for this the Holy Ghost now works in His Church with Word and Sacraments. Only the true faith can make truly holy, but only true holiness proves the faith true. "Sanctify them in Thy Truth"—the Truth must everywhere and always sanctify. Where prayer and preaching and sacraments do not make for holiness there they are perfectly useless, nay even harmful, giving souls a false security as though salvation came *ex opere operatum*.

Now this is precisely the charge which the opponents of a liturgical form of worship have ever made against it. They were satisfied that it hampered the Christian life, they were sure that it made of human hearts the dry, down-trodden ground by the way-side into which no seed could fall where the fragrant flowers

Digitized by Google

and precious fruits of the Spirit could not possibly grow. To them every form, every set order, was a spirit of darkness, to beguile human souls and build up a wall between them and their God. And even among those who whether merely for the sake of conformity and loyalty or because they really desire some form of worship are using the prescribed order of the Common Service, there are not wanting critics who now and again raise a cry of warning against the tendency to emphasize the Liturgy and especially liturgical accuracy in our congregations. Some go so far as to see a positive danger to the pure doctrine of our Church in this liturgical revival, while others deplore the fact that so much zeal and energy, so many words and such a vast quantity of printer's ink should be wasted on a matter which seems to them so insignificant. There might be some truth in this criticism could it be proved that the pure faith once delivered to the saints had ever suffered in a period of liturgical revival and reformation, or that faithful study of and accurate use of true forms of worship had ever produced indifference to the commandments of God, had ever quenched the fire of personal love of and devotion to the Master. But both history and personal experience prove the very opposite. The faithful use of a pure and catholic Liturgy in the Church has ever been the sign of her adherence to the pure and catholic faith, and when her faith was pure her life was pure and the liturgical age was the age of spiritual experience and spiritual growth. In whatever manner we test this statement we will find it true. The departure from pure, Scriptural, Apostolic and catholic forms of worship, the introduction into the Church's Liturgy of impure elements, marked the age of doctrinal error and spiritual decay, while the total abandonment of all liturgical forms marked the age of rationalism. A pure Liturgy could not live in the atmosphere of superstition, nor could it live in the atmosphere of rationalism. These facts are significant. If we make much of our Liturgy, if we form associations for liturgical study and for the propagation of right knowledge in matters liturgical we do it because we know that "thereby the Church universal, with all its pastors and ministers and members, will be preserved in the pure doctrine of God's saving Word, that thereby faith toward God will be strengthened, and charity increased in us toward all mankind." To us the Liturgy is anything but an end in itself, anything but an *opus operatum*, it is

Digitized by Google

and must ever be a means, though withal a holy and mighty one, to the one end we all desire, a firmer hold on the faith once delivered to the saints, life more abounding in the beautiful fruits of the Spirit.

II. WHY INSIST ON LITURGICAL ACCURACY?

Of course the mere arrangement of a Service in the form of responses by pastor and people will not produce these great effects. Where liturgical forms have no meaning, or where their meaning is not intelligible there we have no right to expect spiritual results. St. Paul rightly insists that prayer should be made "with the understanding." It were indeed far better to have no forms at all than mere formality, since the letter killeth while the spirit alone giveth life. Surely it ought not to be necessary at this time to enter again on an exhaustive explanation of the plan and meaning of our Liturgy, of the two fundamental ideas of all true worship, the sacrificial and the sacramental which it so beautifully combines. Yet when one considers the barbarous manner in which the Liturgy is still treated in many quarters, when one witnesses the emasculation it frequently suffers, the way in which its veins are opened and its blood is let and its limbs are amputated, a protest in behalf of a perfect Liturgy, a plea for liturgical accuracy is surely not out of place.

1. Liturgical accuracy is necessary because without it liturgical worship is irrational.

That the form of worship embraced in our Liturgy has little or no meaning to many who hear it and participate in it even where it is perfectly and accurately used is no doubt true. We will refer to the remedy necessary here later on. But where inexcusable ignorance, let us say, of the officiating minister, perpetrates such outrages on the Liturgy as those hinted at above, it is no wonder that the Liturgy has lost all its meaning and is looked upon by the average worshipper as an unmitigated evil, for some reason, inexplicable to his lay-mind, necessary, to be endured as patiently as possible, to be gotten over as quickly as possible, to be heartily hated were the truth known. In such a case forms of worship not only are powerless to touch the heart and sanctify the will but they are dangerously powerful in producing just the opposite—they invite and encourage inattention and irreverence, they help to chill and harden the heart—they

Digitized by Google

simply kill the spirit of devotion. But how different the effect when the perfect Liturgy is perfectly used and where its plan and purpose is perfectly understood. There the worshipper has an experience of God's love, an assurance of his salvation in Christ Jesus. He comes with a heart oppressed by the sense of guilt. He confesses his transgressions to Him Who alone can forgive and Who has solemnly promised to forgive sin. He hears God's own declaration of forgiveness pronounced by God's own representative, His minister of whom God says: He that heareth you heareth Me. Now he can praise God in the beautiful old songs of the Church, now he can ask God for the particular blessing of this particular Service in the Collect for the Day, now he can listen to God's Word read and preached, confess the faith that is in him, join in the petitions of the General Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, now he can gladly offer his gifts, now, above all, he is ready to enter the holy of holies and come to the altar to receive the personal pledge of God's love and mercy to him in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. It is surely now no idle song, that grateful *Nunc Dimittis*, he has indeed seen God's Salvation and can depart in peace with the blessing of the Triune God. Is he not a better man than when he came? Has his spiritual life not been quickened? Was it the sermon only which did it? Was it the Sacrament? Was it the music, heard and sung? Was it not the entire perfect and beautiful Service, his petitions and God's gracious gifts, his praise and God's loving benediction which contributed to this great result? Truly the very accuracy with which every provision of the Liturgy was carried out was necessary in its achievement.

2. Liturgical accuracy demands liturgical knowledge. Not merely knowledge of the right forms of a truly liturgical Service, but knowledge of their history and knowledge of their meaning. One of the most suggestive titles of the papers published by this Association is "A Laity Liturgically Well-informed." Where the Liturgy is not understood we doubt if there will be any strong inclination for its accurate use, and even if there were, its value must certainly be greatly impaired, if not altogether lost.

We cannot blame our people for their lack of interest in the Service, for their listless participation in it when they have but the vaguest idea what it all means. The treasurer of Queen Candace was indeed reading the Scriptures, perhaps merely from

Digitized by Google

a sense of loyalty, perhaps also because he admired their literary style and poetic finish, but he received very little, if any spiritual benefit from that occupation, until Philip came and explained that wonderful revelation to him, and he was very glad too to receive that instruction; he was very frank in the confession of his ignorance. "Understandest thou what thou readest?" said Philip. "How can I, except some man should guide me?" said the honest eunuch. We have no right to blame our congregations for their apathy in matters liturgical when we have never taken the least pains to guide them into their meaning and show them their spiritual significance. There is a text in the Old Testament on which any of our congregations might have a sermon or a series of sermons with great profit and it is this "What mean ye by this Service?" The Service has a meaning; this meaning is lost when the Service is not used accurately, but even liturgical accuracy must be supplemented by liturgical instruction, and if we expect spiritual results from our liturgical worship we must see to it that this instruction be given. This is our reasonable Service.

III. WHAT DO WE MEAN BY LITURGICAL ACCURACY?

Perhaps this question ought to have been met and answered first of all. Though it may seem to answer itself yet the answer is after all not so simple. Opinions may indeed differ widely on this very point. One thing of course is plain: liturgical accuracy demands a perfect and consistent following of the rubrics. Of this we have already spoken. But are the rubrics always so clear that he who runs may read? Is not the spirit and soul of the Service frequently rather quenched than made to live and glow by a mere formal use of the rubrics? Do the rubrics indeed give that complete information which will insure perfect liturgical accuracy? I open my Church Book and find the following instruction given for the beginning of the Main Service: "The Minister, standing before the Altar, shall begin the Service as here followeth, the Congregation all standing." The rubric of the German Book is a little more explicit; it says: "Zu Aufang des Gottesdienstes kann die Gemeinde: 'O heilger Geist kehr bei uns ein,' oder ein ähnliches lied singen. Darauf tritt der Pfarrer vor den Altar. Die Gemeinde erhebt sich und bleibt bis zum Schluss der Collecte stehen." But how is the minister to get to the Altar?

Digitized by Google

Shall he enter the chancel during an organ prelude or choir anthem? Shall he enter alone or with the choir? Shall he announce the hymn which the German rubric says may be sung, or shall it be announced simply by the hymn-board? These may seem small matters, insignificant details. We would not unduly exalt them, yet if liturgical accuracy is important, these things too have a certain importance. Again, what shall be the posture of the minister in the purely sacrificial parts of the Service? The rubric states that he shall be at the altar, but shall he face the congregation or shall he face the altar? Is there any law which settles this question which has, as it seems to us, quite needlessly agitated the minds and hearts of many of us in these days? Certainly there cannot well be two sorts of accuracy. If our method is accurate any other method that differs from it in any way is by reason of that very difference in the point wherein it differs inaccurate. Now we hold that a careful and intelligent study of the Liturgy, even where the rubrics are not as clear as they might be, will result in a uniform practice, in the one form of liturgical accuracy. As the rubrics say nothing of the opening hymn and the manner in which the minister is to enter the chancel we must concede perfect liberty in this point. The Service may begin without a hymn, simply with the Invocation. And yet experience has proved that an opening hymn is of great value in tuning the hearts of the congregation to one melodious harmony, in joining the various individuals of which it is composed into one harmonious whole. Again the solemn entrance of pastor and choir while this hymn is being sung, suggesting as it does the onward march of the Church of Christ, has a symbolical significance which, if properly understood, must prove to be spiritually uplifting. When Christ entered Jerusalem in triumph there was a processional and a recessional. There were the people who went before and the people who followed after, and as they went, before and after, Christ went with them; He was the center of their songs of prayer and praise. No criticism can be properly made, from the liturgical point of view, against this beautiful and salutary practice. It has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting. It is not forbidden by the rubric, it is moreover in entire harmony with the heart and soul of the Liturgy, it has worked and is working a deepening of the spiritual experience of worshippers.

Digitized by Google

But while this particular form of opening and closing the Service is one of those things of which St. Paul says they must be proved and held fast only if they are good, we cannot so judge of the posture of the minister during the Service. It ought to be evident that the very form of the Liturgy has decided that question. Liturgical accuracy demands that the minister should distinguish by his very posture between the sacrificial and the sacramental parts of the Service. "Does the rubric say so?" cries one. "Is it so nominated in the bond? I desire above all to be liturgically accurate, but I must have a plain command to do this thing, else I will never do it." The rubric does clearly intimate that this is the proper and liturgically accurate posture. What does it say? Before the Versicles which introduce the confession of sins it says: "Then, all kneeling or standing, shall be sung or said." Very few of our churches make use of the first form prescribed here; we do not kneel during confession. But if we did, and the rubric says we may, how would the minister kneel?—for they must *all* kneel. Evidently if the minister at this part of the Service is to kneel at the altar, he can only kneel facing the altar. Any other posture would not merely be preposterous, but almost if not quite impossible. Now if the minister, when he kneels in confession, must turn to the Altar, we conclude that the same is meant when he stands. Not only do the very words of the Liturgy here demand it, but the rubric takes it as a matter of course. This, if not a direct command, is at least a broad hint, as to accuracy in posture, which the rubrics give, for every part of the Service, and we claim that the most intelligent use of the Liturgy demands this form, and that spiritual results will follow where it is devoutly and intelligently so used.

It is not our purpose to elaborate here on this question. It has been exhaustively treated before, all objections to the posture here advocated as demanded by the Liturgy have been met and answered. We do not mean to say that no spiritual good can follow where this plain purpose of the Liturgy is ignored, but we must declare that the greatest spiritual good does here attend perfect liturgical accuracy. The writer cannot speak for all, but he can and will speak for himself. He must declare that the Liturgy has meant infinitely more to him, that he has received far greater spiritual uplifting since he understood how it was to be used and used it in that manner. What a comfort it is to the

Digitized by Google

minister that he may become part of the congregation, identified with them during the sacrificial part of the Service. How thankful is he that he may turn his eyes for a moment away from the many eyes that are always watching him and look to Christ and to His Cross. If there is one individual who needs to confess his sins, surely it is the minister. If there is one who needs pardon and peace and strength he is the one. And it is an unspeakably precious time to him when he may shut out the world, shut out the sight even of his congregation with all its distractions and be for a moment the humblest of sinners who dares not even lift up his eyes but smites upon his breast with the confession: Lord have mercy upon me. If the posture of the minister at the Altar shall never help the spirit of devotion in the congregation, yet is it of very great spiritual benefit to their minister. It is the one time in all the Service when he also truly worships. Let him make the most of it. Quench not that fountain whence he turns to lave his guilty soul and slack his spirit's thirst.

It should not be necessary to state that liturgical accuracy demands the most precise and exact fidelity to the very words of the Service. And yet even in so simple a matter the Liturgy is sinned against, and the sin is most frequently committed where one would least expect to find it, in that golden crown of the Liturgy, the Communion Service. Here especially is liturgical accuracy necessary, because the validity of the Sacrament depends on its accurate administration. Here, as elsewhere, but here above all, the Liturgy has a great doctrinal significance, and liturgical accuracy here means doctrinal accuracy. What right or excuse has any one to use his own form of consecrating the elements, or *variæ lectiones*, in administering the Communion? Yet men who are accurate liturgists in every other place are frequently most inaccurate here. The only explanation of this glaring inconsistency seems to be the fact that in certain parts of the Communion Service it is difficult, if indeed not impossible to hold in hand and read from the Order of Service the very words presented. Would it be taxing the brains of some of us too much to spend a half hour in committing to memory those portions of the Service? Liturgical inaccuracy here has indeed no excuse; it is an act of disloyalty to the Church; it always disturbs some one's devotion; it may inadvertently lead to the commission of doctrinal error.

Digitized by Google

But the Service of our Church is a Service of song; the Liturgy is set to music. Can any one doubt that the benefits of the Liturgy are affected by the music in which it is rendered? Surely liturgical accuracy to produce deep and lasting spiritual results must be musically accurate. Again and again the whole effect of our Liturgy has been spoilt because though the words were accurate enough the music to which they were sung was most lamentably inaccurate. We have neither the time, nor the space, nor the ability to discuss here the spiritual power that God has put into music. No one will deny that there is such a power. Music is the atmosphere of the spirit-world, and song the language of Heaven. When the Triune God established the foundations of the world, and laid the cornerstone thereof, the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy, and when John saw the New Jerusalem he heard one constant strain of Heavenly music, the song of Heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of great thunder, and as the voice of harpers harping with their harps, and as the voice of millions of angels and redeemed, singing the song of Moses and the Lamb, swelling the great chorus of triumph in praise of Christ, King of kings and Lord of lords. The Liturgy of Heaven is set to Heaven's own music and of course it must be perfect. Perfect our music on earth can never be, but shall it not be worthy of Him Whose mercy we implore, Whose pardon we receive, Whose praise we utter in our Church Service? The music must fit the Service else it kills all devotion. Not what some godless organist or unspiritual chorister may deem the most fetching musical setting for the Service, but what devout souls with the gift of David have composed and set to these great words is their proper musical garb. May God speed the time when we shall all have the same Church Service with music, as we all have the same Church Service without music now. Perhaps in nothing is liturgical knowledge and accuracy more needed than in the sphere of music. If we have no gift of music, not even an ear for music, let us all the more loyally accept from those who have, their judgment, the results of their efforts, and have and worship with a Liturgy as accurate in its devotional music, as it is in its devotional thoughts and words.

We have tried to show the spiritual power of a Liturgy rightly used. We firmly believe that every minister and every con-

Digitized by Google

gregation who strives for liturgical accuracy is thereby striving for and attaining a deeper spiritual experience. The Holy Spirit, in this too, is guiding them into all truth, teaching them how to pray, blessing them with answer to the prayers He has put into their hearts and upon their lips; thus are they made "lively stones, built up into a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ, a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, that show forth the praise of Him Who hath called them out of darkness into His marvellous light."

H. DOUGLAS SPARTH.

Albany, N. Y.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

VOL. VI.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTRIBUTIVE INFLUENCES NOTED IN THE HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF THE LITURGY.

ANY attempt to trace in a brief paper the influences which have contributed to the formation of our Common Service, and which have left their mark upon it, must of necessity be imperfect. Influences are extremely subtle and might be discovered where least expected, perhaps in an innocent rubric. Then too the influences are so varied in character that it becomes difficult to classify them: some belong to a school, some to an age, some to a person; some arise from doctrinal questions, others from practical or purely æsthetic needs. A further difficulty is met in the possibility that what might seem to be the working-out of an old influence may be an independent return to an old form.

Imperfect as the attempt may be, it may yet be of interest, and perhaps not without value. Our Common Service, it need hardly be mentioned here, is not a modern invention, but the result of a historic development. Into this development have entered many elements from the days of the Apostles—or even earlier—until the present day. Even now modifications in rubrics and rendering, if not in text, are suggested and made, the tracing of which to their sources is most interesting. In such a long period of development we cannot expect to find one direct line of evolution. In a certain sense of course the line is easily traced from the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions through the Roman Mass, Luther's *Formula Missæ* and *Deutsche Messe*, the Kirchenordnungen of the Sixteenth Century to the Common Service. But a glance at comparative tables such as are given in Köstlin's *Geschichte des christlichen Gottesdienstes* will convince any one that these have not evolved one from the other without undergoing many modifications due to local, doctrinal or practical influences. Yet since there is a development of one from the other it would be marvellous indeed if traces were not left of the

Digitized by Google

older as well as of the more recent influences. These traces are of interest as showing the connection of the most modern Service with the whole history of the Church: they are like the scars of battle and of age upon some historic building. They are also of value: by them we can estimate the meaning and importance of those features of the Service marked by them, their permanent value or relative indifference.

Like Christianity itself, Christian worship had two lines of preparation for itself in the ancient world, so that we must reckon with two pre-Christian influences, the Jewish and the Gentile. Of these the Jewish is naturally the more direct; yet in many points the two coincide so nearly that it is difficult, if not altogether impossible, to distinguish them. In modern times there has been a tendency to exaggerate both, in connection with the wider attempt to reduce Christianity either to a Jewish sect or to a Greek philosophy.

JEWISH INFLUENCES.

The Jewish influences may be distributed into two classes, those directly derived from the old Testament Scriptures, and those due to the later Synagogue and Temple worship. To distinguish these is not an easy matter, for many features have been modified in passing through the Synagogue, yet are purely Old Testament contributions.

From the Old Testament comes first of all a group of words retained in their Hebrew form: *Amen*, *Hallelujah*, *Hosanna*.

The *Amen* has its liturgical use in the O. T., but entered the Christian Church from the Synagogue. "From I Cor. 14: 16 it is seen that the use of the Amen as a response in benedictions came into the Christian congregation from the Synagogue, as also that the adoption of the word into Christian usage is connected with this."* For Jew and Christian the Amen is the confirmation and appropriation of the prayer, expressing "the confidence of the hearers that the prayer will be heard."† Of the Amen Ainsworth says: "The Hebrew word is used in the Greek, English and all other languages, to betoken unity of faith and spirit."

* CREMER, *Woerterbuch.*

† MEYER, on *I Cor. 14: 16.*

Digitized by Google

The *Hallelujah* also has its liturgical origin in the O. T. evidenced by the retention of the Hebrew form in the LXX, and its occurrence in Rev. 19: 1, 6. It is first mentioned in Christian liturgies in the Lit. Basil and Chrysost.*

The *Hosanna* is usually derived from Ps. 118: 25.† Hence Luther gives the form *Hosianna* which is found in the Kirchenbuch. The difficulty of deriving the shorter form from the longer, and the change of meaning from the "Save now" of the Psalm to the "Hail" of the N. T., has led Thayer to make the strange suggestion that the Hosanna was not consciously borrowed from the Psalm, but is an independent form.‡ Drews however connects the liturgical use of the Hosanna with the singing of Psalm 118: 25 ff after the paschal meal of the Jews.§

To the O. T. we further owe the Psalms, which appear in various forms in the Service: Versicles, Introits and entire Psalms. The liturgical use of the Psalms is derived from the Temple and Synagogue Services, although "there is no evidence that the entire Psalter was used in the public worship of the Jewish Church."|| As some of the Psalms are evidently written for responsive use we may trace a responsive Service to the O. T., (it certainly is found in the later Jewish Services), as also the participation of the laity in the Service can be traced at least to the Synagogue, in which the lessons were read by members of the congregation and the sermon could be preached by any one capable of edifying the people.

The *Sanctus* we owe to Isaiah 6: 3 and Psalm 118: 26, but its liturgical use comes not from the Jews, but from the Greek Christians. The *Sursum corda* is referred by Brightman to Lam. 3: 41, and the "Let us give thanks to the Lord our God" "reminds us of the prayer used by the Jews at meals, also at the Sabbath meals."¶

The Benediction (Num. 6: 24–26) comes directly from the O. T., although it was used also in the Synagogue, even with the added peculiarity that "in the absence of a priest in the congre-

---

* RIETSCHEL, 366.

† So also RIETSCHEL, 379 and DREWS, PRE³ 11: 552.

‡ HASTINGS, BD, II: 418 f.

§ PRE³ 11: 552.

|| KIRKPATRICK, *Psalms*, XCIX.

¶ RIETSCHEL, 379 cf. 251 ff.

Digitized by Google

gation, the Benediction was not bestowed, but implored by a member of the congregation."*

Some additional details might be referred to Jewish influence. For example, the leader in prayer turns toward the sanctuary, his back to the people, but in blessing the priest faces the people; the attitude of prayer is standing.†

One important point is open to much discussion: whether the institution of the Lord's Supper is connected with the "Cup of Blessing" of the Passover, and so the Jewish influence be seen in that central feature of our Service. Köstlin so maintains with Keim and Seyerlein against Heinrici.‡ Bickell and Skene have even gone so far as to derive the entire liturgy of the later Eucharist from the Passover rite, an attempt characterized by Rietschel as "an artificial construction without every historical basis."§

GREEK INFLUENCE.

Christianity had its origin among the Jews, hence we expect a long list of traces of Jewish influence in its worship. Both Jews and Christians were opposed to Heathenism and would not willingly adopt its forms. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find fewer traces of Greek influence, nor wonder that some of these are debated. But inasmuch as Christianity soon gained a foothold among Gentiles who were unacquainted with Jewish forms, and yet found among Gentile Christians expression of its life in similar forms, we may grant at least the possibility that in spite of the similarity the forms may have an independent origin.

To the Greek language, although it is the Greek of the N. T., we owe at least one expression which, retained in the Kirchenbuch, has fallen out of the Church Book,—the *Kyrie*.

Edwin Hatch, making perhaps a one-sided study of the influences of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church,‖ says that Greek Rhetoric "created the Christian sermon." He refers, however, to the character of the sermon as an oration,

* SCHUERER, *Geschichte*, II, 382.

† For the Jewish Service, cf. SCHUERER, *Geschichte*, 27, and EDERSHEIM, *Life of Jesus*, I, 439 ff.

‡ *Geschichte*, 12.

§ *Liturgik*, 234.

‖ HIBBERT *Lectures*, 1888, p. 113.

Digitized by Google

which has its proto-type as well in the methurgeman's sermon of the Synagogue.*

Most of the Greek influences, those due to the Mysteries and Religious Associations, have been lost in our Service. Hatch finds a survival of them: "In the splendid ceremonial of Eastern and Western worship, in the blaze of lights, in the separation of the central point of the rite from common view, in the procession of torch-bearers chanting their sacred hymns," but rightly says: "The tendency to an elaborate ceremonial which had produced the magnificence of those mysteries and cults, and which had combined with the love of a purer faith and the tendency towards fellowship, was based upon a tendency of human nature which was not crushed by Christianity" (p. 309). In the revival of such tendencies we need not see the influence of Greek Heathenism, human nature will explain them far better. We may say this also of the one trace left of the *arcana disciplina*, especially in German and Church of England Churches, the withdrawal of non-communicants before the Communion Service.

NEW TESTAMENT INFLUENCE.

The New Testament is by far the most important influence pervading the whole Service and modifying the elements received from earlier sources. It furnishes first of all the principles of worship, requiring that it be a worship in spirit and in truth.

From the N. T. we therefore derive that protest against formalism and lip-service which is constantly renewed and needs to be persistently emphasized in connection with even the most perfect liturgy. It may be worthy of note that the N. T. ascribes worship to a charism, so that it was directly a gift of God; and while it would be unreasonable to look for a renewal of the N. T. charisms in the N. T. form, it is most reasonable to expect for all times that those who are set apart to lead the worship should be not only specially prepared, but specially gifted as well.

The N. T. has provided the principles, and also the chief elements of the Service. The reading of Scripture,—of the use of the N. T. writings there is a trace—the singing of Psalms and spiritual songs, the sermon as a living message to men, above all the Lord's Supper and Baptism as sacraments, the former especially as a part of the worship, are directly to be attributed to the

* Cf. EDERSHEIM.

Digitized by Google

N. T. The Lord's Prayer, the *Nunc Dimittis*, the Apostolic Benediction, the *Kyrie*, the Hosanna, the Hallelujah, the Lessons, the Words of Institution, the *Agnus Dei*, are all directly taken from the N. T., while some of the Introits, Responses and Sentences are at least in part so derived, and the Collects, the Declaration of Grace, the *Gloria Patri*, the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the Creed, and even the General Prayer, are based upon N. T. promises and expressions. So extensive is the influence of the N. T. that it can hardly be classed among contributive influences—it is practically the source of our Common Service.

GENTILE CHRISTIANS.

To the influence of Gentile Christians may be traced especially the time for worship—the Sunday, which among the Jewish Christians was celebrated alongside of the Jewish Sabbath, but among Gentile Christians was set in contrast to the Sabbath.

ANCIENT CHURCH.

The Church before the Middle Ages, known as the old Catholic Church, presents a transition period, from the simplicity of the Apostolic Age to the ceremonial richness of the later Catholic Church. It is marked by a growing emphasis upon the office of the minister, due to the claims of Montanism of a revived prophecy. The Bishop becomes a priest, the bearer of an Apostolic grace, the Service partakes of the nature of a sacrifice, and the Service of the Word is simply introductory to the Service of the Sacrament. In the mention of these points we note influences revived in modern liturgical movements. The restriction of absolution and benediction to the ordained minister, the insistence of some that the Service is incomplete without the Communion, the emphasis sometimes laid on the office and acts of the minister, point back to the Old Catholic Church, or may flow from similar opposition to modern Montanistic conceptions of a revived prophecy independent of the organized Church.

Among the elements of the Service derived from the Old Catholic Church we note the Preface to the Communion Service,* the Response, "The Lord be with you," "And with thy spirit," the Apostolic Benediction in connection with the sermon, the *Sanctus*, *Gloria in Excelsis* and Hosanna, the latter two as saluta-

* Found in the *Ethiopian Lit.* and *Apost. Const.* VIII.

Digitized by Google

tion of the invisibly present Lord, the sentence as the form of closing the Service, "Depart in peace,"* the General Prayer.†

To the early Church can also be traced the custom of standing during the reading of the Gospel,‡ the Response *Deo Gratias* after the Lesson,§ the responsive use of the Psalms between the Lessons;‖ the custom of lighting lamps or candles during the reading of the Gospel,¶ and the Bidding Prayer.** In connection with this Bidding Prayer occurs the interjectional use of the *Kyrie* by the congregation, which has its parallel in the "Erhöre uns, lieber Herre Gott" of the Kirchenbuch.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

In attempting to trace the influence of the Catholic Church we meet with many complications. We must note first of all the general influence of Catholicism, then the particular influences, if such can be traced, of Greek and of Roman Catholicism; but each of these has again been influenced by mediæval extra-ecclesiastical affairs and by heresies. The last would be of special interest, could the influences of heresies be traced in detail: we have already seen that the growth of the priestly and sacrificial view of worship was influenced by the Montanist revival of prophecy; later extravagances and errors left similar impress upon the Church.

It may be well first to note the general distinctive characteristic of Catholic worship, and look for traces of its influence in our modern Service. The specifically Catholic element is the "high and excessive estimation of the act of worship itself as such, the conception of the cultus as a service ordained in fixed, objective form by God, and therefore in an objective sense holy."†† Wherever we find a tendency to legalism in the Liturgy or its use, or to the *opus operatum* idea of a service not in spirit and in truth, we have an out-cropping of the Catholic influence,

* *Ethiopian Lit.*

† See the parallel with the General Prayer of the Morning Service in R. M. SMITH, *Sources*, in MEMOIRS of the Lit. Assoc., I, p. 53.

‡ *Apost. Const.*, II, 57.

§ AUGUSTINE, *Sermo*, 60. RIETSCHEL, 299.

‖ Found in TERTULLIAN, *Apost. Const.*, II; AUGUSTINE; RIETSCHEL, 366.

¶ Fourth Cent., JEROME, RIETSCHEL, 139.

** *Apost. Const.*, VIII.

†† KOESTLIN, 58.

Digitized by Google

unless we prefer to lead this also back to its source in human nature. In our Liturgy such worship without the heart is well provided against, but in practice it will always break through, and needs special attention, especially because some perfectly correct and proper forms, e. g., the Baptismal Service, are in themselves liable to such misinterpretation.

To Catholicism is due the tendency to excessive symbolism, carried out with thoroughness in the Greek Church and connected with the separation of the active worship from the congregation. Connected with the *opus operatum* idea this finds its modern result in opposition to the Liturgy, a timidity of the people to take part in the worship, a tendency to see in worship the work of the minister, which has a meaning, but a meaning often but dimly understood. On the other hand it may produce services so elaborate and ceremonials so symbolic that the congregation cannot take part or is unable to appreciate the symbolism. The sacrificial view of worship, though not in the gross form of a bloodless sacrifice, but rather in the form of a meritorious value ascribed to the sacrifices of prayer, praise and thanksgiving, has found large foothold in Protestantism. Even the silence of the Word of God is only partly overcome, for Protestant Churches have to some extent, by substituting orations and lectures for the preaching of the Word, fallen back into a new kind of Catholicism.

The distinction between the Greek and the Roman Catholic worship may be stated thus: The Greek Church sees in its worship a symbolic drama, which is meaningless without a congregation as spectators, although because of its intricacy meaningless also to the congregation: the Roman Church has in its worship a real drama, which needs no spectators.* Protestants are not apt to be tempted to return to the Roman real sacrifice without a congregation, but there is a growing temptation to multiply forms and symbols in the fashion of Greek Catholicism.

GREEK CHURCH.

To the Greek Church we owe the use of the Creed in the regular Service, introduced by Petrus Fullo, Bishop of Antioch (about 471) to combat Eutychianism, by Bishop Timotheus in Constantinople in 511. Again we note the influence of heresy.

* See KOESTLIN, 61 ff.

Digitized by Google

A similar influence is seen in the modification of the *Gloria* from the original "Glory to the Father *in* the Son and the Holy Spirit" to "Glory to the Father *and* the Son and the Holy Spirit," and the addition "As it was in the beginning" etc., in the conflict with Arianism.*

To the Greek Church we owe the development of Church music. "It was especially the Antiochene Church that exerted a decisive influence upon the development of liturgical song. Here it is said that Ignatius (†116) already introduced responsive choirs, that form of holy song which Ambrose transplanted to the Occident."† But antiphonal singing "existed already among the heathen in the arrangements of the Greek chorus. It was practiced with much elaboration of detail in the Psalmody of the Jews, as appears from the account which is given of the Egyptian Therapeuts. Its introduction into the Christian Church, therefore, was a matter of course almost from the beginning."‡

ROMAN CHURCH.

The strongest pre-Reformation influence traceable in the history of the Liturgy is that of the Roman Church, and naturally so, for the Reformation grew up within the Roman Church, and inherited its Service as far as it could be used; and that Roman service was the ripe fruit of a liturgical development which had absorbed much from the provincial liturgies it had superceded. Some of these provincial influences can still be traced, but many have been sacrificed to the uniformity of the Roman Church and can now be traced only to Rome.

Among the peculiarities of the Gallican Liturgy which have modern parallels, we may mention the self-communion of the priest (approved by Luther in the *Formula Missæ*, else where disapproved by him),§ and the reception of the bread into the hand—which is found already in Cyrill of Jerusalem.‖ Special mention is made of the single cup, in distinction from the Arian usage which allowed the king a separate chalice.¶ "In Rome the receiving of the host with the hand was done away already

* RIETSCHEL, 355.

† KOESTLIN, 89.

‡ LIGHTFOOT, *Epistles of Ignatius*, p. 31.

§ Cf. DANIEL, *Cod. Lit.*, II, 88 n.

‖ RIETSCHEL, 287.

¶ *Ibid.* 315 f.

Digitized by Google

in the middle of the sixth century. . . . The change in distribution was very probably influenced by the fear of the easier profanation of the elements."*

Roman influence is to be noted not only in various features derived from the Mass, but in the structure of the Liturgy itself. The threefold distinction of an introductory confessional Service, a Service centering in the Word, and a Service centering in the Sacrament, is clearly derived from the Mass, although each of these parts has undergone great modifications: the introductory Service is now congregational, in the Mass it belongs to the Priest; the Word Service reaches its climax not in the Gospel, but in the sermon. This in spite of the fact that the "Sermon is the application of the Word that is read,"† and that "a number of our Orders provide for this (the sermon) under the direction: 'Explanation of the Gospel.' "‡ In theory the Word of the Gospel is still the climax, in practice the Sermon is that climax. Daniel§ referring to Luther's suggestion that the Sermon precede the Mass, says: "It can rightly be said that the entire worship of our Church would have entered an entirely different way if this opinion of Luther had always and in all places been approved among all. For we should not have been entangled in that pernicious error according to which the Sermon forms not only the chief part of worship, but, that I may so say, the only." The Sacrament is no longer an objective sacrifice, but a Communion.

The following elements of the Common Service are taken from the Roman Mass:

The Invocation, the Versicle (Ps. 121: 2), the *Confiteor* (much modified), the Introit, the *Gloria Patri* in its use as a N. T. crown to the Psalms, the *Kyrie* as a separate prayer, the Collects, the Pericopes (with numerous changes), the Responses: *Glory be to Thee* and *Praise be to Thee* in connection with the Gospel. It is note-worthy that in the Communion Service proper the Common Service has returned back of the Mass and used forms long and widely used in the Christian Church or added newer forms grounded in or taken from Scripture. The *Agnus*

* RIETSCHEL, 391 ff.

† DR. JACOBS, "The Lutheran Liturgies" in *Christian Worship*, p. 167.

‡ DR. JACOBS, *Lutheran Movement*, p. 302.

§ *Cod. Lit.*, p. 85 n.

Digitized by Google

Dei is found already in the Liturgy of St. James in connection with the breaking of the bread, was ordered to be used in the Mass by Pope Sergius (†701); the three-fold repetition can be traced to the twelfth century, with the *miserere nobis* also the third time; the *dona nobis pacem*, according to Innocent III was added to the third member of the *Agnus* in time of great tribulation, but may be connected with the older rite, in which the kiss of peace followed the *Agnus Dei*.*

THE REFORMATION.

The Reformation influence is seen primarily in a return to N. T. principles, and the rejection of the Catholic conception of an *ex opere operato* worship. Hence followed a recasting of the Liturgy into the older form of a congregational Service, its translation into the language of the people, and a modification of the various elements into conformity with Scripture. As the reformation of the Liturgy also fell to Luther, there are a few features traceable to his influence.

LUTHER.

Chief among these is the use of the Aaronitic Benediction, (Num. 6: 24 ff), which "until then had never been in ecclesiastical use except in a peculiar manner in the Mozarabic Liturgy."† Daniel calls it: "*Pulcrum sane ecclesiæ Lutheranæ peculium et verum cultus divini incrementum.*"‡ Of great importance also are the addition of the Church Hymn and the revival of the Sermon. The Hymn has its liturgical position in the *Deutsche Messe* as an opening Hymn. The Creed as a confession of the people and the singing of a Hymn in the intervals of the Distribution also come from Luther, while the Prayer of Thanksgiving after the Communion is his composition. Beyond this Luther's influence was far-reaching, since his liturgical writings developed principles rather than formulated liturgies, and these principles affected the form of other liturgies.

LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

In the Preface to our Common Service we have this statement: "The Rule prescribed by the three General Bodies afore-

* RIETSCHEL, 388.

† *Ibid.* 402.

‡ *Cod. Lit.*, II, 89, n. 5.

Digitized by Google

said, according to which those charged with the preparation of this Service were to be guided, and by which all questions arising were to be decided, was: 'The Common Consent of the pure Lutheran Liturgies of the Sixteenth Century; and, where there is not an entire agreement, the Consent of the largest number of those of greatest weight.' " The consensus of the Sixteenth Century Liturgies is therefore the decisive or normative influence in the formation of our Common Service, through which all the older elements have been transmitted. But new elements have also been added by these Liturgies. For example, the rubric requiring the consecration of additional elements should they be required, the formula of distribution, the *Nunc Dimittis* after the distribution, (which does not belong to the consensus, however), etc.

The use of the Words of Institution as the means of consecration present an interesting history. The indispensableness of the Words of Institution Luther bases on Augustine's saying: "*accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum,*" which Augustine applied to Baptism, and there not to the Words of Institution, but to the Gospel in general.* Luther's first conception was that these words were a declaration to the congregation, a conception found in a number of the Sixteenth Century Liturgies, in the Form. Concord., Chemnitz and Gerhard.† But in the *Form. Missæ*, 1523, and later, Luther conceives of the Words as a benediction or consecration, and as such they have come into the Common Service, just as they are in the Roman Mass. This has necessitated the rubric above mentioned, which the Roman Church, having no danger of exhausting the elements, did not need.

REFORMED CHURCH.

The influence of the Reformed Church has been felt in two ways. It is still in many places very evident in the lack of all liturgy, and an opposition to liturgical forms as savoring of Romanism. But the Reformed influence very early exerted itself upon the Liturgy itself. The Apostles' Creed was substituted for the Nicene first by the Reformed Churches‡ and came into

* DREWS, PRE 5: 411, quoted in RIETSCHEL, 301.

† RIETSCHEL, 433.

‡ ZWINGLI, 1525, but also in DOEBER'S *Messordnung* of the same year.

Digitized by Google

modern liturgies as late as 1821.* "The reading of the Service in a colloquial tone was a species of mutilation and iconoclasm introduced by the Reformed type of theology, and quite on a par with its other vicious attacks upon Ecclesiastical Art."†

To Reformed influence some might be tempted to ascribe the interpretation of the so-called Declaration of Grace as an Absolution, and the use of the General Absolution. But in view of the fact that the Declaration confessedly has the form of an Absolution, and in the Sixteenth Century Liturgies is called an Absolution, and is retained as such in Nürnberg, 1533 by Osiander who there rejects the "Offne Schuld" after the Sermon, there seems good reason to reconsider the matter. Osiander rejects the "Offne Schuld" on the ground that coming immediately after the Sermon it obscures the absolving character of the preached Gospel. The same objection will not hold against the Absolution at the opening of the Service nor against the General Absolution in a special Confessional Service. Or, if the objection be supposed valid, then equal objection could be raised against various repetitions in the Liturgy, in which the same blessing is repeated or the same confession made, as if the first were not valid. On the other hand if the objection to the General Absolution as such holds in one place it holds in all, and the Lutheran Church, which retains the Confession for the sake of the Absolution, has no Absolution in connection with the Confession.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

It would seem most natural that a German people in transferring their Liturgy to the English Language would be strongly influenced by a Church, once considered the English Lutheran Church, which has a Liturgy somewhat similar, and, as Dr. Jacobs has shown, largely derived from Lutheran sources. It is somewhat surprising therefore to find how limited is the influence of the English Book of Common Prayer, being limited virtually to the beautiful translations of the Collects, (where the same Collects occur), and some Collects of English origin.

A question of considerable obscurity will always be the determination of the extent to which the liturgically developed

* *Prussian Agende.*

† ARCHER AND REED, *The Choral Service Book*, p. xix.

Digitized by Google

worship of the Episcopalian Church has influenced the revival of liturgical taste and customs in the American Lutheran Church.

PIETISM.

To the Pietism of Spener's time may be ascribed the end of Private Absolution, although this might with equal correctness be ascribed to corrupt practices connected with the Private Absolution itself. With the cessation of Private Absolution the introduction of General Absolution became necessary. If the form adopted can be traced to Reformed sources, the idea, as we have seen, was found early in the Lutheran Church, and extends beyond it to the Middle Ages.

To Pietism may also be traced the large development of Free Prayer, substituted for the General Prayer, for which room is left in the rubrics of the Common Service only under the heading of "any other suitable Prayer," which would rule out many "free Prayers." If Luther thought it wise to prescribe the "Postille" for the preacher in the *Deutsche Messe* of 1526, "weil der geistreichen Prediger wenig sind," we may certainly approve of the prescribed General Prayer on the ground that there are few "geistreiche Beter."

RATIONALISM.

While there may be evidences of some influences of Rationalism left in our Liturgy, they must be so minute as to have escaped notice. The custom of singing a "Hauptlied" with direct bearing on the sermon—Predigtlied—dates from the Eighteenth Century, and may possibly have come from such influence. Except in a purely formal rendering of the Service, the only loophole for rationalistic influence now lies in the sermon,—and then it must be a sermon out of all harmony with its setting if it can be rationalistic.

AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH.

To the American Lutheran Church as represented in the three General Bodies must be ascribed the production of our Common Service in the English Language. But in preparing the Service no mere translation; nor even a compilation of Sixteenth Century Liturgies sufficed. There are elements which appear in none of the latter. The Offertory (from Ps. 51: 17–19 and Ps.

Digitized by Google

51: 10–12) is new, the suggestion being found in Schöberlein.* The arrangement of the parts of the Service might also reveal independent work on the part of the Committee, which could be discovered only by a detailed comparison with all the materials. The Common Service as a whole, especially in its English form, is due to an American influence, differing as it does from all German Liturgies, especially in the removal of local peculiarities: in its German form it bears as distinctive an American influence, extending even to the new translation of the Collects, made with special reference to their probable use with music.

PRESENT DAY INFLUENCES.

Looking at the liturgical work of to-day we may roughly sum up the influences as follows: There are two forms of critical influence, one of which criticises to reject, the other to reform. A third tendency occupies itself with developing the Liturgy as it is by archæological and historical study of it, and a revival of its musical and æsthetic rendering.

* R. M. SMITH, *Sources*, p. 52.

W. A. LAMBERT.

Saltsburg, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

REMARKS ON SOME OF OUR LITURGICAL CLASSICS.

RECENT studies and discoveries have thrown light on the history of the Lutheran Service. Luther's *Formula Missæ* of 1523, following his treatises of 1516–1523, was evoked by a demand for a revision of the Service. His criticisms on the Mass had been eagerly and widely accepted. In accordance with his teaching the idea that it was a propitiatory sacrifice was rejected, and the demand for a Service in the language of the people, in which fuller instruction in the Word of God should be given, was continually growing. Many had attempted translations of the prayers and offices of the Church, and among these have been preserved "Orders" for the use of those who felt themselves, or actually were, shut out from the Communion but desired to participate in it. Carlstadt had tried to put Luther's principles into practice in 1521. Thomas Muenzer at Alstedt celebrated a German Mass and afterwards published it. Kantz at Nordlingen published the first "Evangelical Mass." Almost of the same date as the *Formula Missæ* is Nigri's German Mass at Strassburg, the startingpoint of the Strassburg type of Service. The principles of the *Formula Missæ* were soon combined with Kantz's work, as in the Pseudo–Bugenhagen of 1524, and Kantz's with Nigri's, and these again with the *Formula Missæ*, at Nuremberg. All this is evidence of the widespread and insistent demand for a reformation of the Service and the provision of a German Mass. Luther's *Formula Missæ* is therefore to be regarded as a compliance with this demand. When it was published, Kantz's and Nigri's Masses were in existence. It professes to tell how the Service was at that time performed at Wittenberg. Nigri's and Bucer's principles were cotemporary with it. It is to be regarded then as in some sense a critique on what had already been undertaken, as well as on the old Mass; and reasons must be found

Digitized by Google

why Luther did not accept and applaud the work already done. On the other hand, he ignored or rejected it.

We are not ready to admit Smend's suggestion that Luther did not accept these attempts at reformation for something like vanity, or the desire to arrogate to himself a sole leadership. Smend himself shows that the Strassburg Orders ran a course of their own in spite of a subsequent influence of the *Formula Missæ*. He is able to detect that influence in several easily distinguishable parts. The Nuremberg Service derived from them certain divergencies from the Strassburg type. This is enough to show that Luther was not wrong in scenting another spirit.

On one point Luther's motive was clear. While he wished for a German Mass, he was afraid that his disciples would go too fast. He wished to retain as much of the old Service as he could in accordance with evangelical principles. He even did not wish to give up the use of the Latin tongue altogether, so far as it might be retained to edification. Bugenhagen shows some annoyance in the letter he wrote complaining of the Kantzian Mass that had been published under his name, because adherents of the forward movement called the Latin Service retained at Wittenberg with German Lections and Sermon no German Mass at all. Luther put a high value on the traditional music of the Service and could not think it possible to use it to literal prose translations. I do not think this ever has been done successfully in the German Churches. To translate a Service of Worship it is not enough to set down the meaning of sentences so that they shall be clear to an attentive mind. This is the fault of the majority of the versions of German Hymns which have been incorporated into our Church Book. It is interesting to note that Dr. Beale Schmucker felt the same hesitation in regard to the Matin and Vesper Services: he doubted whether they were possible without the traditional music and whether the traditional music could be set to any available translation. Every language has a genius of its own; and the genius of a language is the genius of the people whose utterance it is. It is not enough even to transfuse the thoughts into German words and idioms. No, the Word of God must be wrought into the German people and evoked from them again. And the new texts thus born, reproducing the substance of the old, but in a form as unlike the old Latin forms as the German worshipper is unlike the Latin, as

Digitized by Google

Luther was unlike Æneas Sylvius, as the Latin forms were unlike the Greek, must have a musical setting of their own. What would we Americans have done with the Lutheran Service if it had not been Englished for us by centuries of use? And Luther was not far wrong when he put the sacred texts into German rhymes as freely as the forty-sixth Psalm was rendered in Ein' Feste Burg. Of course he missed the mark sometimes, as in *Jesaia dem Propheten das geschah;* but not often. His translations of the Collects show that he alone of the Germans can be ranked with Cranmer for liturgical sensitiveness and command of the language of devotion. Luther revolted from the harsh, inartistic wooden, impossible versions of the first attempts at a German Mass. Of some of the earliest attempts to put the material of worship into German Smend says, "The prayers breathe a glowing mysticism and a deep tremulous longing utters itself in the meditations. Nor is it seldom we perceive a play upon words and notions such as marks a very leisurely worshipper and is far from simplicity." They speak of the *Zarten Fronleichnam und Edlest Blut*, of the *Rosinfarbes Blut*, of Christ. It is interesting to compare their *prose* versions of the *Gloria in Excelsis* which never found a place in German worship, and perhaps occasioned the readiness with which Luther adapted himself to the traditional permission to use or omit the *Gloria in Excelsis* at the will of the minister. Luther and Bugenhagen were impatient of the notion that it was wrong to have the Service in Latin. They were not willing to force upon the people a change that would be felt by every one, and would be offensive to sober people of good taste as well as to those attached to the old Order. At the centre, they also felt all the difficulties besetting their work more than their eager imitators could. Luther therefore would have "put the brakes" on the reform. But he was driven by it. And, finally, the German Mass showed the utmost he was able to accomplish in that time and the way he thought it ought to be done.

Another reason for the rejection of these immature essays at liturgical construction lay in a well-grounded distrust of their principles. Our first impulse on reading the Masses of Muenzer is to admire the courage and taste shown and their evident respect for the ancient form. He was a respectable hymnist. We are told that the musical setting of the parts is not without mer-

Digitized by Google

it. He shows considerable liturgical knowledge. Yet Luther is certainly to be pardoned for suspecting anything from Carlstadt's or Muenzer's hand. We do not know whether he ever gave to these concepts any attention. But lest we may condemn the great reformer for rejecting the work other men were doing, who were eager to work out principles for which he had contended, let us look at Muenzer's Masses more closely.

Here we find traces of a pantheistic mysticism. For instance, in comment on the *Sanctus* Muenzer says: "We sing the *Sanctus* that we may know how a man should be prepared in order to receive the Supper without injury to his soul. He should and must know that God is in him; he must not imagine that He is a thousand miles away from him; but as Heaven and earth is full, full, of God, and as the Father continually begets the Son in us, and the Holy Ghost does nothing else than glorify the Crucified in us." . . . . He seems to make the validity of the Sacrament depend on the faith of the participants. . . . In one place he says that only patient men are worthy of the Saviour of life. . . . Muenzer exhibited his liturgical knowledge in a free combination of materials from many Masses. He practically rejected all the Services for the days of the saints.

The Project of Kantz has many points of divergence from the Order suggested in the *Formula Missæ*. The latter begins with the Introit. The former (and indeed all these early forms) has a Confession of Sins and an Absolution, answering to the *Confiteor* of the Mass. It has been discovered that the pre-Reformation Service at Wittenberg had a *Confiteor*. Luther's omission of this, in spite of these apparently unobjectionable forms, must have been due to an unwillingness to admit anything that savoured of the old distinction between the priest and the other worshippers. Kantz does not retain much of the old Order, while the *Formula Missæ* evidently aims to keep all it can. But in one point Kantz goes further in this direction than Luther would allow. Here we find after the *Sanctus* this prayer of Consecration: "O most Merciful Father, help that this bread and this wine may become and be to us the true Body and the innocent Blood of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, Who on the day before His Passion, etc." After the *Agnus Dei* is said, "O Lord Jesus, Thou eternal Son of the Father, Thou Saviour of the world, Thou true and living God and Man, *redeem us* through this Thy

Digitized by Google

holy Body and rosy (in other editions, *precious*) Blood from all sins." After the Priest receives the Sacrament, he takes a Host in his hand and shows it to the communicants, saying, "See, Beloved, this is indeed the holy Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who suffered bitter death for you. Receive and eat it that it may feed and nourish and keep you unto eternal life." . . With the Cup he says, "See, this is indeed the precious treasure of the costly Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherewith ye are redeemed. Receive it and divide it among yourselves to the washing away of your sins." The *Nunc Dimittis* is added, to be said on bended knee.

It is easy to detect the doctrinal elements which render this immature performance objectionable.

When we come to the Strassburg Masses, we find many questionable features. Nigri's form, as might have been expected, is little more than a translation of the Missal in use in the Latin Service. There is here also an insistence on the idea of our own Offering of our bodies as a living sacrifice. The traditional pericopes are discarded, and hand in hand with this is a gradual abandonment of the Church Year. The disuse of the traditional pericopes was advised by Muenzer also. An early project of a German Mass ascribed to Oecolampadius chooses lections intended to make the Lord's Supper no more than a commemoration of the Death of Christ. When he wrote the *Formula Missæ* Luther was not averse to the change from the traditional pericopes but was not prepared to take the step; but in the interval between then and the composition of the German Mass (1525), he had decided to stand by the old Order. He was also unwilling to give up the celebration of the Feasts of our Lord. As the Strassburg reform proceeded, the Holy Supper was more and more relegated to a second place in the worship of the Congregation, and everything was made secondary to instruction in the Word of God. Luther in his German Mass seems to intimate that those who always are seeking some new thing, are already getting tired of the new Service, and expresses a dread of the use enthusiasts may make of the liberty of teaching it grants them.

The Strassburg scheme had no influence at Wittenberg. But at Nuremberg it had. It came to Nuremberg combined with the proposition of Kantz. It has been said that the Nuremberg

Digitized by Google

reform of the Service belongs to the Strassburg type. Its divergence from the Wittenberg Order was recognized. The Wittenberg Reformers declined a proposition to consult with reference to a uniform Service. It did not seem to them desirable that Christian liberty in such matters should be covered up by uniformity in worship. The separate development at Nuremberg finally made itself felt in the Saxon series of Orders through the Mecklenberg Order of 1552, the Mecklenberg Order of 1540 having been based on *Brandenburg–Nuremberg 1553*. To the earliest Nuremberg Order we owe the *Exhortation* in the Communion Service, probably the composition of Osiander, and to the Orders of which we have been speaking, coming to Nuremberg by way of Strassburg, our *Confession of Sins* and *Declaration of Grace*, and the *Nunc Dimittis*.

It would not be just to say that the German Mass of 1526 represents Luther's final conclusion on the Service. The Wittenberg Order of 1533 is far more ornate, and the Saxon of 1539 is more characteristic of the Normal Lutheran Liturgy.

EDWARD T. HORN.

Reading, Pa.

Digitized by Google

PREACHING AND THE DAY.

Does the Day influence the Sermon, or is the Sermon independent of the Day? Is the Sermon something distinct from the rest of the Service or an integral part, and as such influencing or influenced by the other parts? Is our Worship an harmonious whole or made up of indiscriminate acts having no inter-relation or bearing no effect upon each other? Is this Worship which is such a great part of the Church's life, based on a distinct plan with a definite object in view or simply an outpouring of the momentary emotion, or an expression of personal thought, will or experience? If based on a distinct plan does this leave any imprint on the structure of the Service and does this seek and demand expression?

Let us keep these questions in view and let them guide the consideration of the subject.

There is such a thing as a Lutheran Cultus. The Lutheran Church observes the Ecclesiastical Year. It is the Ecclesiastical Year in which the Cultus thrives. But neither the Cultus nor the Church Year are of distinctly Lutheran manufacture; nor do they date simply from the Reformation era. While there are many things that may be brought forward as marks of the Reformers, as results of their thought and touch, still there is nothing that has not come from a former age, that does not trace its foundation to earliest times and date from the days of the pure and unadulterated orthodox practice. However there is such a thing as a Lutheran standard from which we must consider all matters and a Lutheran point-of-view; but these are nothing more than the standard and view-point of the Early Church. Lutheran Cultus means Christian Cultus. Lutheran practice means Christian practice,—Apostolic, post-Apostolic, Greek or Latin, early or later Roman, or what you will. Therefore any

Digitized by Google

question which we consider, based on our Cultus or Church Life of the present day, must also consider the pure antecedents from which it sprang and which it acknowledges as source and standard. The Lutheran Church is in the hereditary line of the Ages, and whatever they brought forth that is not contrary to the Word of God and pure practice, is hers by hereditary right.

Christian Worship or the Cultus, from the earliest times, whether expressed in simplest form or grandest ceremonial, has always expressed itself *harmoniously*, as a dignified, unified, logically progressing act. The various parts which contributed to the structure, were so arranged that they would either eloquently and pointedly express their messages to, or act as guides for, the people. One step followed the other preparing for, and leading to, the climax, and therein the Office ended. The Apostolic admonition: "Let all things be done decently and in order" (I Cor. 14: 16), as well as the Apostolic examples were faithfully followed;* and this admonition is the essence of all liturgical, structural law and necessarily means *harmony*. This is borne out by the remains of the earliest traces of a Christian Liturgy† and has never been forsaken by the Church through all her centuries of growth even amid innovations and false doctrines.

Christian Church Life was, first of all, a simple outpouring of the momentary emotion, but this very thing was the basis of the structure of the Christian Year. By "momentary emotion" nothing is meant that might convey the slightest suggestion of certain practices of the present day. The expression of the Worship was limited to the one plain, pre-eminent Fact. It was simply the Day and its memory that engaged their thought; and these days were limited to a weekly cycle; and that was their atmosphere. Every Lord's Day brought to them the memorial of the Day of

* NEALE while granting the non-Apostolic authorship of the Early Greek Liturgies, nevertheless claims that they are based on Apostolic forms. "These liturgies," he says, "though not composed by the Apostles whose names they bear, were the legitimate development of their unwritten tradition respecting the Christian Sacrifice, the words probably, in the most important parts, the general tenor in all portions, descending unchanged from the Apostolic authors." *The General Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church.* p 319.

† See Greek Liturgies.—RENAUDOT, *Liturgiarum Orientalium.* 2 ed. 1847. DANIEL, *Codex Liturgicus.* Vol. IV. NEALE AND LITTLEDALE, *The Lits. of St. Mk., St. Jas., etc.* 3 ed. '75. Englished also by NEALE AND LITTLEDALE and in *Ante Nicene Fathers.* Vol. VII.

Digitized by Google

Resurrection; and soon with that, the fourth and sixth days (distinguished as *feria*) assumed the character of memorials of the Suffering, and the Crucifixion and Death of Christ, making in itself a harmony and following a distinct purpose.* Starting from this, but *never* forgetting or forsaking it, the *yearly* recurrence and remembrance of the Great Days and their Facts gradually grew into a set celebration. And as the Lord's Day was the first day observed, weekly, so that Day which celebrated that *Fact* was the first festival to be celebrated annually; but it does not stand alone, any more than did the Lord's Day. The events closely related to it appear with it, making a season of preparation for, and following it with a season wherein its particular spirit was brought home and applied. Then soon another Day and its groups of lesser dependent feasts (a distinction which was made even in earliest times) arises, until after but a few centuries of Church life, we find the Christian Year celebrating the great central Days with their pre- and post-, seasons, observed throughout the Church with greater or less fidelity. This is a matter of simple ecclesiastical history.

The one had its effect upon the other. True, it was but gradual, but nevertheless it was powerful. Hymns† are found celebrating the facts of the Great Days; Homilies by the Early Fathers, setting forth Christian life in the light of these Events; these even before we have any remains of a *complete* Liturgy.‡ The earliest Service-book that has come down to us, the Roman Sacramentary known as the *Leonianum*,§ points very plainly to an harmonious structure and makes ample provision for the changing spirit of the great Seasons, of course in no wise as fully and completely as *later* Sacramentaries. Yet it is interesting to note that this, the oldest of Roman liturgical antiquities, does not

* RIETSCHEL, *Lehrbuch d. Liturgik*, p. 166 § 18.

† On Early Hymns cf. BENNETT, *Christian Archæology*, c. 8, p 272 seq.; AUGUSTI, *Denkwuerdigkeiten*, V, 234; ALT, *Christ. Cultus*, I, 421.

‡ We speak of the Western Section of the Church, since it is the Roman antiquities more particularly, that are to be considered as antecedents to our use.

§ MURATORI, *Liturgia Romana*, Vol. I; published separately by FELTOE, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*. Cambridge Press. '96. PROBST, *Die aeltesten roem, Sacramentarien und Ordines erklaert*, for criticism. The *Gelasianum* is published by WILSON. Oxford Press. '94. And with the Gregorian may also be found in MURATORI, which also compares and gives the others mentioned. The Mozarabic is published by MIGNE. Paris. 1850.

Digitized by Google

limit its variables to one set for a particular Day or occasion; but frequently provides two and even more sets, all of which bear upon the one fact of the Day.

A little later we come upon a group of Sacramentaries, Antiphonaries and Lectionaries, out of which we can construct a complete and detailed structure in which not only the great Days are illuminated by special observances and appointments, but the *feria*, the passage from Lord's Day to Lord's Day, are emphasized and provided for in much the same manner. We speak of the Sacramentaries of Gelasius and Gregory; the Ambrosian, Mozarabic and Gallican Office-books; the Antiphonary ascribed to Gregory* in various forms and others† and various manuscript Lectionaries.‡ The oldest of these MSS goes back as far as the year 700; Probst§ would give the *Gelasianum* an even greater age; and since most of these MSS are not much younger, (the 9th Century at latest), we have a rather high age for a completed fabric.‖ We said these MSS contribute a complete and detailed structure. How is this shown? In the *Propria*¶ and other variables; and the richness and variety as well as aptness, of Introits, Collects, Lections, Antiphons, Graduals, Responsories, Offertories, Collects *ante-*, and *post-*, *nomina*, Prefaces, Post-communions, Hymns, etc., are abundant proof of the fact that the Christian Year did have an effect, and that not a weak one, upon the expression of the Worship, and that those who composed the variables and appointed them did so under this influence. What more natural, than that Feast and Fast centered in the life of

* BERNO AUGIENSIS, (†1045) says in his *de rebus ad miss. pert.*, c. 1: that Gregory was the "*ordinator libri Sacramentarum et Antiphonarum.*"

† RANCKE, *Das Kirchliche Pericopensystem.* p 116 seqq.

‡ *Ibid.* p 126 seqq.

§ PROBST, *D. aelt. Roem. Sac., etc.* p 156 § 34.

‖ RANCKE recognizes it as a complete system by 9th Century. *Pericopensystem.* p. 406. Thesis 14.

¶ It is to be noted that the *completeness* of the *Propria* etc. in these earliest liturgical remains presupposes their use in an *earlier* period. In other words, if a Sacramentary, coming to us from the early part of the 8th Cent. contains full *Propria*, it is not presumptuous to suppose that they were in use the latter part of the 7th Cent. or earlier. They would not necessarily come into use for the first time with, and be a complete and personal work, as a whole, of the one editing the Sacramentary. He, no doubt, drew from older sources. Then it follows that some earlier minds embraced the idea of an harmony in structure, at least, and so expressed it in the dress of the Service.

Digitized by Google

Christ and His teaching, should influence and express itself *in the worship* of that Christ and *about His gift* to His Church, the Sacrament.

The structure of the Service proper has undergone many changes. There seem to have been two Services or a twofold Service in Apostolic times. One a purely preaching Service, missionary and catechetical in its character,—simple yet unified; the other celebrating the Supper. This custom was followed in the early post-Apostolic period; but gradually the two were welded into one, till we find the Chief Service embracing both, the Liturgy of the Mass resulting. Yet while they had become one, the distinction was not lost. There were other, lesser Services, as well on week-days which had as their purpose instruction in the Word; and for the clergy—though attendance on the part of the laity was urged as well—there was the arrangement of the day—the Canonical Hours;* and these again were appointed with reason.†

The earliest liturgical remains while uniting the two, still mark the distinction by dividing the Service into the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium;* but the structure is such that the progress from the one part to the other is not attended with a distinct break but leads up to the Celebration as the final and climacteric act. The first part is the Service of the Word in which the reading of the Word and the preaching‡ by the Bishop or Presbyter appointed by him, is the height reached; the second, the Celebration not separate but as a logical advance. In the first the Word is declared generally; in the second applied indi-

* RIETSCHEL, *Lehrbuch.* p 169. BATTIFOL, *History of the Rom. Breviary.* c. 1—"The Genesis of the Can. Hours."

† "Offer up your prayers in the morning, at the third hour, the sixth, the ninth, the evening and at cock-crowing: in the morning, returning thanks that the Lord has sent you light, that He has brought you past the night and brought on the day; at the third hour, because at that hour the Lord received the sentence of condemnation from Pilate; at the sixth, because at that hour He was crucified; at the ninth, because all things were in commotion at the crucifixion of the Lord, as trembling at the bold attempt of the impious Jews, and not bearing the injury offered to their Lord; in the evening, giving thanks that He has given you the night to rest from the daily labors; at cock-crowing, because that hour brings the good news of the coming on of the day for the work proper for the light." *Cons. Apos.* Bk. VIII, c. 34.

‡ Various passages lead us to suppose that the lection contributed to the text of the sermon.

Digitized by Google

vidually. The first part did not suffer for lack of attention or honor, nor did they fail to appreciate its true and great value. The rich remains of homilies by the Fathers of those days show us how active they were in the preaching of the Word and how they looked upon this as one of the highest acts of worship.

With the growth and introduction of the doctrine of the "Sacrifice of the Mass," the Service is made to feel its effect. It changed the view-point, brought a foreign spirit into the worship, which evinces itself in the ideas of "propitiation" and "merit"; and the edifying of the people is sadly neglected. Yet the structure remains unchanged, becoming more and more settled on the outlines of the past, until in the time of Gregory the Great, it reaches its own climax.

It was Gregory who filled out the earlier structure which had already been enriched by Leo and Gelasius,* providing a complete set of *Propria*, by adding to the treasure of the past. He is the acknowledged father of the present system. In his work the influence of the Church Year is very apparent. It was strong in Gelasian times. It was evident in Leonine times. It shows itself far earlier in no indistinct manner.

What is there to show for this?

To go back all the way—there are a number of passages in the New Testament which speak of the "First Day of the week"—"the Lord's Day"—in such a manner as to allow the supposition that it was observed as a day of special worship.† Following this, in post-Apostolic times, this observance can be recognized as a settled institution,‡ and a stated time for the assembling of the people for worship. In these evidences the character of the Day is also made evident. Almost as old is the observance of the week, in particular the Stational Days,§ reasons being given for this custom as well. As early is the growth of the daily hours

* WALAFRID STRABO, *De Rebus Eccl.* c. 22. M. S. L. 114, p 946, quoted at length in PROBST, *De aelt. Roem. Sac.* p 148, note 2. JOHN THE DEACON, *Life of Gregory*, II, 17, for which see DUCHESNE, *Christian Worship*, p 126, n. 5. For a criticism of these pp see PROBST, p 148 seq. and 301 seq.

† Acts 20: 7; I Cor. 16: 2.

‡ JUSTIN MARTYR, (†166), *Apol.* c, 67. For text see HERING, *Huelfsbuch zur Einfuehrung in d. Lit. Studium.* p. 7. (TERTULLIAN, *de cor. mil.* 3. *Ante N. F.* III, 94, *de fuga. A. N. F.* IV, 125.) PLINY'S Letter (111–113). HERING, p 3. RIETSCHEL, 154 § 17. BINGHAM, Bk. XIII, c, 9, § 1 seq.

§ RIETSCHEL and BINGHAM as above.

Digitized by Google

for prayer, tracing the inception of their observance to Apostolic times* and very early accompanied with the reason for their use.

The Festivals followed; and again we note that the oldest and—almost from the earliest times—the most widely observed is that which celebrates the Fact which marked the observance of the First Day, the *Pascha*. There appear to be evidences of it in Apostolic times. In a few years it is found all over the Church. Soon differences arise over its proper date—as early as 160 A. D. between Polycarp of Smyrna and Anicetus of Rome. Pentecost and the festival season of the inter fifty days come into being soon after. The Feast of the Ascension appears in the 4th Century; that of the Epiphany is found in the Eastern Section at the end of the 3rd. The Nativity in the East is observed earlier still, in the West it is authorized by Julius of Rome (337–352).† And these are mentioned as Festival groups.

In the meantime the Service is developing, becoming a dignified and expressive Ceremonial. Prominent in it is the place the reading of the Word assumes. At first the number of Lections varied, embracing the "Law and the Prophets" with the writings of Evangelists and Apostles;‡ then Old Testament, Epistle and Gospel,§ and then confined to two‖—Epistle and Gospel. And although at first the choice of these lections is dependent upon the will of the Bishop,¶ yet from the earliest times the Festivals and Lessons exerted an influence in this direction which was not resisted. Set Lessons are placed on these Days. There is an appointment in Origen** for the Passiontide, another by Ambrose.†† In Augustine we note the very marked passage wherein he tells of how the congregation in one of the Churches evinced its displeasure when the Passion was read according to St. John instead of that customary according to St. Matthew;‡‡ and that

---

* Acts 3: 1; 2: 46. BINGHAM, XIII, 9, sec. 8. RIETSCHEL, 149. BATTIFOL as above.

† For the Festivals see RIETSCHEL, 172, 19 seq.

‡ *Const. Apos.* VIII, 5. TERT., *de præsc. heret*, 36. For text, RIETSCHEL, 224.

§ *Const. Apos.* II, 57.

‖ AUGUSTINE, *Ser. de Verb. Apos.* 176. "*Apostolum audivimus, . . evangelium audivimus.*"

¶ AUGUSTI, *Denkwuerdigkeiten*, VI, 106. Cf. V, 239, 240.

** ORIGEN, *In Jobum*, lib. I. Cf. AUGUSTI, VI, 111.

†† AMBROSE, *Ap.* 33. Cf. AUGUSTI, VI, 111.

‡‡ See NEBE, *Evang. Perikopen.* I, 6.

Digitized by Google

there were lections that were customary is adduced from a number of passages from the writings of the same Father.* Basil† in one of his homilies on Baptism in Lent, notices the lessons which were read that day and mentions them. Maximus Tauriensis in one of his Epiphany homilies mentions the appointments for that Festival.‡ From the writings of Chrysostom, we gather that the people knew what the Lections would be, since he urges them to read them beforehand.§ And Augustine tells us that "some lessons were so fixed and appropriated to certain times and seasons that no others might be read in their stead;"‖ and mentions in particular, in referring to the Festival of Easter, when for four days successively the Resurrection History is read according to the four Evangelists.¶ On the day of the Lord's Passion, the history of His sufferings was read according to St. Matthew;** and for the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, the Acts of the Apostles were appointed.††

Still more to the point, these Lections were preached upon; and we possess homilies from various sections of the Church on the same texts, which were read for like occasions. Of these Lections not a few remain in use to-day. For example: An homily by Athanasius is based on the Gospel for the Nativity (Lk.II;) one also by Chrysostom, wherein he mentions that the celebration of this Festival, though but lately introduced in their midst, had "long been celebrated from Thrace to Spain."‡‡ There are also five by Ambrose on the same Text. On the Gospel for the Epiphany (Matt. 2: 1–12) there is one by Basil in which he describes the history, and four by Ambrose on the two texts (Matt. 3: 13–17 and John 2: 1–11—the account of the baptism of Christ and the first miracle) used together. On the Palm Sunday Gos-

* AUGUSTI, VI, 108 seq. NEBE, I, 6.

† BASIL, *Hom. 13 de Bap.* and in *Hom. 21 in Lacisis.* BINGHAM, Bk. XIV, 3.

‡ BINGHAM, XIV, 3. MAXIMUS TAURIENSIS, *Hom. 4 in Epiph.* The lessons are: Isa. 60; Matt. 2; John 1.

§ CHRYSOSTOM, in John 11, also 58. M. S. L. 59.

‖ AUGUSTINE, *Expos. in I Joan, in Præfat.* See AUGUSTI, VI, 108–9 for text.

¶ Text given AUGUSTI, VI, 109. AUGUSTINE, *Ser. de Tempore*, 139, 140, 141, 144, 148.

** NEBE, *Evang. Perikopen.* I, 6.

†† AUGUSTINE, Text, *Tract VI in Joan*, in AUGUSTI, VI, 109.

‡‡ This with the fact that the Gospel used was Lk. ii. might allow us to deduce that this was the Lection as widely used.

Digitized by Google

pel, one by Epiphanius who also has one on the Epistle for the Ascension (Acts 1: 1–11). For Pentecost, there is one by Gregory Naz. on Acts 2: 1–13, used in such a manner that there can be no doubt as to its use as the Festival Lection.*

Is it possible to show whether the various Lessons had any relation to each other, or to the Day or Season?

Augustine says in *Ser. 165 de Verb. Apos.*: "We have heard the Apostle, we have heard the Psalm, we have heard the Gospel,—all the Divine lessons *agree*"† (*consonant*). Again he uses the lessons together: "We have heard the first lesson from the Apostle,—then we have sung a Psalm,—after this came the lesson from the Gospel, we will discourse upon these three lessons, as far as time permits."‡ Chrysostom devotes an entire homily to the reason for the use of Acts between Easter and Pentecost.§

We do not adduce these evidences as proof of the existence of a set Lectionary arranged thematically, but we believe there is sufficient evidence here for us to recognize, 1st, that the idea of harmony between Day and Lesson, or Season and Lesson—wider still—the Service, was strong; and 2nd, the beginning, in these appointments, of what very soon after takes the form of the System of Pericopes.

The earliest Lectionary remains bring this very important part of the Service to us in a system of Epistle and Gospel appointments for the entire year, and these are known as Pericopes. A Pericope is a particular portion of Holy Scripture chosen for an especial purpose, considered complete in itself and used as a Service Lection.‖

The most interesting of the antiquities is the so-called "*Comes*" of Jerome (†384), known to us however, in a number of recensions only. In other branches of the Church traces of

---

* Many ancient homilies are given in AUGUSTI, Vols. I–III.

† *Apostolum audivimus, Psalmum audivimus, evangelium audivimus, consonant omnes divinæ lectiones*, quoted from PALMER, *Origines Lit.* Vol. II, 47, note "o." *Ser. 165 de Verb. Apos.* Benedic. ed. V, 796.

‡ *Primam lectionem audivimus Apostoli—Deinde contavimus Psalmum—post haec evangelica lectio. Has tres lectiones, quantum pro tempore possumus, pertractemus. Ser. 176 de Verb. Apos.* V, 839.

§ CHRYSOSTOM, Hom. 63, *Cur in Pente, Acta legantur.* See BINGHAM, Bk. XIV, 3, where a *resume* of the homily is given.

‖ AUGUSTI, *Denkwuerdigkeiten*, VI, 197.

Digitized by Google

other and independent Lectionaries are found. Claudianus Mamercus (c 450) prepared one for the Church at Vienna.* Gennadius† tells of another prepared by Musacus of Marseilles (c 458) and the passage referring to it is of extreme interest because it shows that the opinion then prevalent was that the Lection was not an independent part of the Service but something demanded, and depended upon, by the entire Office. One idea permeated the Service. It was an harmonious, united whole. It further shows these Lections to be the appointed texts for preaching.

Walafrid Strabo‡ (9th Century) believed the Pericopes to have been in use in Apostolic times, but this is chimerical. Binterim§ carries them back to the 3rd Century and agrees with Bona‖ that the system was completed by Jerome.

As proof for this, there exists a "prologue" reputed to have come from the hand of Jerome,¶ which is generally accepted as genuine, and which deals with the subject of the Pericopes. Further, the recensions of the *Comes*, which are all second-hand or more.**

Jerome gives two reasons in his prologue for calling the work the *Comes*. First it carries this name for the *clerus* because it is the companion and *manducator* through the year's Offices. Second, it is to be the guide and adviser for every Service, and since the work (as it is believed) consisted simply of Epistle and Gospel appointments for the various Days, it is easy to see what is meant. He adds still more pointedly: it is to have *caput causamque rationabilem*,†† in mentioning the choice and arrangement of his Lections; and instead of beginning with *Septuagesima* or the *Passion*, it seemed more logical to begin at the beginning. So he breaks with custom and begins with the Vigils of the Nativity—the first definite recognition of an order or sequence in the Church Year. This might be the *caput!* Now the *causa rationabilis*—no Pericope was to be loosely connected with the other. They were to be as members of each other, a living organism, and comprise a rounded-out and harmonious system. Further, everywhere

---

* AUGUSTI, VI, 143. † *Ibid.* Also NEBE, I, 11.

‡ *De reb. eccl.* c, 22. For text see AUGUSTI, VI, 199.

§ BINTERIM, *Denkwuerdigkeiten*, IV, 1, 228–230; 2, 323.

‖ BONA, *de reb. lit.* III, c. 6, p 624. AUGUSTI, VI, 200.

¶ RANCKE, *Pericopensystem.* Appendix, I, cf. p 259. ** *Ibid.* p 126 seqq.

†† On this compare NEBE, I, 8 and RANCKE, 260 seq. Nebe's is the later work.

Digitized by Google

there was to appear a reasonable basis for the choice, why this certain Pericope and not another was used. He observes with great care, the ecclesiastical Season. He tells us he sought: "*singulis festivitatibus, quod aptum vel competens esset, . . quæ lectis præsenti festivitati congruat.*" The rule he laid down for himself seems to have been: "*Omnia secundum tempus esse legenda.*"

This is all the more of interest to us, if the recensions of the Pericopes are connected with Jerome, since these recensions embody our present system to a great degree.*

We have quoted these simply to show that the Ecclesiastical Year influenced a very important part of the liturgical Structure to no slight degree; but now is this influence felt in other parts of the Office, or have the Pericopes any effect on the remainder of the Liturgy?

We have a very ancient use in the Lections and the Lectionary, and a central and weighty point of the Office affected by them. It is the reading of God's Word to His Church. It is put upon the highest plain and observed orderly and systematically and with imposing ceremonial. We have the evidences of *their influence* as well. The Office of the Word is no weak, unclothed, senseless act. From the Word read as centre, in the spirit of the Day or Season, the Service was filled out and equipped with its other variables. Introit precedes it; Collect, Gradual, Responsories, Sequences, Tractates surround it; other variables follow it; and their rich and apt relation are not only proof of the influence but of the harmony in the Structure.

The use of the Introit is carried back to Pope Cœlestin (422–432),† who is supposed to have appointed the one hundred and fifty Psalms to be sung on the various days, and from this time forward they assume special reference to the Day. Leo, the Great (440), adds to and arranges the Psalmody. In 583 Pope Vigilius writing to Bishop Profuturus, sending the Ordinary of the Mass, notifies him that it was customary to add to it in various places *formularies peculiar to the solemnities of the Day.*‡

With reference to the Collects many of which are of great

* The recensions are given with other lectionary antiquities in the Appendices to RANCKE'S *Pericopensystem*. See also Tables in NEBE, I, 102 and cf. WIEGAND, *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen*. 1897. p 17 seq. also 75.

† DUCHESNE, *Christian Worship*, p. 115. Lib. Pontif. 1, 230, 231. RIETSCHEL, 357. ‡ DUCHESNE, p 97.

Digitized by Google

antiquity,* their contents is the greatest proof of their aptness of appointment. Among other reasons given for the use of the term "Collect" is that of Pseudo-alcuin who gives this: "*collecta dictam est a collectione, eo quod ex auctoritate Divinarum Scripturarum sit collecta quæ in ecclesia legantur,*" and Daniel agrees with this.† They are variously described as being "composed generally out of Epistle and Gospel taken together or with some reference to them;" as "the very quintessence of the Gospel;" as "reflecting the spirit of Epistle and Gospel;" and the weekly Collect is looked upon as "the means by which the ordinary Office is continually linked to the Eucharistic."‡

From the earliest times the Lections are accompanied by the singing of Psalms and verses.§ We find the Hallelujah and Gradual variously applied; sung only in seasons of joy, and displaced in Advent and Lent by other selections (Tractates, etc.). Rupert Tuitensis speaking of the Psalms as *Responsorii* says they derived this name from this: "that they answered to the Lessons, being sung immediately after them."‖

Then with Offertories, Prefaces, Post-Communions, Benedictions, all varying with the occasion, there is an abundance of evidence of an influence and the Service made to express it.

We have seen that many homilies remain, based on the lections, dating from the early centuries. Leo the Great leaves many more; a still richer supply descends from Gregory; and we cannot refrain from mentioning the so-called Augustinian "*Sermones de Tempore*," many of which are not Augustinian but of later date—(by some attributed to Cæsarius of Arles); but whoever wrote them used many of these lessons and did not fail at times to bring out a very pointed reference as to their connection with the Day. And we find that these Pericopes are not cast off with the passing of the years, but on the other hand are more and more widely adopted; and when the sermon is conspicuous only by its absence, what is left to do the preaching but these *Propria* and their aptly chosen companions!

---

* PROBST, *Lit. des 4ten Jahrh*, 459, carrying some of the prayers of the Leonianum back to the time of Pope Damasus (366).

† *Cod. Lit.* I, 26.

‡ FREEMAN, *Principles of Divine Service*, I, 144-5; I, 367.

§ Cf. the *Lit. of Chrys.* in this connection.

‖ *De div. off.* I, 15.

Digitized by Google

In the time of Charles, the Great, we enter a period and section of the Church that brings the matter closer home to ourselves. It is well known how his father Pipin and he dispossessed the old Gallican Order and introduced the Roman throughout their domain, and showed his deep interest in the advancement of all matters relating to learning and the Church. He orders in his "*Capitulare Aquisgranense*" c. 4, in the year 801, "*ut omnibus festis et diebus dominicis unus quisque sacerdos evangelium Christe prædicet;*"* and that there should be no excuse or failure to comply with this law, he provides for the issuing of an "*Homiliar*"† in which every Pericope is covered by an homily from one of the Fathers; and later, orders them translated that they may be preached in the *linguam rusticam* and understood by the people; and we note in this that it is not the Lection that is chosen but the homily for the *existing* Lection, and that again in many cases they contain special reference to the spirit of the Day. Allowing this, is to suppose that a consideration of such matters guided the compiler, Paul the Deacon; nor would the spuriousness of such passages militate against this, since it would show that, no matter whose hand had written them, the Day was considered.

From our own liturgical antiquities we know that the Lections of the *Homiliar* of Charles the Great, as published in Luther's time‡ is the basis of his *Kirchen Postille*, and that he followed their Order which varied in some respects from the Roman; which fact accounts for the variations in the two systems at the present day. However there is a strong word to be said in favor of the *Homiliar* in this, that one of the recensions of the *Comes*, that known as the *Pamelian*, based on an 8th–9th Century MS. agrees with it in many places; and this recension is valued very highly by critics.

To come to the Reformation Period. Luther retains the old Lections and though at times, he expresses himself very forcibly against certain appointments, never makes any change. We also read very frequently in the introductions to his *Postilles*, his opin-

* Quoted by NEBE, I, 18.

† Cf. *Ibid.* I, 19 seq.; and in *particular*, WIEGAND, *Das. Hom. K. d Gross.*

‡ RANCKE, 132. The comparison between the editions of the Hom. of Luther's period and the earliest MSS. is made by WIEGAND, p 75, showing a number of divergences.

Digitized by Google

ion as to the purpose or choice of the Lesson for the particular Day.

In *Von Ord. Gottesdienst in d. Gemeyne* (1523)* he writes: "Des Sonntags aber soll solch versamlung für die gantzen gemeine geschen . . . und da selbst wie biss her gewonet Messz und Vesper singen, als dass man zu beider tzeytt predige der gantzen gemeine, des Morgens das *gewolich evangelium*, des Abents die Epistel." The Reformation KOO that do not *appoint* the *Gospel* for Mess Predigten are the exceptions. Kliefoth gives *resumes* of the schedules of many of the Orders, and this is the case, Gospel always appointed.†

Gerber's *History of Ceremonies in Saxony* (in many respects a very remarkable book though instructive) states "die Texte zu unsern Predigten sind die verordneten Evangelia et Episteln, etc."‡

Later Orders reconstructed or newly composed, while leaving the matter more to the choice of the clergy, nevertheless emphasized the old custom, and that this was no slight influence, the many works and Postilles on the old Epistles and Gospels witness.

We have digressed, but with the desire to find, if possible, some evidence of the *appointment* of the Gospel as preaching text for the Chief Service, before we endeavored to touch upon our other question: "Is there any influence exerted by the Gospel: is it the centre of any harmony?"

A quotation from Rupert Tuitensis is pointed here: "*Sanctum evangelium principale est omnium, quæ dicuntur ad missæ officium, sicut enim caput præminent corpori et illi cetera membra subserviunt, sic evangelium toti officio præminet ut omnia, quæ ibi leguntur vel canuntur, intellectuali ratione illi consentiunt.*"§ With this another from Nebe: "Wie kein Punkt unseres Lebens ein Atom ist und am allerwenigsten in dem inneren Leben des Geistes irgend ein Atomismus angenommen werden darf, so müssen auch die Gottesdienste, in welchen das geistliche Leben seine Höhepunkte erreicht, ein ander die Hand bieten und ein lebendiges Ganze bilden Die rothe Faden, welcher alle Gottesdienst Durch-

* DANIEL, *Cod. Lit.* II, 79.

† KLIEFOTH, *Lit. Abhandlungen*, 4, (7) 475.

‡ GERBER, *Kirchen Ceremonien in Sachsen.* (1732) p 406, § 9.

§ *De div. off.* I, 37.

Digitized by Google

läuft und dadurch die einzelnen Perikopen zu einem Systeme an eniander reiht und die heiligen Feiertage zu einen heiligen Cyklus vereinight, ist die Idee des Kirchenjahres. *Die Idee is der regulative Faktor der Perikopen;*"* and if so and the sermons are based on them, the least that could be expected would be, that they should show some little of the spirit of the Day.

For such a conception of the Year and its Lessons we need not come to modern times. Such commentators on the Mass as Sicard of Cremona, Amalarius, the Pseudo-alcuin, Berno v. Reichenau, Micrologus and Durandus all claim it and in connection with various Days and Seasons show it,† and draw on all the *Propria*, especially the Collect, for this purpose. Rancke, to satisfy himself as to the truth or falseness of the idea of an harmony in the *Propria*, in the third Part of his work on the *Pericopensystem* (p 264 seq.) takes up one Day after another examining the *Propria* in detail, comparing Introits, Antiphons and Verses with Collect and Lections and arrives at the conclusion that in many cases a very strong harmony exists and that the *Propria* and variables were chosen to this end. The Lenten Season lends itself to this very readily (p 332 seq.) as do all Festival Periods; but in the long Trinity Season (with but few exceptions when an important Saint's Day is met or at the Embers) he finds very faint traces. Schöberlein however finds this latter cycle very pointed and complete,‡ and covers the entire Year in this manner.

Other moderns have applied the expression of this directly to the work of the Sermon. Among them are Lisco, Strauss, Alt, Matthäus, Werner, Nebe, Schöner.§ There are a number of works in English, though not of our Church, which, while not

* NEBE, I, 31.

† SICARD of Cremona, *Mitrale*, IV. M. S. L. 213, 191. Text in RIETSCHEL, 217. AMALARIUS, in connection with Advent and the Nativity, *de ord. antiph.* c 76. M. S. L. 105, 1312. RIETSCHEL, 214, in his *de off. eccl.* I, 37, speaking of the *Litaneia Maior* AMALARIUS gives the reasons for its celebration and bases them upon the Lections and Prayers of the Mass. On the *Sabbat. vacat.* I, 9. ALCUIN, on *Septuagesima*, *de div. off.* c 9; also AMALARIUS, *de eccl. off.* I, 1. VEN. BEDE sees a deep purpose underlying the number and choice of the Lections for the Ember Days, quoted by RANCKE at length, p 273, notes. AMALARIUS, *de eccl. off.* II, 3, also. RANCKE, 274, n. 3. DURANDUS, *Rationale*, IV, follows Sicard of Cremona.

‡ SCHOEBERLEIN, *Lit. Ausbau.* 295 seq.

§ LISCO, *Kirchenjahr.* STRAUSS, *D. Evan. Kirchenjahr.* ALT, *Christlichen Cultus*, v. II. MATTHAEUS, *D. Evan. Perikopen d. Christlichen Kirchjs.* WER-

Digitized by Google

treating the Church Year thematically, consider the Lections and Collect in the light of their harmony.*

We have tried to show through the citation of these various antiquities, that the development of the Christian Cultus tends to an united and harmonious whole, the mode adopted to express the Church's worship. Then, that this Church in her life endeavored to live so that in her Year she would set before the eyes of her children, all the Facts and Events in the Work of Salvation; not in the form of a dramatic Service, as that of the Greek Church, but in detail living close to the Days and their memory; and gathering therefrom their import, their lessons, anew. Then the endeavor was to show the influence of one on the other, and how it seemed to centralize and crystallize itself in the Lections; the Lections marking the Day and the Days forming the structure of the Year, the Year that brings out the Facts of the Lord's work for the Church and the Church's life in the Lord; then the Lessons would be the connection between the Service and the Year, and with the other variables dependent upon the Lessons for their choice or composition, we have a definite, purposeful relation established. Now if these Lections are what they seem to be, not weak but of such tremendous import; if they have a purpose in view and are not placed there simply because Scripture must be read and these passages seem as good as others, but are the *liturgical* lessons; is the Church faithful that does not attempt to reproduce this experience and gain the riches they hold, and live her life in their light, not an empty and weak one, but one inspired by a Year's harmony and fullness of God and His work and our salvation? And of the many places where this may be, and is, shown; what is better adapted to express this than the Sermon, where the entire harmony may be brought out? Here is the liturgical Gospel, set on such a Day of such a Season. Surely that Day or Season brings its emotions. We do not experience

NER, *D. Logik. d. Christlichen Kirchjs.* SCHOENER, *Das. Evan. Kirchenjahr.* Cf. *Agenda fuer d. Evan. Luth. Gemeinden in russichen Reiche*, (1898) p. 60, for "group Introits" arranged thematically for Trinity Season. Cf. NEBE, Introduction to *Ev. Peri.*

* DOANE, *Mosaics or Harmony of Col. Ep. and Gos.* KYLE, *The Collects*, where in the introduction to each he shows the thought running through the *Propria*. COXE AND WHITEHEAD, *Thoughts on the Service.* Also commentators on the *Book of Common Prayer*, c 9. PROCTOR; EVAN. DANIELL, cf. the sections on "Collects," "Epistles and Gospels."

Digitized by Google

the joy of the Nativity in the Passion Season; and how quickly the deep thoughts and feelings of that Period give place to the Easter spirit. In such atmosphere that Lesson stands, and about it, its Introit with its announcement and answer, its Collect with its crystallized petition, its Responses, its Hymns, etc., all of which *depend upon it.* Then should the Sermon be a stranger to it? What better announcement of the Fact than the Divine Word? What better comment upon it than Word illuminating Word (Introit); than Word echoing Word (Verses, etc.)? What better application of it than in the use of the Prayer? The Sermon is not an independent part of the Service, but has its logical place; and the unfolding of the Service demands its presence. It is part and parcel of the Structure, part of *its* harmony, which would be no more unbroken without it than with it, treating something at odds with the rest of the Service.

If the Church would live her Year, bring it home to her children, there is no half-way position, she must live it to the full. She must live it as she has it with everything capable of expressing it in active service.

Preaching and the Day? Preach the Day and all that illuminates it, and Christ will be preached for He is Centre of it all. The Fathers did not neglect Him when the Service was founded, nor when the Lections were chosen, nor fail to show His Church daily, that "of Him and through Him and unto Him are all things." "To Him be the glory forever! Amen!"

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH.

Easton, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

THE endeavor to form a clear idea of the worship of the first Christians is one which has often been made, with but indifferent success, for all the difficulties which beset the path of the historian of the Apostolic Age show themselves in double measure when we come to the study of one of the small problems that are bound up with the larger ones. Not the smallest of these difficulties is the inability of the investigator to divorce himself from preconceived ideas of what Christian worship in the Apostolic Age ought to have been. When we find that our sources are of the scantiest, that the author of the book of Acts is more intent upon preserving the facts which connect with the growth of the Church and the means by which that growth was brought about, than with the details of the life within the communities that arose in the Roman Empire as a result of the preaching of the new faith; that St. Paul was more concerned in preventing the inroads of false doctrine and false moral ideas among his converts than with the determination of the forms of their congregational life; and that for all information on such subjects as that which is the subject of the present investigation we are dependent upon occasional, often indirect, and seldom more than casual allusions in the New Testament, it becomes evident at once that the tendency of the writer to find one form of worship or another in these earliest days will have the widest scope, and that the most divergent conclusions can be given at least a semblance of probability. We need not bring forward as examples the contrast between the Roman Catholic and Anglican authorities, who seek in everything to justify later practices by Apostolic usage, and the evangelical school, whose attempt is to prove that the Services of the Reformation time in their own Churches conformed to Apostolic precedent, nor between both of these and the modern destructive

Digitized by Google

critics who would relegate not Christian worship itself, but every *form* of Christian worship to a period subsequent to the Apostolic Age; for the same kind of a contrast is observable even between men who occupy essentially the same dogmatical ground, like Th. Harnack* and Kliefoth.† To criticise the results of these researches is, however, not the purpose of this paper, except in so far as it may be necessary to an understanding of the subject which is before us.

The sources with which we have here to deal are, in the main, the writings of the New Testament, though illustrative matter and corroborative evidence for some of the results obtained therefrom may legitimately be drawn from the earliest writing of the post-Apostolic period. The congregations concerning which we have the fullest accounts in the New Testament are those at Jerusalem prior to the death of James, and that at Corinth about twenty years later.‡ Our information concerning the first of these Churches is derived from the early chapters of the book of Acts; concerning the second, from the Epistles to the Corinthians. In both we find definite references to the congregational worship, which seems in the two congregations to bear a very different character. The question therefore arises at once—Are we to regard the procedure in these two instances as types, the one of the Jewish-Christian, the other of the Gentile-Christian worship, and collate with the first the cultic ideas of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of James, with the other the traces of liturgical usage which we find here and there in other Pauline letters, or are we to consider their relationship as one of antecedent and consequent and conceive them as differing as earlier and later forms of the same services? The former is the opinion of Th. Harnack, the latter that of Kliefoth. The present writer would endorse neither view wholly. There can be little doubt that the service of which we can form a fairly consistent picture from I Cor. xi–xiv, was typical for the Pauline congregations and eventually for the Church in the Roman Empire; the setting

* TH. HARNACK, *Der Gemeindegottesdienst im apostolischen und nachapostolischen Zeitalter*. Dorpat. 1854.

† KLIEFOTH, *Ursprungliche Gottesdienstordnung*. Schwerin. 1858. (*Liturgische Abhandl.* 1–5.)

‡ For an admirable presentation of conditions in the latter congregation, v. DOBSCHUETZ, *Die Urchristlichen Gemeinden*. Leipzig. 1902. pp. 17–64.

Digitized by Google

which it gives us for such passages as Eph. iii, 16 and Col. iii, 16, as well as the correspondence of its elements with what we find in the *Didache* and the epistle of Pliny, would seem to establish this fact beyond dispute. Neither can it be denied that the service in Corinth must have had some things in common with the service in Jerusalem, or that Jewish usages were influential in the forms of each. On the other hand the worship of the Corinthian Church contains elements that could not have existed in Jerusalem and other elements which rest upon conceptions Pauline in their origin and never, so far as we know, current in the congregation there. It is therefore fair to treat these two forms of Christian worship as types of Jewish and Gentile Christian congregations, if we also bear in mind that the terms Jewish and Gentile Christian stand simply for phases of development, and are mutually exclusive only in their extreme expressions—in Ebionism and Gnosticism.

Coming more directly to the subject in hand it is necessary, first of all to determine what it was that transpired in the Services at Jerusalem and at Corinth. We begin naturally with the Services in Jerusalem.

A. THE CHURCH IN JERUSALEM.

In Acts ii, 46 we have our first clear reference to stated assemblies of Christians and that verse forms the starting-point for a discussion of the worship of this congregation. It reads as follows:—*"And day by day, continuing stedfastly with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart." From this it is claimed that there were in Jerusalem two distinct assemblies for worship, and that these assemblies were held daily.† The first of them was in the Temple, where they took part in the service, attending especially on the Scripture readings and prayers, but not on the sacrifices, which they conceived to be done away in Christ. The other was held at the house of one or another of the disciples. At this first service they were present in a body

* Quotations are from the Revised English Version.

† KLIEFOTH, *op. cit.* p. 237 ff adduces grounds for the belief that of these assemblies only one was held daily, the other once a week, on Sunday, but his position seems to be untenable. The theory advanced by DREWS, PRE[3] V, 560 ff and RIETSCHEL, *Liturgik*, I, p. 232, that the Lord's Supper was instituted not as a Passover meal, but a Sabbath meal would lend support to this view.

Digitized by Google

(ὁμοθυμαδόν) and must have distinguished themselves from the other attendants on the service by some peculiarities of worship. Moreover we are told expressly (Acts v, 42, comp. v, 20 and iii, 11 ff) that "every day in the Temple and at home, they ceased not to preach and to teach Jesus as the Christ." The question now is:—Were these gatherings in the Temple really Christian services or were they something else, the evidence perhaps that the first Christians regarded themselves still as Jews? Harnack and Kliefoth have expressed the former opinion, and of the two Harnack is the more decided. He maintains that they were public missionary services, concerned with prayer and the teaching of the Word. If the claim could be substantiated it would give us an early and interesting analogy to the "service for edification" in Corinth, the precursor of the later *Missa Catechumenorum*, but unfortunately this very fact seems to have led the historian astray. The ὁμοθυμαδόν alone proves nothing, and though the passages quoted make it clear that the Christians did frequent the Temple, and used it, as Christ had used it, for a place of instruction, thus making it a kind of missionary center, that fact dare not be pressed so far, in the absence of all definite proof, as to make of the devotions of those faithful Jews, who now believed that the Messiah was really come, a distinctly Christian service. It is, on the contrary to the other assembly, that which met "from house to house" that we must look for the distinctly Christian practices.

"They broke bread at home." This was the assembly at which presumably none but Christians were present, in which the idea of the community (κοινωνία) of the brethren found its highest expression. The Greek does not suggest that this meeting was always held in one house, or that all the members were present together, or that each Christian family had its own daily assembly for the breaking of bread. It is to be understood as meaning that the members of the Church assembled in as many private houses as were necessary to accommodate them and there partook together of a common meal. As to the procedure which was followed in these assemblages we are left practically in ignorance. It is true that most historians* see in the passage Acts ii, 42, an

* Among others HARNACK, *l. c.*; KLIEFOTH, *op. cit.*; LECHLER, *Apostolisches Zeitalter*, pp. 284 ff. Cf. also KARL WEIZSAECKER, *Apost. Age*, (Eng. Trans.) II, p. 247.

Digitized by Google

indication of what transpired there. The verse reads thus:—"And they continued stedfastly in the teaching of the Apostles and in fellowship and in the breaking of bread and in the prayers." Here some earlier writers of the last century like Mosheim and Olshausen would find a complete liturgical order. The "teaching of the Apostles" was the preaching of the Word, and included the reading of the Old Testament Scriptures, especially the prophets; the κοινωνία refers to the offerings later known as "collections" (1 Cor. xvi, 1, 2),* or still later as "oblations;" the "breaking of bread" was the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and the whole procedure was accompanied and closed with prayer. It is needless to point out that such an interpretation does violence to the whole context in which the passage stands. What the writer is describing—and the description is highly graphic—is the spirit that pervaded this first congregation of Christian believers and the way in which that spirit found expression. That one form of that expression would inevitably be "liturgical," i. e., would connect with the worship in which all the believers participated, is undeniable, but the terms here used are of the widest interpretation and only two of them—breaking of bread and prayers—can apply directly to the worship of the Church. Nor are we justified in confining the meaning of the κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου to the formal celebration of the Lord's Supper. To be sure it has that meaning in the Pauline Epistles (1 Cor. x, 16; xi, 24), but even then and until the first quarter of the II Century the Lord's Supper was invariably connected with a common meal of the congregation,† and we cannot go far astray in regarding the breaking of bread here mentioned as standing for the whole of the common meal. The idea of the community of the brethren was overwhelmingly strong in these first Christians, and the common meal was the symbol and assertion of that idea. No less strong was their conviction that in this intimate fellowship with one another they were in the enjoyment of an equally intimate fellowship with their risen Lord. Jesus had associated with them as one family, He had compared the blessings of the Kingdom of Heaven with the familiar intercourse of a family meal, more than once after His Resurrection He had made Himself known to them as they sat at meat, and had they not His

* So also KLIEFOTH, *op. cit.*

† The *Agape*—name first found in Jude 12.

Digitized by Google

promise:—"Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them?" Even without the institution of the Lord's Supper they would have had sufficient motive for assembling to the breaking of bread. But that the Lord's Supper was actually celebrated in these assemblies there can be no doubt, though we cannot be sure just how it was regarded. In his *Gottesdienst im ap. Zeitalter*, Th. Harnack maintains that the Christian community saw in it "a new common service of sacrifice in spirit and in truth, for it consisted essentially in the daily repeated, sacramental celebration of the single complete and eternally valid sacrificial death of Jesus Christ, the Crucified, and Risen One, by which every expiatory sacrifice is abolished; and at the same time a spiritual sacrifice of faith and confession, a sacrifice of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving on the part of the congregation." To sustain this view he quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is scarcely necessary to call attention to the fundamental fallacy of an appeal to a writing so much later in date than the primitive Church whose views he is attempting to describe, and to point out the fact that for such a conception of the Lord's Supper there is, in the only source we have for this period, not a shred of evidence.* On the contrary all the evidence seems to contradict the idea that the death of Christ was at this time regarded as a sacrifice at all, and the Lord's Supper could, therefore, be neither a repetition of that sacrifice nor a substitute for the Temple sacrifices. When Peter and Stephen refer to the death of Christ (Acts ii, 23; iii, 13 ff; vii, 52) they use it only as an argument to show the guilt of the Jews in the crucifixion of Him in Whom prophecy was fulfilled, and the resurrection was to them chiefly a vindication of Christ's Messianic claims. When Stephen first raised the question of the necessity of the Temple to the life of true religion his words were the signal for the beginning of a persecution that was the real starting-point for the sharp distinction between Christian and Jew. His opinions were the first-fruits of reflection upon the meaning of the life of Christ. Further reflection, under the guidance of Christ's Spirit, led to the conviction that the Old Covenant had

* The analogy of the death of Christ to the O. T. sacrifices found in Hebrews is the application of the Pauline idea of the Atonement. The view of the Lord's Supper as a repetition of that sacrifice is the root of the Roman doctrine of the Mass, and has no Scriptural warrant.

Digitized by Google

passed away, but in these earliest days, when men were still under the influence of vivid impressions of great events, the full meaning of those events had not dawned upon them, was not fully to dawn until Paul should carry his premises to their conclusion, and even then they involved him in the charge of preaching false doctrine. The most that we can say therefore concerning the meaning that attached to the breaking of bread is that it was 1, an expression of the community (κοινωνία) of the believers; 2, a religious act in which those who participated entered into a real communion with the Risen Saviour; 3, the Lord's Supper, which formed its culmination, was a memorial of the death of Christ, observed according to His command, "This do in remembrance of Me."*

The fact that our sources give us no hint of what transpired at these meetings for the breaking of bread would seem further to indicate that no great importance attached to the following of any prescribed order, though the daily repetition of the common meal would naturally fix an order of some kind at a very early period. The elements of the service must have been, however, prayer, the singing of one or more hymns or Psalms, and, for the Lord's Supper, the repetition of some one of the forms of the Words of Institution.† To these Kliefoth adds, on the basis of Acts v, 42, with which compare Acts vi, 2–4, preaching by the Apostles, and the bringing of offerings for the poor (Acts iv, 32–v, 6). We have no evidence to show when these meetings were held nor is there a trace of any special observance of Sunday though it would naturally have arisen in this time.

There remain three other passages to be noticed before we go on to the discussion of the service as we find it in Corinth. They are Acts i, 15; ii, 1–4; iv, 23 ff. The first refers to the assembly in which Matthias was chosen to fill up the number of the Twelve, the second to the gathering on the Day of Pentecost, the third to the company to which Peter and John returned after their examination before the rulers. They have sometimes been taken to be assemblies for purposes of prayer; we would rather regard them as the ordinary private meetings of the congregation. For the purposes of our investigation the third of them, that of Acts iv, 23 ff, is of special interest because of the prayer of the

* See Explanatory Note at the end of this article.

† On this point, however, see below p. 62.

Digitized by Google

congregation which has been there preserved. We are told that on the return of Peter and John "they lifted up their voice with one accord to God" in the prayer that then follows. Commentators agree that this prayer came to Luke from one of the earliest sources which he used. Even if we admit, however, with Von der Goltz, that this prayer is a literary composition of Luke himself, it would still be of the greatest value to us as a type of the earliest prayers of the Church. It is remarkable rather for its form than its content. The latter is what we might expect from the circumstances in which it was offered, the former is that of the earliest liturgical prayers that have come down to us from the beginning of the post-Apostolic age. It begins with an address to God under the name δεσπότης,* used of God only in this place, in Luke ii, 29 and Rev. vi, 10; in the first instance clearly a liturgical use, in the second possibly so. The address is then enlarged by an ascription of power and the citation of a Psalm which applies to the special circumstances in which the congregation now finds itself. This is followed by a brief petition, and the prayer then ends abruptly without doxology. The form, except for the absence of the doxology, is almost identical with the Collect of the Catholic period. If the words "they lifted up their voice with one accord" are to be taken literally we should be forced to one of two conclusions. Either the congregation was moved by a special inspiration to use the same words at the same time, or, the more natural supposition, this was a fixed prayer, known to the whole congregation and used regularly in its stated assemblies, which they now repeat in unison from memory. The present writer is not inclined to push the literal interpretation quite so far, and prefers to see in this prayer the free utterance of one of the members, praying in the name of the congregation; but even so the passage is highly significant, for it furnishes us with an example of the earliest form which the commom prayer of the Church assumed, derived, possibly, from the Jewish synagogal prayer,† and which has come down to us as a type in the Collects of the Church.

Our survey of the sources has, therefore, brought us only the following positive results. 1. There was a daily assembly

* The regular address in the early Greek Liturgies.

† A comparison with the *Shemoneh Esreh* (for which see SCHUERER, *Hist. of the Jews*, Eng. Trans. Div. II, Vol. II, p. 85 f) is instructive.

Digitized by Google

of the Christians at Jerusalem. 2. This assembly was held privately. 3. It was the occasion of a common meal. 4. The meal was accompanied by prayer, hymns, preaching or teaching and the celebration, in some form, of the Lord's Supper. 5. It was probably the time when the offerings for the poor were made. 6. We have also found a common prayer of the congregation dating from this time.

B. THE LATER DEVELOPMENT IN THE GENTILE CHURCHES.

It is to the Pauline Epistles that we are indebted for our first tolerably clear idea of a Christian service, and our chief source of information is I Cor. xi, 1; xiv, 40. Other passages in the New Testament books, especially in the Revelation, as well as in the *Didache* and other post-Apostolic writings may be used to complete the picture.

I. The day of assembly is no longer every day, as in Jerusalem, but Sunday. Doubtless there were congregations in which the Jewish Sabbath, and perhaps other Jewish festivals were observed,* but their observance was regarded as essential only by the Judaizing opponents of Paul. Definite statements as to the observance of Sunday are infrequent until a comparatively late time, but we have every reason to believe that the custom was not only very old but very general.† In I Cor. xvi, 1, 2 Paul charges the Corinthians to lay by their offerings "on the first day of the week," as has been ordered also in Galatia; we learn from Acts xx, 17 that the Christians in Troas gathered together to break bread also "on the first day of the week;" the day of the vision (Rev. i, 10) is "the Lord's Day," and evidently the regular day of worship; while the Gospel of John (ch. xx, 26) would seem to point to a still earlier beginning, though it may have been only one of the daily meetings of the Twelve at which Christ appeared. These are however the only references in the New Testament to any special observance of the day. The direct testimony of the earliest post-Apostolic period, while sufficiently definite, is also scanty. The *Didache* prescribes "the Lord's Day of the Lord" as the day for coming together; Barnabas testifies (ch. xv), "Wherefore, also, we keep the eighth day;" Ignatius

* See LECHLER, *op. cit.* p. 350.

† On the whole subject see ZAHN, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, p. 160 ff.

Digitized by Google

(*ad Magn.* ix) speaks of "living in the observance of the Lord's Day;" and Justin Martyr (*Ap.* I, ch. 67) describes the service held "on the day called Sunday." This completes the list of our sources, for the reference of Pliny (*ep.* x, 96 to Trajan) usually quoted in this connection, is only to "a (or the) stated day" on which the Christians are wont to meet. That the Day of Resurrection determined the choice of the first day of the week as a special observance is testified by Barnabas, Ignatius and Justin Martyr (cf. also John xx, 26).

II. Assuming, then, that Sunday was the day of meeting, we find that in the period we are discussing there were two services or assemblies held on that day. Pliny, writing about 112 A. D., declares this expressly, and though by the time of Justin Martyr the two have evidently been united, traces of the older custom are to be found in the distinction between the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium* which first appears with Irenæus and Tertullian. With such a definite statement* to guide us, we find in I Cor. xi–xiv not one, but two assemblies described. The one is εἰς τὸ φάγον—"for eating"—the other is for edification. At the former of these services none but Christians, members of the congregation, were present; to the second were admitted not only *idiotai*,† but even unbelievers (I Cor. xiv, 16, 19). The custom of holding both meetings on the same day may well have been Apostolic usage.‡

III. We turn our attention, therefore, first to the service for edification. In I Cor. xiv we have the rules which Paul laid down for the avoidance of abuses in this public service, and from the abuses which he corrects and his manner of correcting them we can form a fairly complete idea of the elements that entered into it.

Before entering upon a discussion of these elements in detail it is first necessary that we should get a conception of the meaning and aim of the service as a whole. At the very outset we notice that there is no desire on the part of the Apostle to limit

* It may be well to quote PLINY'S statement. Christians whom he has caused to be arrested and examined have confessed: "*quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem—quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque cœundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen atque innoxium.*" The full text of the letter is given in MIRBT'S *Quellen*, 2nd ed. No. 12.

† In the Greek mysteries the *idiotai* were the uninitiated.

‡ See HARNACK, LECHLER and especially WEIZSAECKER, II. p. 249 ff.

Digitized by Google

active participation in it to any special individuals, or office-bearers. The women alone are prohibited from taking more than a passive part (I Cor. xiv, 34, cf. I Tim. ii, 12). With this exception the right to share in the proceedings is open to every one. One limitation is recognized, however, by all, and that is the possession of a proper gift or *charisma*. We are too liable to forget how fundamental to the whole life of the early Church the idea of charismatic endowment really was. As a matter of fact there is not a single institution of the first Century that can be thoroughly understood without reference to this idea.* In the passages, Rom. xii, 5–8 and I Cor. xii, 28–31 Paul gives us a sort of catalogue of these *charismata* with an estimate of their comparative value. We learn that he classes as most desirable those which are calculated to make their possessor most useful to the Church. They are first Apostles—i. e. missionaries—then prophets and teachers; then come the more practical gifts, which enable their possessors to work miracles and to heal the sick, then the "helps;" lastly, speaking with tongues and the interpretation of tongues. Those who had these gifts were "spiritual" (I Cor. xii, 37), but the idea that any Christian could be totally ungifted was wholly foreign to Apostolic thought.

Bearing this in mind we understand that the whole public service was the free expression of the powers which the Spirit had bestowed by the way of *charisma* on the members of the congregation. As respects form and content it was a "free service," led by the "gifted," in which those whose gifts did not fit them for active participation were auditors, or responded with the Amen (xiv, 16). The first limitation was, therefore, charismatic, set by the Spirit Himself.

Owing to the very natural but very false idea current in the Corinthian Church, that the greatest gifts were those that were, or seemed to be, the most miraculous—a misconception to which we shall return later—Paul found it necessary to set a second limitation. It lies in the very purpose for which the service is held. "Let all things," he says, "be done unto edifying." The aim of the service is therefore not the making of converts, though

* In his *Kirchenrecht*, I, Leipzig, 1894, SOHM would base the whole organization of the early Church upon this charismatic idea alone. Though we cannot agree with him fully, a mere cursory reading of the book is enough to convince the reader that the importance of this phase of the subject has been too much neglected.

Digitized by Google

it might result in that if an unbeliever should happen to be present (xiv, 24 f), but primarily the building up of the faith of those who were already Christians. The carrying out of this idea renders it necessary that "all things be done decently and in order" (xiv, 26), that certain gifts be subordinated to others which are better calculated to edify the congregation, and that restrictions be put upon the number of those who take part in any given assembly.

It remains for us therefore, to take up the elements given us in ch. xiv, 26 and determine the meaning of the terms there used. The verse reads as follows:—"When ye come together each one hath a psalm, hath a teaching, hath a revelation, hath a tongue, hath an interpretation." The elements are therefore, 1) Psalm, 2) Teaching, 3) Prophecy, 4) Tongues and their Interpretation, and in the absence of any more definite information we may fairly assume that the order would be that here indicated, especially since a comparison with the context shows that this order is not that of their relative importance. We shall now proceed to take them up in detail.

1). *The Psalm.* This term is not to be understood as applying in this passage exclusively, or even primarily, to the canonical Psalms of the Old Testament. That many of the latter were used in the service there can be no doubt, but as it was only the gifted who had the right to bring a Psalm to the assembly, that which he chose for use was considered as chosen and used under the direct influence of the Spirit. It might be a Psalm of David, or one of the so-called Psalms of Solomon, evident traces of which are not uncommon in the early literature, or it might be—and that is what is evidently contemplated here—a free composition of him who used it, in other words a Christian hymn. But the Psalm was from the very beginning closely connected with Christian prayer, so closely that we may regard it almost as a constitutive part of the prayer itself (cf. Acts iv, 23 ff), and this was merely the Christian adaptation of a custom already prevalent in the Jewish synagogue. We may therefore assume that in the verse before us the "Psalm" included also the element of prayer.* It was the prayer with which the service began; it was also the Hymn of the Church.

* The connection of ψαλλείν with προσεύχεσθαι (public prayer) in I Cor. xiv, 15, strengthens the hypothesis.

Digitized by Google

a). The Prayer. In I Cor. xiv, 14 ff there is a clear indication of the mode of prayer in the congregation. One member offered it, in the words which the Spirit put into his mouth, and the rest responded with the Amen (v. 16). So little was this prayer bound to any fixed form of words that it might be the mere ecstatic utterance of one who had the gift of tongues and wholly unintelligible to those who heard it, hence the admonition to pray not only with the spirit but with the understanding also (v. 15). It seems, however, to have contained one element that would early assume a fixed form, and that is the εὐλογία (v. 17), which we take to refer to the doxology with which the prayer began or ended, and which was followed by the Amen of the hearers. Early examples of such doxologies meet us in such passages as I Tim. vi, 16; Rev. i, 6; iv, 8; v, 13; vii, 12; xix, 1. The doxologies, so frequent in the Pauline writings other than that just mentioned, would also be taken up very early into the prayers of the assembly.

A somewhat more developed idea of the common prayer of the Church is found in I Tim. ii, 1–3. Here we find the various kinds of prayers differentiated according to their content, but all prescribed as the solemn duty of the congregation. The possibility of the ecstatic, unintelligible prayer is not contemplated at all, and yet there is no indication that the Apostle is desirous of introducing anything that is new. He is merely insisting upon the observance of an already established custom. Moreover the objects of the prayers are defined. It is to be prayer "for all men, for kings and all that are in high places."

It is quite obvious that such prayers as are here described would inevitably assume a fixed form, or at least develop a comparatively constant type. The gradual disappearance of the special charismata with the corresponding tendency to delegate the spokesmanship for the congregation to a small number of men, the ever-present contrast between the needs of the entire congregation and those of the individual worshipper, the relative sameness of the former in all times and under all circumstances,—all these things would tend toward a fixation of the prayer in respect both of form and content, and we should be justified in assuming that such a fixation actually occurred even though we should be without concrete evidence to support the assumption. Fortunately, however, we are not left to mere conjecture. In the

Digitized by Google

concluding chapters (59–61) of the first Epistle of Clement we have an example of such a prayer dating from the last decade of the first Century (A. D. 96 circ.) Whether it is the reproduction of a fixed formula used in the Roman (or Corinthian) Church, or an original composition on the same general lines as the free prayers in use in those churches, or one of them, is a matter of controversy which will probably never be settled.* It is at most a matter of merely secondary importance. We gain from it in either case a clear idea of how the earliest common prayers were constructed and what they contained. The prayer consists of 1) a solemn address to God, with ascriptions of holiness, power and wisdom; 2) petitions for help in tribulation and distress; 3) for forgiveness of sin and the common good; 4) supplication for the welfare of the state and those in authority; 5) a doxology. The limits of this article unfortunately prevent the insertion of the prayer, and preclude more extended discussion.

One more point calls for our attention, however, before closing this brief and sketchy survey of the public prayer. There is no direct evidence, and little of any other kind, to show that the Lord's Prayer was used in the worship of the Church in the Apostolic Age, either in the public service for edification or the private assembly for Agape and Communion. In fact the whole literature of the ancient Church is singularly barren of clear allusions to the Lord's Prayer. Von der Goltz† finds none earlier than Polycarp,‡ if we are to except the phrase, "Abba, Father," in Rom. viii, 15; Gal. iv, 6.§ Despite this fact we may be sure that it was known and used by all Christians in accordance with the command of the Lord, Matt. vi, 9; Luke xi, 2. That is not to say, however, that it was used by the congregation. We would naturally expect to find it in the Eucharistic service, but the first post-Apostolic Communion order that we have—that of the *Didache*—makes no mention of it, while, on the other hand, it is there prescribed as the form for the private devotions of the

* For arguments on the one side see LIGHTFOOT, *Clement of Rome*, Vol. I, ed. 2, 1890, p. 382 ff; on the other see VON DER GOLTZ, *Das Gebet in der aeltesten Christenheit*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 192 ff. Both give full analyses of the prayer itself.

† *Op. cit.* p. 189.

‡ *Ad Phil.* vi. 6.

§ CHASE'S list of N. T. references to the Lord's Prayer, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*, 1891, is artificial and unconvincing.

Digitized by Google

Christians, by whom it is to be repeated thrice daily (*Did.* viii). This fact combined with the absence of all traces of the prayer in the Epistles and the Revelation, would lead to the conclusion that it came into the service after the writing of the *Didache*—approximately the middle of the second Century.*

b). The Hymns. In Eph. v, 19 and Col. iii, 10 "hymns and spiritual songs" are mentioned along with "psalms." We have seen that the singing of hymns or psalms was probably a part of the private worship at Jerusalem; that the antiphonal singing of hymns was customary at the Christian meetings in the beginning of the second Century is witnessed by Pliny (*carmen Christo . . . sibi invicem dicere*). As in the case of the prayers these hymns might be the free utterances of the "spiritual," and might even be "in a tongue," but they were not necessarily so. On the contrary the tendency to fixed forms, either canonical psalms or Christian hymns, fixed by tradition and familiar to the whole congregation, would be even stronger than in the case of the prayers, for a hymn, to be a hymn of the congregation, would require the use of words in which those present could join, and the passive participation by the response of Amen would not long be deemed sufficient.

Of such Christian hymns the New Testament offers us a number of examples. The *Magnificat*, the *Benedictus* and the *Nunc Dimittis* are typical, and the *Gloria in Excelsis* (Luke ii, 14) was doubtless the basis of later hymns. There is no reason for dissenting from the opinion of the many scholars who find in I Tim. iii, 16 a fragment of a very ancient hymn to Christ, current in the Church when that Epistle was written, and the book of Revelation is especially rich in material of this kind.† The "new song" of Rev. v, is one of our best examples. If we assume that the Heavenly service of the prophetic vision bore at least some resemblance to the earthly services with which the prophet was familiar, it gains a still greater significance as showing the manner in which the hymns were used in those services. We will run the risk of overstepping our limits and insert the hymn in full.

It begins with the song of the elders (ch. iv, 11):—

* The antiquity of the variant readings seem to be the only argument which would militate against this view, but these may be due to other than liturgical causes.

† TH. HARNACK calls it the "psalm-book of the N. T."

Digitized by Google

Worthy art Thou, our Lord and our God,
To receive the glory and the honor and the power;
For Thou didst create all things,
And because of Thy will they were, and were created.

Next the four cherubim take up the hymn, singing with the elders (v, 9–10):—

Worthy art Thou to take the book
And to open the seals thereof:
For Thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with Thy blood
Of every tribe and tongue and people and nation,
And madest them to be unto our God a kingdom and priests.
And they shall reign upon the earth.

To which those in Heaven respond (v. 12):—

Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain,
To receive the power and riches and wisdom and might and honor
and glory and blessing.

Then all God's creatures take up the refrain and sing (v. 13):—

Unto Him that sitteth on the throne,
And unto the Lamb,
The blessing and the honor and the glory and the dominion
Unto the ages of the ages!

Similar to this are the "song of Moses and the Lamb" (ch. xv. 3 ff), and the "nuptial ode of the Lamb" (ch. xix, 1–8).

It is unfortunate that so few examples of the hymns of the second and third Centuries have come down to us. There is but one extant (from the writings of Clement of Alexandria,)* though there is considerable evidence of their existence. Those to which we have referred are enough to show what the nature of these hymns was. In their structure they were Hebraic and must have been chanted, not sung to metrically arranged melodies; that the rendering was antiphonal is indicated by the letter of Pliny already quoted and the hymn just given; their terminology is largely drawn from Jewish sources, and their prevailing tone is that of joyful and hopeful thanksgiving.†

2). *The Teaching*. After prayer and hymn follows a didactic address delivered by one of the members of the congregation who was endowed with the gift of teaching. It was a sermon for the edification of the congregation and not as in the case of the various speeches that are preserved in Acts, a missionary

* Given by VON DER GOLTZ, p. 138.

† For a discussion of this whole subject see WEIZSAECKER, II, pp. 259 ff; VON DER GOLTZ, 134 ff, 183 ff.

Digitized by Google

address, and it included both the "word of knowledge" and the "word of wisdom" (I Cor. xii, 8).*

The instruction was probably, after the analogy of the sermon in the synagogue, preceded by the reading of a passage of Old Testament Scripture. To be sure we find in the New Testament no express statement to that effect. There is a reference to this public reading in I Tim. iv, 13, where we find ἀνάγνωσις enjoined along with "exhortation and teaching." This word passed later into the liturgical language of the Church as the regular term for the public Scripture-reading. It occurs in two other places in the New Testament, each time referring to the reading of the Law in the Jewish service (II Cor. iii, 14; Acts xiii, 15). Further evidence for the custom is furnished by the extensive use that Paul makes of the Old Testament in Epistles to congregations that must have been composed largely of Gentiles. He presupposes a knowledge which could scarcely have been theirs unless they had been accustomed to hearing the Old Testament read (e. g., Gal. iii, 6 ff; iv, 21 ff; cf. II Cor. 7 ff; Rom. iv).

It was no doubt in, or in connection with, this teaching that the facts of Christ's life were narrated and His words applied to the lives and circumstances of the hearers. That in the time of the Epistles to the Corinthians these narrations were already based upon a body of tradition is clear from I Cor. xi, 23; xv, 3. When this tradition ceased to be transmitted orally and assumed a written form is uncertain, but all the evidence seems to point to a time earlier than the writings of Paul. The time when the written Gospels came to be taken up in the public service for regular reading alongside the Old Testament is equally uncertain.

The reading of Apostolic letters in the congregations to which they were addressed (I Thess. v, 27; II Cor. i, 13) and the exchange of letters among congregations (Col. iv, 16), was the origin of the reading of the Epistles in the service. That they were regularly read at the stated meetings in the Apostolic Age is improbable, though under circumstances that rendered it advisable to remind the congregation of the Apostolic teaching it may have occurred. The emphasis laid upon the Apostolic origin of the Church's doctrines in the fight against heresy, that began with the closing years of the first Century, was a powerful

* For a discussion of the terms, see WEIZSAECKER, II, pp. 262 ff, and commentaries *in loc.*

Digitized by Google

motive for the regular use of the Epistles in the services, and one of the chief causes that led to the recognition of their authority as Scripture.*

3). *The Prophecy.* Upon the teaching follows now the "prophecy," the exact nature of which it is difficult to determine. Prophets were men who were endowed with a *charisma* which made them the most highly honored members of the congregation. They held in the Church the second place after the apostles who were not properly members of the congregation at all, but wandering missionaries who became the congregation's guests from time to time. In Rev. xviii, 20, prophets and apostles are named together and in Eph. ii, 20 they are spoken of as forming with the apostles the foundation of the Church of which Christ is the chief corner-stone. In I Cor. xiv, 1, Paul speaks of this gift as the one which the Christian should desire above all others. The words of the prophet came to him by "revelation." This does not mean that he was so carried away by a religious institution as to lose control of his intellect and become the mere mouthpiece of the Spirit. On the contrary he spoke with all his faculties under full control, for the spirits of the prophets were subject to the prophets (I Cor. xiv, 32). The content of the prophecy was, under normal conditions, "edification, and comfort and consolation" (I Cor. xiv, 3) and was calculated to work the conversion of an unbeliever by laying bare the secrets of his heart (I Cor. xiv, 24). It may therefore be described as the subjective side of the "teaching" above mentioned. That was, however, only one manifestation of the prophetic gift. It might express itself in prayer, in fact the right to pray "as much as he will" is reserved to the prophet even as late as the *Didache*. Again the prophecy might take the form of a prediction of future events (Acts xxi, 10, cf. ch. xx, 23) or it might be "apocalyptic" in character dealing with the last things. The book of Revelation is an example of this last kind of prophecy.

The very fact that the prophet spoke under the direct influence of the Spirit inevitably opened the door for the entrance of many abuses. It was therefore necessary to discriminate among the alleged prophetic utterances (I Thess. v, 21, cf. I Cor. xiv,

* The discussion of this subject belongs to the history of the N. T. Canon. For literature see HASTINGS, *Bible Dict.* Vol. III, p. 542 f and RE[3] Vol. IV, p. 768.

Digitized by Google

29) and Paul gave a general rule for the testing of a prophecy in I Cor. xii, 3; cf. I John iv, 1–6. In the *Didache* (ch. xi, 7–12) further tests are prescribed for determining the genuineness of the prophetic calling of those who speak "in the Spirit," and the nature of the tests that are to be applied shows that the Church had had unfortunate experiences with men who professed to possess the gift. Even in the service at Corinth abuses connected with the prophetic speeches had sprung up and Paul found it necessary to limit the number of those who should participate in any one service to two or, at the most, three, who were to speak in the order in which the Spirit moved them* (I Cor. xiv, 29).

4). *Speaking with Tongues.* The greatest confusion had arisen in Corinth because of the over-estimate that the Church in that city had put upon the possession of the gift of tongues. Among all the *charismata* this was the one that had the greatest appearance of supernatural origin, and, naturally enough for people of their time, still under the influence of heathen ideas, it was the most coveted. As to the exact nature of this, in many ways the most remarkable phenomenon of the Apostolic Age, there has been much dispute. This is neither the time nor the place for an exhaustive discussion of the subject, for what concerns us chiefly is the part which the speaking with tongues had in the public service. From the comments and directions which Paul gives in I Cor. we gather that it consisted in the ecstatic utterance, under intense religious excitement, of broken sentences, or parts of sentences, unintelligible or half-intelligible, which needed the services of an interpreter to make their sense clear to those who heard them. This fact combined with the loss of self-control which necessarily accompanied the manifestations of this gift, made them worthless for purposes of edification and would lead an unbeliever to the conclusion that they who spoke were mad (I Cor. xiv, 23 f). Paul regarded this ecstatic speech as a real manifestation of the power of the Spirit and claimed that he had this gift himself in greater measure than others (I Cor. xiv, 13), although he puts it last in his list of *charismata* (I Cor. xii, 28) and held it so lightly that he preferred to speak five words with his understanding rather than ten thousand words in a tongue (v. 19). He does not wish, therefore, to banish the speaking of

* The services of the Society of Friends suggest themselves as a possible parallel to this part of the Apostolic service.

Digitized by Google

tongues from the assembly, that would be to "quench the Spirit" and contrary to his express principle (I Thess. v, 19), but to make them subservient to the purpose for which the assembly is held, i. e., to edification. With this end in view he limits the number of those who are to speak to two or at most three, as in the case of the prophets, but with the additional provision that they are only to speak if one is present who can interpret their utterances, and thus give them a practical value (I Cor. xiv, 27–29). On this condition he allows it to retain a place in the worship of the Church.

5). *Conclusions.* Our results may therefore be summed up as follows: We have found two services held on Sundays. The first of them is a service for the edification of the congregation and comprises:—a) Prayer; b) Hymns; c) Teaching, combined with Scripture-reading; d) Prophecy, probably hortatory or admonitory preaching; e) speaking with tongues and interpretation of tongues. Of these elements the last, belonging, as it did, to the first enthusiastic period of faith, would soon fall away of itself; in fact it is doubtful whether it could survive within the Apostles' limitations. The "prophecy" would eventually combine with the "teaching" and form the sermon, and the reading of the Scripture would soon make for itself an independent place.

IV. The Meeting for the Lord's Supper. *Rursusque cœunt ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium.* So Pliny briefly describes the second Sunday meeting of the Christians in Bythinia. It was a meeting in every way distinct from the one just characterized, and held later in the day, possibly in the evening, which would often be the most convenient time and would always seem the most appropriate, for it commemorated Christ's last evening-meal with the Twelve. For information concerning the procedure at this meeting in the Apostolic Age we are dependent exclusively on the notice of Paul in I Cor. x, 16 ff and xi, 17–34.

The purpose of the meeting was the eating of the Lord's Supper (xi, 20) and with this object in view the whole congregation (xi, 18) came together and partook of a common meal. The significance of the common meal for the disciples in Jerusalem has already been indicated. The same motives would explain its existence in Corinth, but here we find a new conception coming into prominence. At Jerusalem the Christians met for the daily

Digitized by Google

satisfaction of daily hunger; in Corinth the meal was not an every-day occurrence and bore more of the marks of a special act of worship admitting of comparison, or contrast, with the heathen sacrificial feasts (x, 16 ff). The significance of the latter consisted, however, solely in the fact that the viands there consumed had first been offered to an idol, whereas Paul finds it necessary to insist upon the sanctity of the act itself, not as the eating and drinking of consecrated food, but as the communion of the body and blood of the Lord, and therefore not to be regarded as the ordinary partaking of nourishment for pleasure or for the sustenance of life.

The question now arises:—When Paul spoke of the Lord's Supper was he referring to the whole common meal or is his term to be understood in a narrower sense, as applying only to a part of what transpired at this meeting? The former view has become quite prevalent in recent years;* the latter is older and still has the support of many scholars.† The weightiest arguments in support of the former opinion would seem to be the comparison of the "table of the Lord" with the heathen feasts in ch. x, and the abuse mentioned in ch. xi, 21 (cf. v, 33), where each is said to "take before the other his own supper," thus making the Lord's Supper impossible. This would then be interpreted to mean that some began to eat before the blessing of the food, which was essential to the celebration. Without entering into a discussion of the arguments adduced, it must here suffice to say that they are not convincing and that the older view still seems to coincide more fully with the scanty facts that are at our disposal.

We may picture the proceedings somewhat as follows. At the appointed time the Christians assemble, each bringing his own food. Some will have more, some less. The eating and drinking begins in an irregular disorderly way and even if the attempt is made to have all share alike, it is unsuccessful. One man goes hungry, his neighbor gorges or drinks to excess. When the time comes for the act which is most sacred, the very communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord, they are not in physical or mental condition to participate. In some cases it is

* It is advocated by DREWS, RE[3] Vol. V, pp 560 ff, where the literature is indicated. See also RIETSCHEL, *Liturgik*, I, p 240.

† Among them A. HARNACK and ZAHN. WEIZSAECKER, (*Apost. Age*, II, p. 283) declares it "altogether indisputable."

Digitized by Google

actually impossible to have the Lord's Supper at all, and even where the abuse has not gone so far, many partake unworthily. These are the conditions with which Paul has to deal. He attacks them by reminding his readers of the solemnity of the act in which they engage, and the serious consequences to themselves that result from unworthy participation. He does not attempt to prescribe any new mode of procedure, but his emphatic distinction between the Lord's Supper and all ordinary eating and drinking was a step toward the total separation of the common meal from the Communion which occurred almost a century later.*

As regards the rite itself it consisted apparently in two simple acts,—the consecration of bread and wine and the reception of the consecrated elements. The consecration consisted, not in the repetition of the Words of Institution, but in the eucharistic prayer by which the elements were blessed (εὐχαριστία or εὐλογία) and set apart for their sacred use. So Christ had consecrated the bread and wine at the Institution and Paul speaks of the Communion as "the cup of blessing which we bless" (ch. x, 16). The order of consecration is uncertain. At the Institution it had been, first the bread and then the wine; I Cor. x, 16 f, seems to reverse the order and in the *Didache* the inverted order seems to be prescribed. It is quite certain that the consecratory prayer was, from the first, extempore, and offered by a prophet, for the oldest formal prayers that we have for this service are those of the *Didache* (ch. ix) and even there the right to pray "as they will" is still reserved to the prophets (ch. x, 7). It is to be noted, however, that these prayers of the *Didache* are the oldest *prescribed* forms of prayer which the Church possesses. Although the Words of Institution were not essential to the consecration, and although we cannot prove by direct evidence that they were even used before the time of Justin Martyr,† we are, nevertheless, perfectly safe in assuming that they had a place in the service and probably preceded the distribution. In fact the performance of an act which derived its meaning and its justification from the words of Christ would be quite inconceivable without invariable reference to the event which it commemorated and the command on which it was based.

* See ZAHN, RE³ Vol. I, pp. 234 ff.

† The contention of DREWS (l. c.) and others that the usage cannot be proved from I Cor. xi, 23–25 is correct.

Digitized by Google

This practically exhausts our information. That there may have been preaching at this service, at least in the form of prophecy, is possible; that hymns were sung is probable from Matt. xxvi, 30 and Mark xiv, 27; that the Kiss of Peace* had a place in the rite is pure conjecture; that the Maranatha (I Cor. xvi, 22) is part of an old liturgical formula has the support of the *Didache* (ch. x, 6), which is also the earliest witness to the custom of confession of sin preceding the Communion (ch. xiv, 1).

This ends our survey of the customs of worship in the Apostolic Age. We have found that, along with elements that belonged exclusively to that first period, there were present all those other elements which we regard essential to Christian worship. Forms are not yet regarded as of any great importance, for it is the age of the *charismata*, but here and there we find influences at work that are sure to lead to formulation. A new period in the history of the liturgy was to come in with the second quarter of the second Century. Its outward signs were to be the delegation of the right of active participation to the office-bearers, the separation of the Communion from the common meal, and the consolidation of the two meetings into one. Its inner meaning was to lie far deeper, in the new idea of the Church to which the second Century gave birth.

CHARLES M. JACOBS.

Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

When the statements of pages 45 ff were read before the Liturgical Association they gave rise to considerable discussion and the question was raised of their bearing on the correctness of the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The points at issue are two, viz., 1). Is the death of Christ to be regarded as a sacrifice? 2). Is the Lord's Supper more than a memorial celebration?

In regard to the first point the testimony of Christ Himself as to the sacrificial value of His death is clear, and would be clear even though we had only the Words of Institution of the Lord's Supper. That Paul, in his

* See V. SCHULTZE in RE³ Vol. VI, p. 274.

Digitized by Google

references to the atoning death of Christ, is developing and explaining the Master's own ideas, that the sacrificial conceptions of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Revelation and Epistles of St. John are the elaboration of fundamental elements of the teaching of Christ Himself;—these things seem to the present writer unquestionable. The only question which he desires to raise concerns the view that was held of Christ's death among the very first disciples in Jerusalem. It has been pointed out that the references to Christ's death in the speeches of the earliest chapters of Acts never touch on its sacrificial aspect and Philip's use of the LIII Chapter of Isaiah points primarily to the Messianic office of Jesus. Moreover the fact that Jerusalem remained for a long while the seat of the party which insisted on the circumcision of converts and thereby betrayed its belief in the continued validity and necessity of the Old Covenant, points to a lack of understanding of the full meaning of Christ's atoning death at a time when Paul's convictions on this subject had become perfectly clear. If it be objected that the Apostles after the day of Pentecost could not any longer have failed to understand these things, we must remember that when Peter and Paul were together in Antioch Peter himself had not yet come to the full conviction that the Old Covenant had been done away.

As regards the second point, there can be no question that Christ intended the Lord's Supper to be something more than a memorial meal. Just as little have we reason to doubt that Paul thought of it as involving a real presence of the Risen Saviour, and here again it is evident that Paul was the correct interpreter of Jesus. But the meaning of the Sacrament is so closely bound up with the meaning of the death of Christ that the one must in every case be explained by the other. This is not to say that the earlier view contradicts the later, on the contrary, the Pauline views of the Sacrament and of the Atonement were sure to develop out of the ante-Pauline conception. What concerns us here is only the historical fact that Paul was the first, in this as in so many other respects, to arrive at the correct interpretation of Christ's ideas. It is significant that in the later history of the Church the Pauline conception of Atonement was for a long time practically lost to view, though Paul's terminology was retained, and the meaning of Christ's life made to depend chiefly upon the fact of the Incarnation, while the Pauline idea of the Lord's Supper, embodied in the ritual of the Church, was gradually distorted under the influence of new ideas of the Church and the priestly office, into the belief that the Eucharist was the repetition of the sacrifice of Christ, and made the basis of the Roman doctrine of the Mass, to which the Pauline terminology, and especially the terminology of the Epistle to the Hebrews was then applied, and with the exception of the crude theory suggested by Irenæus, and elaborated by Origen, all attempts to formulate a doctrine of the Atonement are subsequent to the time of Cyprian, and rest upon more or less inadequate interpretations of Paul.

C. M. J.

Digitized by Google

THE LITURGICAL HISTORY OF CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION.

ACCORDING to the declarations of all of our ancient Lutheran Church Orders, Confession consists of two parts. The one part treats of the deed of the Confessor who complains of his self-acknowledged sins and desires consolation and the renewal of his soul. The other treats of the work of God, Who through the Word, laid upon the lips of a fellow man, absolves and frees the penitent from his sins. Absolution is nothing else than the promise of the Gospel of God's Grace, and the forgiveness of sins, through faith, according to the will of Christ. This is indeed the essence and object of all preaching, although one point of difference must be noted. In the sermon the Gospel promise is general and is offered and appropriated to all believers. In the Absolution the same promise is specific, directly and personally applied to him who through and with the Word appeals for the same.

Although the old Orders connect this service with the Lord's Supper, as a preparation to a worthy reception of the same it was yet treated as a distinct service and often spoken of aside of the Sacrament of the Altar and Holy Baptism. In modern times it has degenerated to a simple service preparatory to the Lord's Supper and nothing more. This undervaluing of so important a service is a direct undervaluing of our Lutheran Reformation, since it had its origin in the very cloister cell where Luther received the absolution and consolation for his soul from the aged monk. The Reformation was really a restoration of Confession and Absolution from the ashes of ever sinking degeneration.

The form which the Lutheran Church gives to Confession and Absolution at present resembles that of the beginning of the thirteenth century more than that which obtained in ancient

Digitized by Google

times. We also see it constantly drawn, more and more, into the inner life of the Church, especially during the Pietistic period and the time of territorial and rationalistic movements.

The service means an intensely personal transaction, which points out one of the principal faults of modern liturgical forms and practices. We are apt to deal with a cold form (*Agende*) instead of one person with another, the penitent with the minister. The liturgical form is simply a guide to both, so that nothing, either in the Confession or the Absolution be omitted.

Kliefoth divides the History of Confession and Absolution into five periods:

I. The Period of the New Testament.
II. That of the Ancient Church to St. Augustine.
III. From St. Augustine to the Reformation.
IV. The Period of the Reformation.
V. The Modern Period, beginning with Spener.

I.

Lutheran and Roman Catholic theologians agree that the institution of Confession and Absolution did not occur in the New Testament period. It was not instituted by the Lord, nor His Apostles, but was a later development of the Church. But these theologians are also agreed that the essence of that which the Church developed appears in the New Testament, not simply as Word of God, Law and Gospel, but also as dealing in a concrete manner with the individual soul.

Jesus does not simply preach forgiveness at the repentant, but He really absolves them with clear and distinct words. He even absolved one sick of the palsy without a formal confession, since He knew what was in the man, and knew his thoughts. Nor does the forgiveness of sins on earth cease with the ascension of the Son of Man, but whilst the Lord commissioned the office of the ministry which He had hitherto fulfilled, to His disciples and they in turn to their successors, He also conferred upon them the power and duty to bind and to loose; which is the Office of the Keys, "As My Father hath sent Me so send I you." The Divine commission confers discriminating authority and power on the Apostles who are cautioned not to cast pearls before swine, etc., and assures them that all sins can be forgiven except the sin against the Holy Ghost.

Digitized by Google

The congregation shall take upon itself the sins of those for whom it prays, and strive for their release by prayer and fasting as though they were its own. Open sins shall be openly rebuked. Heretics shall be repeatedly rebuked, and if they will not cease they shall be delivered unto Satan and the Means of Grace denied them. If they will still not repent Christians shall not receive them into their houses. If however they repent they shall be received and prayers made for them. In the Church, one shall confess his fault to another. The sick shall confess to the presbyter and he shall pray, and forgiveness shall follow.

II.

What the Apostolic Church taught by her life in the Word of God, the early Church developed into Dogmas. Heresies and schisms caused much bitterness and strife wherefore it was but natural that the matter of Confession and Absolution played the first and most important *role* in liturgical developments. Many who had strayed in bitter moods returned again and sought pardon.

Since it worketh forgiveness of sins the form of Baptism, especially adult Baptism, presented the first Order of Confession and Absolution. The Montanists taught the heresy that a baptized person can not, or dare not sin. The Shepherd of Hermes declared that it is possible for one still living in the flesh to sin; but if he do so in weakness or ignorance he can receive Absolution by coming to God through the Church, and by seeking reconciliation through an honest confession.

According to Tertullian the sermon was intended to bring one's sins to consciousness whereupon an opportunity was given all repentant ones to come forward to confess and receive the Absolution. He reasoned that man consists of body and soul and he who sins sins with both. The body must share the sorrow of the soul and so submit to physical punishment which led to the practice of paying penance fines. He taught that sins against man man can forgive, but those against God only God can forgive. And if one repents all his life he can not be fully assured of forgiveness until he enters the future world. Cyprian insisted that a man must stand in organic connection with the Church, the body of Christ, before he can expect forgiveness through Him. He presents the following form of Confession: "Lord,

Digitized by Google

Thou great, strong and terrible God, Thou that keepest Thy covenant, and art merciful to those who love Thee and keep Thy commandments, we have sinned, we have done evil, we have been Godless, we have transgressed Thy law and forsaken Thy commandments, we have not given audience to the word of Thy servants, the prophets, who have spoken in Thy Name to our kings and to all nations and to the whole earth. To Thee belongs glory and righteousness, but to us shame." Now the bishop laid his hand upon the penitent, absolved him and admitted him to the Lord's Table.

St. Augustine strenuously opposed the Donatists who believed that the Church held and exercised arbitrary authority and power in the bestowal of the Absolution. St. Andrew supported him in this position. Fasting was looked upon as meritorious. Some taught that he who could not fast sufficiently in this life could supplement it in an intermediate state and then enter the Heavenly rest. This was the beginning of the doctrine of Purgatory, but this became monstrous when it was held that he who had not received the Absolution from the priest at death could never be released from purgatory.

III.

Some Latin priests heard private confession and then divulged the facts to the public, thus exposing many shameful things. Pope Leo therefore insisted that all Confession and Absolution be private. This gave the priests another opportunity to insist that Absolution can come solely through the priest, and not through any other Means of Grace. Leo counselled leniency and yet permitted the priests to continue in their impositions on the people.

The Council of Arles, 451, forbade marriage and all matrimonial alliances to the penitent, and in many cases forbade husbands or wives to return to their own. Many were forced into Monasteries or Nunneries. Gregory the Great believed one could retain much in mind and so need not expose himself to the above punishment, and then by his own good works atone for many of his sins. This supported the doctrine of the semi-Pelagians. It followed that if a man did works of super-erogation (viz., more than was required) he would have authority over many below him. To attain to this the Lord Jesus was frequent-

Digitized by Google

ly offered in the Mass. Mass was repeatedly read from now on.

Penitential books were published in the twelfth Century by Wasserschleben, based on the material or Vinnians of Ireland, 450 A. D.

According to a number of the Canons (e. g., 34th, 35th etc.) a penitent could merit much by paying vows, fasting, saying prayers, singing Psalms, and especially making offerings to the priests. The second chapter of the *Canones Hibernenses* says: a three days' penitence can be concentrated into a day and a night if the penitent does not sleep, nor sit down, and continues chanting Psalms, bowing the knees twelve times an hour and extends hands in prayer to Heaven.

The practice of Excommunication (every penitent was excommunicated from the Church) and Redemption now arose. The principal requirement to redemption was a liberal offering. A poor man could have a friend intercede for him. If he died before he could be redeemed it was made possible for friends to provide for prayers for his soul by bringing offerings to the Altar. Thus began the practice of praying souls out of Purgatory.

Every trifle was made a pretext to compel men to confess and pay.

Following is a form of prayer for the Bishop about to hear Confession: Almighty Lord and God, be merciful to me a sinner, that I may thank Thee worthily that Thou in Thy mercy hast made me a servant of Thy priestly office, and hast set me up, a plain and humble one, as intercessor, in order that I might plead and intercede with our Lord Jesus Christ for penitent sinners. And therefore, Lord, Thou Who willest that all men shall come to the knowledge of the truth and be blessed; Thou Who desirest not the death of a sinner, but that he repent and live, receive my prayer which I offer in the presence of Thy Grace, in behalf of Thy servants who are come hither to repentance, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen. Confession being made priest and penitent go to the Altar, kneel, read Psalms 38, 103 and 51, and pray: O God, before whose eyes every heart heaves and every conscience trembles be merciful to the sighings of all, and heal the wounds of all, so that as no one among us is free from guilt, none shall be a stranger to forgiveness, through Jesus Christ, etc. Now both arise and the Absolution is pronounced. A form is given: Almighty, eternal God, remit this Thy confessing servant

Digitized by Google

his sins according to Thy goodness, in order that the guilt of conscience, as punishment, may do him no more harm, and the indulgence of Thy goodness is valuable to his pardon. Through Jesus Christ, etc. The form of Absolution is deprecative not declarative.

Wasserschleben published an Order of the ninth Century which was used as a preparation to the Lord's Supper. Some people made pilgrimages to Rome to be absolved by the Pope. In some instances people were lashed for their sins and made to say a number of *Pater Nosters*, *Ave Marias* or *Kyries*. Large offerings were made for a Mass, for living or dead. Deliverance was also purchased by some people. This was the beginning of Indulgence sales.

Following is a form of Confession used (tenth to twelfth Century): I confess to God, the holy Mary, the holy archangel, Michael, the Holy Baptist John, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, etc., and to you father (priest) my guilt, my guilt, my guilt. I have sinned through vanity, in my many evil and bad thoughts, defilements, temptations, lusts, endorsements of evil in word and deed, perjury, adultery, defaming holy things, murder, theft, false witness. I have sinned with my five senses. I implore the holy Mary and all the saints, named and otherwise and you, father (priest) to intercede for me with our Lord, Jesus Christ.

The post-Carolinian period has produced no new forms nor any improvement of conditions. Public Confession is altogether abandoned. The priests monopolized all authority. The Name of God was used simply as a suppression of the penitent. This was indeed a period that loudly called for a Reformation.

IV.

We have seen before that the Reformation is born of the true spirit of repentance and Absolution. This accounts for Lutheran theological and ecclesiastical productions being essentially soteriological.

Confession and Absolution in the Lutheran Church are the antitheses to the Roman Sacrament of Penitence. The practice of the *Sacramentum Pœnitentiæ* was much worse than the doctrine. Luther declares it impossible for the popes to present the proper doctrine on Repentance since they do not understand sin. They

Digitized by Google

deny original sin and therefore teach that a man may free himself from all sin by his own penance. They know not that sin has blinded their minds so that they can not even reason what might be correct penance. God alone knows, says he, and must be heard and obeyed. A man must be regenerated (baptized) and after that constantly renewed through God's own Means of Grace.

It is the gift and grace of God that leads a man to attrition and then contrition. The Holy Ghost operates through the Word of God, which by its legal force produces not simply a formal contrition, but a real, subjective contrition, and then also offers a true evangelical balm wherein is the healing and forgiving power of God, offered through and for Jesus' sake. Herein lies the second element of Confession: Faith in Jesus.

God does not look on how much penance one has done, but on His Word and how faithfully you have believed it. No man can even know all his faults, much less tell them. The Lord commands the Church to bring forgiveness to men and not to punish them. This does not prevent a man from unburdening his conscience to the pastor who is to hear and comfort him with the Word of God. In a private colloquium the pastor instructs the penitent to better examine himself, as St. Paul exhorts.

The first Order noticed, the Lippish, 1538, is divided into three parts. 1) The Divine, because confession is made directly to God, as David did, Ps. 19, 23, 32, 51, 69, etc. 2) Confession made to men, into which enters the influence of the Gospel ministry, St. Matthew 16, 18 and St. John 20. 3) Fraternal: a man confesses to his brother, and in turn receives fraternal forgiveness, St. Matthew 15, 17 and St. Luke 17, also James 6.

In 1528 a special Order was directed to pastors requiring them to instruct and admonish people to come to and practice an intelligent confession. Preaching confers a general Absolution, but private confession is also Scriptural and should be urged since it brings a more direct operation of the Word and Grace of God on the individual soul.

The Brandenburg–Nürnberg Order of 1535 clearly states that Christ instituted Baptism for those who wish to become Christians; the Lord's Supper for Christians who are and live in faith; and the remission of sins, or Absolution, for the fallen who are unworthy of the Body and Blood of Christ, but seek through

Digitized by Google

confession to be absolved and reunited with the living members of His Body. Thus one is constantly returned to the innocence of his baptized estate. The Calenberg Order says that the Absolution depends entirely upon the obedience of Jesus Christ, which becomes a Divine gift to penitent and believing man.

The Brandenburg–Nürnberg Order of 1533 says: The pastor shall move the people with the greatest diligence to seek absolution from their sins, before they come to the Sacrament of the Altar; for Christ has instituted and ordained such an office, not without reason when He said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, etc." He knew that we are in need of such consolation, even though we ourselves do not thus comprehend it.

The Lüneburg Order, 1645, directs that no one shall come to the Lord's Table who has not presented himself to the pastor, confessed his sins and his faith and has received the Absolution.

Lutheran Confession does not simply mean the preaching of the Word but also the personal application of the Word upon the individual soul. It is not only a part of the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, nor of the Lord's Supper, but a distinct function of the Word of God.

Bugenhagen presents the following: The pastor shall say, make confession with me, and acknowledge your sins to God, that He be merciful unto us, "God be merciful to me a poor sinner. My faith is wanting. I do not love the Lord with my whole heart, nor put all my trust in Him in my temptations, and all my bodily and spiritual wants. I ought to fear God alone, and keep Him before my eye in all things, but now I fear men. I am afraid I might lose my property, honor, friendship and my body. I exercise unchristian concern for nourishment, and seek in all things mine own but not what is the Lord's. I do not place my confidence for salvation in Jesus, His only begotten Son, given for us.' Charity is also wanting in me so that I do not love my neighbor as myself. I deal with my neighbor with evil suspicion, evil communication, in words and deeds; and can not bear a single word spoken by him against me. And I can not heartily forgive him in anything, though I am in duty bound so to do. My conscience is especially burdened with these temptations. Therefore, Almighty God, forgive me all my sins, and

Digitized by Google

illumine my heart with Thy truth, that I may own Thee as my merciful Father and my neighbor as my brother without any offense, according to Thy Word, through our Lord, Jesus Christ, Amen. Jesus Christ is our eternal salvation. Amen."

The Kalenberg Order, in the beginning of the seventeenth Century, bears a very close resemblance to that found in our Church Book, both in the Confession, the Absolution, and the Retention. Many other Orders contain substantially the same thing.

Lutheran Orders contend faithfully against Reformed influences which hold that by one's faith he can largely free himself from sin. They claim that faith is the first thing damaged by sin. If the true faith were there sin could not come. Therefore one must first hear the preaching of the Word which restores and renews faith and thus God frees from sin and not man. They also contend against Roman influences which set apart special days and seasons as Confession and Absolution times, making special mention of Communion periods. Confession should be and remain a distinct service and should be open to burdened souls at all times. In practice the Lutheran Church has however yielded to some influences around her but it is not her teaching.

According to the Lauenburg Order the minister must assure himself that the penitent 1) is truly sorry for his sins, believes and has an earnest purpose to live a better life; 2) recognizes God's wrath against sin; 3) apprehends the Gospel of Jesus concerning the forgiveness of sins; and 4) fears and loves God and will strive to remain in faith until death. He must keep all things in strict confidence so that the penitent may not hesitate to confess freely. He must also instruct, admonish, and examine, and yet not so as to drive the penitent into fear and despair.

Most of the Orders of Absolution of this time did not include the form of Retention. The minister laid his hands upon the penitent and thus absolved him wherefore the retention was not necessary, since he did not lay hands on any one whom he considered impenitent. The Absolution was declarative. The absolved one did not immediately leave the church. He spent some time in prayer and thanksgiving and then quietly departed. An offering was always made.

Digitized by Google

V.

The thirty years' war disrupted the churches and their worship. People grew more hardhearted through their experiences, and therefore more indifferent and independent toward the inner life of the Church. Private confession was looked upon as an imposition and a burden, and even some ministers called it a martyrdom. It was made a public service, attached to the Communion service and often conducted but once a year. A low state of morals followed. Some authorities endeavored to restore the old Order of Excommunication and Restoration, but with poor success.

Theophilus Grossgebauer, 1661, complained bitterly against this state of affairs in a book called, "*Watchmen's Voices from Ruined Zion.*" He held that a penitent has God's forgiveness whether a man pronounces the Absolution or not; and that when a confitent returns to the Church he must be received. The pastor has no say in this matter at all. The Church as a body regulates all these affairs. The result was strife without end.

Spener regretted these conditions very much and insisted that confitents should come to private confession as in former years. But many people refused to come. They went over to the Reformed Church which ran along in the current of the times, and did not require private confession, and indeed very little public confession.

The Lutheran conception of Absolution is that it confers grace and a blessing upon the penitent, and a curse upon the impenitent. As the unworthy eat and drink damnation in the Lord's Supper, so here. And therefore a minister should be very careful in the matter of absolving any one. Spener disagreed with this and held that the Absolution upon the impenitent neither benefited nor injured him; that it simply remained ineffective. This was another addition to the indifference of people to the Church and her authority.

Spener also denied the Divine element in Confession and Absolution. The *Divini juris* he called *humani juris*. He also contended against the form of confession which the Church had adopted, saying, "every man may confess in his own words, and in whatever form he pleases."

He also held that since the offering displeased so many, and since therefore it is a hindrance to devotion and often a burden to the poor, they should be discontinued.

Digitized by Google

The pietism of his day was inclined to protest against private Confession, and held that no Absolution is potent except the minister has the Holy Ghost. It often considered itself too good to become a confitent.

On the other hand, rationalism considered itself far above and beyond Confession and Absolution, and so trifled over and neglected it.

Thus the Church passed on into our own day. There are constant efforts at restoration, revival and renewal, but the many worldly and material tendencies will keep progress at an extremely slow pace if there can be much hope for progress at all.

JAMES F. LAMBERT.

Catasauqua, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE SACRAMENTAL IDEA IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

THE Church of Christ is the congregation of Saints in which the Gospel is rightly taught, and the Sacraments rightly administered.* It is, in its historical origin as well as in its constant preservation, the work of the Holy Ghost, Who calls, gathers, enlightens and sanctifies all Christendom (die ganze Christenheit) on earth and preserves it in union with Jesus Christ in the true faith.† What makes and marks the true Church must likewise make and mark the Service of the true Church. Thus we find it in the Apostolic Church whose Service is briefly, but comprehensively, described in Acts 2, 42. "They continued steadfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and in prayer." The Christian Service is simply the actualization of the existing communion of grace and faith with God in Christ. In it the edification of the Church and the glorification of God's grace in Christ are identical, as the principal aim and end of all Christian Cultus. There can be no individual Christian, nor a congregation of Christians, without faith. This faith is the gift and work of God Himself through the means of grace. To obtain it we must have the offer of Divine grace in the Gospel. And to abide steadfastly in this faith and, through it, in union with Jesus Christ, we must have the constant offer and appropriation of Divine grace through the Word and Sacraments.

Since the fall of man his true communion with God presupposes reconciliation, atonement. All human efforts to establish such reconciliation are essentially pagan or judaistic. In the Christian religion alone the assurance of that atonement as an objective accomplished fact is the foundation of all true worship. The message of atonement is the Gospel, proclaiming, offering

* *Augsburg Confession*, Art. VII.

† *Small Catechism*, Third Article of the Creed.

Digitized by Google

and conveying all that God has done and is doing for the salvation of man. It presents the one great sacrifice which God has made for us in Christ, the fullest exhibition of His love to His fallen creatures, by which they are redeemed and saved. Over against this offer and presentation of God there is nothing for us to do but to accept it, to grasp it with the hand of faith as it is presented. God serves us by His grace, we serve Him in our faith.

The communion between God and man being thus established by the free and sovereign act of God's grace, there results from it a constant reciprocity between God and man. God gives, man receives; and having received the blessing of God man gives what he is able to offer to his reconciled God in the sacrifice of a pure and reasonable service. But this latter is altogether based upon the former. That which establishes and preserves the communion between God and man, that which provides, appropriates and seals our salvation is altogether the gift and act of God, the ordinance and testament of God. Now, all the gifts of God, and all His acts toward our salvation, culminate in the unspeakable gift of His Son. And the gift of His Son culminates in the propitiatory sacrifice on Calvary, where God set Him forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood. This New Testament of the body and blood of Christ is most beautifully and perfectly comprehended, offered, appropriated and enjoyed in the Sacrament of the Altar. The Lord's Supper, not as a work or performance of man but as the very heart and height of all the saving gifts and acts of God, is the real centre and culmination of all Christian worship. Everything else is grouped around this point and leads up to it. Thus it was in the Apostolic Church. The Service of those early Christians consisted in the reception and fruition of the Divine gifts, in the Word and the Sacrament, (the teaching of the Apostles and the breaking of the bread) and in the offering of their spiritual sacrifices (Prayer). There was God's own Word and Sacrament coming to man, with all its solemn warning, admonition, rebuke, threatening, and all its blessed consolation, speaking peace to the troubled heart, offering and conveying forgiveness of sins, life and salvation. And there was man's word addressed to God, praising Him, blessing Him, worshipping Him, glorifying Him, giving thanks to Him for His grace and His great glory. These

Digitized by Google

two sides of Christian worship have, from ancient times, been distinguished as the sacramental and the sacrificial, the *sacramentum* including God's gifts and acts in the Service, the *sacrificium* covering all human acts of confession, praise, prayer and thanksgiving.

Unfortunately, the mediæval Church did not preserve this pure Scriptural and Apostolic idea of the Christian Service with its important distinction between the *sacramentum* and the *sacrificium*. At the beginning of the third century already we discover the first traces of a marked deviation from Apostolic doctrine and practice in this respect. Two factors were particularly influential in bringing about a gradual deterioration. In the conflicts of the Church against strong sectarian tendencies the authority and dignity of the office of the ministry was more and more exalted, until it was ultimately represented as a singular order distinct from the common Christian people, a *priesthood* in the hierarchical and mediatorial sense of the word, on which the whole communion between Christ and His believing people depended. And the idea of the *sacrificium*, the human act in the Service, assumed such a preponderance that even the Testament of the Lord's Supper was considered merely from its sacrificial aspect, a service done to God, and not a gift of God bestowed upon His people. Tertullian already, in speaking of the Communion Service uses the term "*Sacrificium offertur*" in distinction from the preaching of the Word, "*Dei sermo administratur.*" Cyprian describes the administration of the Sacrament of the Altar as a "*Celebrare Sacrificium.*" Even in its most ideal aspect this conception of the Service was a retrograde movement toward the Old Testament with its priesthood and sacrifices, judaizing, legalistic; over against the *Sacramentum* of the New Testament, as a purely Divine act of communicating and conveying grace upon the participant. In its later consistent development the Romanism of the Middle Ages turned the Service of the Christian Church into a meritorious performance offered to God by the priest in behalf of the congregation with an effect that was essentially magical, not ethical or spiritual. The celebration of the Lord's Supper becomes the culmination of all human offerings and sacrificial acts, the unbloody sacrifice, with propitiatory power for the living and the dead, the greatest of all human acts and performances in the sphere of religion.

Digitized by Google

The Lutheran Reformation of the sixteenth century distinctly declared that it is not necessary, "that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by men, should be everywhere alike."* But while thus referring all matters concerning the outward form of the Christian Service to the sphere of liberty it could not ignore the great principles underlying the ceremonies of the mediæval Church which were, indeed, matters "concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments" and as such "necessary to the true unity of the Church." The Reformation is essentially the restoration of the Gospel of God's free and sovereign grace. It sets forth and emphasizes the Divine initiative in the whole plan and work of our salvation. It ascribes all power and honor exclusively to God's grace, over against any work of man. God comes, God works, God gives; His are also the means and methods by which He has chosen to work out our salvation, the means of grace and ordinances which are objective Divine realities to offer and convey God's saving grace to the individual. God first loves, He makes known His love to man, and, being assured that we are beloved, we believe,—our faith itself being altogether God's own work, God's gift. From this point of view the spirit of the mediæval Service had to be examined and judged by the Reformers. Consequently Luther in his treatise on "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," one of his three great *Reformation-Pronunciamentos* of 1520 attacks the very centre of the Roman position in its doctrine concerning the sacrifice of the Mass. He finds in it the greatest of all offenses, and a point of such far reaching importance that the whole nature of the Church and her Service was thereby affected, and a radical change was made necessary. In the same year, in his "Sermon vom Neuen Testament, d. i. von der Messe"† he enters into a fuller treatment of the underlying principles. "In all the dealings of man with God," he says, "the proper way and order must be this: Not that man should begin and lay the foundation, but that God alone, without any effort or endeavor on the part of man, must come first (zuvorkommen), and give His word of promise. This Word of God is the first thing, the foundation and rock on which afterwards all words and thoughts of man are built. This word must be thank-

* *Augsb. Conf.* Art. VII.

† Erlangen Edit. Vol. 27.

Digitized by Google

fully received by man, confidently believing the Divine promise, not doubting that it is and will be done even as He promises. Such faith is the beginning, middle and end of every work and righteousness of man. For inasmuch as man giveth the honor to God, taking Him and confessing Him to be true, he thereby finds a gracious God Who, in turn, will honor him and confess him. It is therefore impossible that man by his own reason and strength should ascend into Heaven with works of his own, and prevent God and move Him to be gracious,—but God must come before all works and thoughts of man, and must give a clear and distinct promise of His word which man is to grasp and to hold in firm faith" . . . After a brief survey of the Divine promises of grace and salvation in the Old Testament, Luther comes to the "Testament" of the new covenant, the Sacrament of the Altar, in which he sees "a brief summary of all the miracles and graces of God, as fulfilled in Christ. . . . A testament is a *Beneficium datum*. It bestows a benefit upon us, it does not receive a benefit. Who has ever heard that a man who receives a testament is doing a good work? He simply takes a benefit to himself,—appropriates it. Thus in the Mass (Lord's Supper) we do not give anything to Christ, we only take from Him. Likewise in Baptism, which is also a Divine Testament and Sacrament, no one gives anything to God, but receives from Him; so also in the preaching of the Word. There is no work of man in all this, but simply the exercise of faith on the part of man. There is no *Officium*, but *Beneficium*, no work or service, but only fruition and benefit."

Likewise Melanchthon in his Apology of 1531 discusses the general idea of the *Sacramentum* as over against the *Sacrificium*, in the relation between God and man, and their dealings with each other. In the 24th Article *De Missa* he answers the questions: "*Quid sit Sacrificium et quæ sint sacrificii species? Quid patres de sacrificio senserint? De usu Sacramenti et de Sacrificio.* The great importance of the distinction between *Sacramentum* and *Sacrificium* is emphasized. Both may be comprehended under the generic name of *ceremonia*, holy rites, (*Opus Sacrum*). *Sacramentum est ceremonia vel opus in quo Deus nobis exhibet hoc quod offert annexa ceremoniæ promissio, ut Baptismus est opus, non quod nos Deo offerimus, sed in quo nos baptizat, viz., minister vice Dei, et hic offert et exhibet Deus remissionem peccatorum, juxta*

Digitized by Google

promissionem (Marc. 16, 16). *Econtra sacrificium est ceremonia vel opus quod nos Deo reddimus et Eum honore afficiamus.*" The sacrament, accordingly, is a Divine act, exhibiting, offering and conveying Divine grace. On the other hand the *sacrificium* is a human act rendered to God by man to give Him His due honor.

Some forcible statements of Luther on this point may be added from his treatise "Vom Anbeten des Sacraments des Heiligen Leichnams Christi" (On the adoration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Body) addressed to the Waldensian, Bohemian and Moravian Brethren whose doctrine concerning the real presence appeared somewhat doubtful and unsatisfactory to Luther.* "The principal thing in the Sacrament is the Word of Christ, when He says, Take, eat, this is My Body; Take, drink, this is the cup of the New Testament. All depends on these words. Every Christian must know them and guard them against any other doctrine, even though an angel from Heaven should bring it. These are words of life and salvation, and whosoever believes in them has, by such faith, forgiveness of all his sins, and is a child of life, having overcome hell and death. It is unspeakable how great and powerful these words are. For they are, indeed, the sum of the whole Gospel. They are really more important than the Sacrament itself. And a Christian ought to accustom himself to pay more attention to these words than to the Sacrament itself, though the false teachers have so perverted the truth that these words have been slighted and even hidden before the people, while the act of the Sacrament has been exclusively emphasized. Thus it is that faith has come to nothing, and the Sacrament was turned into a purely external work without faith. . . . The most pernicious error and heresy introduced by the Pope is this, that the Sacrament has been turned into a sacrifice and good work. . . . To guard against this abominable error you must cling to the words: Take, eat, this is My Body, etc., which words contain the whole Gospel. You can clearly see and apprehend that they do not speak of a sacrifice or work but of a gift, offered and presented by Christ, which we are to take, to grasp and keep by faith. He commands you to take and to keep, and you want to give and to sacrifice? How can you say to God: I give Thee Thy Word?—instead of saying: My Lord, as Thou sayest that Thou art giving it to me, I take it cheerfully with

* Erlangen Edit. Vol. 28, p. 388-421.

Digitized by Google

thanksgiving! As little as you can turn the Gospel itself into a sacrifice or work, you can do so with this Sacrament; for this Sacrament is the Gospel. . . . It would be a great shame to ascribe to the Sacrament no more than to any good work of man, inasmuch as no good work can ever deliver us from sin, nor give us grace, life and salvation. But this Sacrament does give grace, life and salvation, for it is the very fountain of life and salvation."

On the basis of these principles the reconstruction of the Service of the Church of the Reformation was conceived and carried out. No true and correct Service was to be thought of without the administration of the means of grace, that is the Word and Sacrament. "Let this be the sum and substance of our Service that the Word have its proper place in it. Everything else might rather be omitted but the Word. And nothing better can be handled or used in the Service than the Word. For it is an everlasting Word, everything else must perish."* No single Service ever ought to consist of purely sacrificial acts, but it must always contain something of a sacramental character, that is, something belonging to the ministration of the Word and Sacrament. And these indispensable sacramental features must always hold the first place, as to dignity and importance, in the Service of the congregation, while the Eucharistic sacrifices of prayer, confession, thanksgiving and offerings, compared with the former, have a secondary, subordinate position. A clear distinction between the two sides, and their respective merits, is thus insisted upon. But this distinction does not mean a separation of the two. They are, indeed, combined in almost every act of the Service. The reading of the Word, the distribution of the elements in the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Benediction might be called purely and exclusively sacramental, inasmuch as the attitude of the congregation is simply receptive in those acts. And on the other hand, the prayer of the congregation might be called a purely sacrificial act. But otherwise the sacramental and the sacrificial are constantly blending in the true Christian Service. For instance, the preaching of the Word by the minister is primarily and pre-eminently sacramental, as the exposition and application of the Divine Word, spoken for the salvation of our souls. But there is, at the same time, a sacrificial side even to

* LUTHER, in *Ordnung des Gottesdiensts in der Gemeine.* Wittenberg. 1523.

Digitized by Google

the sermon. It is the joyful, solemn testimony of the congregation of what God in His mercy has done for it, proclaimed through its official mouth-piece, the pastor. Again, when the congregation lifts up its voice to sing its precious hymns, it does, indeed, offer its sacrifices of prayer, praise and thanksgiving,—but, at the same time, it participates in the sacramental side of the Service, in setting forth the great deeds of God for our salvation. The songs of the congregation proclaim the Gospel itself. This is particularly true of those objective hymns of the Church which embody the great facts of Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension and Pentecost. Even in one and the same hymn the sacramental and the sacrificial may be united, the presentation of the Gospel truth, and the prayer and praise for this precious gift, as offered by the congregation. Even in the celebration of the Lord's Supper the Service is by no means confined to sacramental features. These are, of course, the fundamental and central parts of this Service, in the *Verba Testamenti*, and the Distribution of the consecrated elements. But the very act of participation on the part of the communicants, as a confession of their crucified and risen Lord, is of a sacrificial character. And so are the prayers and hymns which precede, accompany and follow the administration of the Sacrament proper, the Preface, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, with the Thanksgiving.

Thus it is manifest that the sacramental parts of the Service are not exclusively confined to the Minister, nor are the sacrificial parts exclusively confined to the congregation. A distinction between the participation of pastor and people, respectively, in the Service, on this basis of assigning the sacramental parts to the former and the sacrificial to the latter is inadmissible. We have seen that the congregation engages in the sacramental parts of the Service in proclaiming the saving facts of the Gospel in their hymns; and we know that the pastor takes part in the sacrificial acts of the congregation joining with them and leading them in their prayers. A significant and appropriate expression of a clear distinction between the two sides of the Service the sacramental and the sacrificial, is the change of position on the part of the officiating minister at the altar, as prescribed in many of our old *Agenda*. In all the sacramental parts of the Service, when the minister has to deliver a Divine message to the congre-

Digitized by Google

gation, he faces his people. In all the sacrificial parts, when he speaks with and in behalf of the congregation, he stands, as the other members of the congregation, facing the altar.

It is hardly necessary for us to go over the Service of our Lutheran Church, as presented in the Church Book, (*Communio*, Matins and Vespers) and to point out in detail the sacramental features in their distinction from, as well as in their combination with, the sacrificial elements. To any one who will take the pains,—or I should rather say, the pleasure—of entering into a study of those beautiful Services, the relation of those parts must be perfectly clear in every case. The only real difficulty that may possibly present itself in this connection is in the consideration of the Introit. Its structure is evidently that of the Psalmody, with Antiphon, Psalm-Verse and *Gloria Patri*. As such we would naturally take it to be one of the sacrificial elements of the Service. The fact that under the regulations of the Roman Church the priest had to face the altar during the Introit might be taken as an additional evidence that the Introit was considered as a prayer, offered to God in behalf of the congregation. But the correct view seems to be this, that in the Introit also we have a combination of the two elements, the sacramental and the sacrificial. The Antiphon, its first and principal part, represents an objective sacramental word which, as a herald's call, sets forth the main fact or idea of the respective Sunday or Festival. This Divine act or gift calls forth the prayer, praise and thanksgiving of the congregation in the subsequent Psalm-Verse with *Gloria Patri*. In the liturgical rendering of the Introit, it seems to us, this twofold character would best be brought out if it were assigned to the Choir. Unfortunately, the rubric in our Church Book makes no reference whatever to this most appropriate form of using the Introit.*

In defining the position of our Lutheran Church concerning the sacramental side of the Service we have, thus far, presented it chiefly in its antithesis to the Church of Rome and her manifest tendency to exalt the *Sacrificium* above the *Sacramentum*, the human work or performance in the Service over against the Divine act and gift of grace. But there are features also in the Protestant denominations around us which indicate that with

* Compare on this whole question C. CRACAU, The Introit, in *Siona* of 1879, January to March.

Digitized by Google

them also the proper balance between the sacrificial and sacramental is frequently disturbed, and that the former is being exalted at the expense of the latter. The sacraments themselves are almost entirely stripped of their proper sacramental character, and turned again into sacrificial acts of man. They are chiefly considered as human acts of profession. God is no longer seen in them as the principal actor and giver. Man is acting, presenting himself, making a profession of faith. From this position results the common widespread indifference toward Infant Baptism, even among those Protestant bodies which are still Pedobaptist according to their theological standards.. Consistently carried out this view leads to the final rejection of Infant Baptism altogether. We may also point, in this connection, to the modern prayer meeting in which prayer itself is treated as a means of grace, a kind of sacramental power is ascribed to it, while in its innermost nature it must always be pre-eminently sacrificial.

This whole tendency results from the failure of Reformed Protestantism, ever since Zwingli and Calvin, to appreciate the Word and Sacraments of God as real objective and efficacious means of grace, by which and through which the Holy Ghost actually offers, conveys and appropriates saving grace to the individual. We are one with the Reformed in denying the expiatory character of the sacrifice of the Mass, and in believing that Christians have no other sacrifices to bring before God but the Eucharistic offerings of their prayers and good works. But when we come to the important question: How does the Lord communicate, convey, appropriate and seal to man the benefits of His atoning sacrifice? our ways do part. On this point Reformed Protestantism fails to apprehend that the true character of the Church's Service must primarily be that of the *Sacramentum*, that is, the distribution and appropriation of God's gifts of grace through the Divinely ordained means of grace, in behalf of God, and as an act of God Himself.

In his *Ratio Fidei* (Reckoning of Faith), submitted to the Diet in Augsburg, 1530, Zwingli says: "I believe, yea I know, that all the sacraments are so far from conferring grace that they do not even convey or distribute it. . . . For as grace is produced or given by the Divine Spirit so this gift pertains to the Spirit alone. Moreover, a channel or vehicle is not necessary to

Digitized by Google

the Spirit, for He Himself is the virtue and energy whereby all things are borne, and has no need of being borne; neither do we read in the Holy Scriptures that perceptible things, as are the sacraments, bear certainly with them the Spirit, but if perceptible things have ever been borne with the Spirit, it has been the Spirit, and not perceptible things, that has borne them. . . . . Therefore the Spirit of grace is conveyed not by this mersion, not by this draught, not by this anointing; for if it were thus it would be known how, where, whence and whither the Spirit is given. For if the presence and efficacy of grace are bound to the sacraments, they work where these are conveyed; and where these are not applied all things languish. . . . From this it is inferred, . . . that the sacraments are given as a public testimony of that grace which is previously present to every individual. . . . By Baptism, therefore, the Church publicly receives one who had previously been received through grace. Baptism, therefore, does not bring grace, but testifies to the Church that grace has been given for him to whom it is administered. I believe, therefore, that a sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing—i. e. of grace that has been given. I believe that it is a visible figure or form of invisible grace—viz., which has been provided and given by God's bounty; i. e., a visible example which presents an *analogy* to something done by the Spirit. I believe that it is a *public testimony*."*

It is manifest that such views completely destroy the idea of any real, objective means of grace. It is not denied that there are real treasures of Divine grace obtained for man through Christ's mediatorial work. It is claimed that these treasures are appropriated to and by individual men. But it is denied that this appropriation is effected through certain means which the Lord Himself has appointed and ordained for His Church, and to which He has bound Himself with His solemn promise that thus and there He will be found by us. It is, on the other hand, contended that the appropriation of grace is effected directly from God to man, as from Spirit to Spirit, in some mysterious manner, without any medium or instrumentality whatever. Those that are, in fact, believers in consequence of some inscrutable Divine operation or decree have nothing left to them, whenever they meet for worship, but to demonstrate this their faith by acts of

* See Dr. H. E. Jacobs, *The Book of Concord, etc.* Vol. II, pp. 168 ff.

Digitized by Google

public profession. Thus every feature of the Service becomes, of necessity, simply an exhibition of existing faith. When the Word is heard and the Sacraments are partaken, it is not the Lord Who is thereby carrying on His gracious work, but it is the assembly of believers that demonstrates its Christian faith and life. The *Sacramentum*, in its own true sense, has no place in this Service. It is all *Sacrificium*. On the other hand our Lutheran responsive Service, with its rich liturgical and hymnological treasures, requiring the active and whole-souled participation of the congregation, proves that the emphasis which our Church lays on the *Sacramentum*, instead of overlooking or crowding out the *Sacrificium*, rather develops, enriches and beautifies the sacrificial parts of the Service to an extent unknown to Reformed Protestantism.

A. SPAETH.

Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

Digitized by Google

PARAMENTS OF THE LORD'S HOUSE.

PARAMENTS is an unusual word in English. It is defined in the Standard Dictionary, "rich and ornamental clothes and furniture." Webster cites this line from Chaucer which indicates its ancient meaning: "Lords in paraments on their coursers." It is derived from *paro*, to prepare, through the later Latin *paramentum*. In English it refers usually to the ornamental hangings and furniture of state apartments, and the clothing of royal and other exalted personages. In German the word has an ecclesiastical meaning. Paramentics is the art of church decoration. Narrow use confines it to textile fabrics. Wider use applies it to all forms of church decoration and furniture. Among Protestant writers on the subject are Meurer,* Beck,† Schaefer‡ and Buerkner.§ The sainted Löhe, amid all his labors for the sick and the poor, and his world-wide missionary work, found time to promote its study and development in the churches. In England and Germany a knowledge of the art is required of those who build or reconstruct churches. In America word and thing were until recently almost unknown. Hence so many of our churches look more like drawing-rooms or theatres than houses of God.

The subject is worthy of greater attention than it has received. Ministers of the Lord's House should know something of its furnishings, and intelligent laymen would take a new delight in their house of worship if they understood the art of decorating it in a fitting manner. As George Herbert quaintly says:

* *Altarschmuck. Ein Beitrag zur Paramentik in der Evangelischen Kirche von Lic.* MORITZ MEURER. Leipzig, 1867.

† *Soli Deo! Ein Wort zu Nutz und Ehren der evangelischen Paramentik.* VON MARTIN EUGEN BECK. Leipzig, 1885.

‡ *Ratgeber fuer Anschaffung und Erhaltung von Paramenten.* Berlin, 1897.

§ *Kirchenschmuck und Kirchengeraet.* VON RICHARD BUERKNER. Gotha, 1892.

Digitized by Google

"They who love God's house will like His household stuff." Luther, with all his hostility to the mummeries of Romanism, its vestments, its caps and its bells, at a critical time in his career, forsook the protection of the Wartburg in order that he might put a stop to the ravages of the iconoclasts. "I do not believe," said he, "that art is to be overthrown by the Gospel, as some hyperspiritual people maintain, but I should like to see all the arts placed in the service of Him Who made them."

When we see a private house furnished with good taste, with tapestries, carvings and pictures, and when we accompany the family to its place of worship to find there an absence of art, or else a superfluity of decoration, and that too of a secular character, does it not recall the words with which David reproached himself: "See now, I dwell in an house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains." In the vision of the epiphany, as given in the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah, we are told not only of the Gentiles who shall come to His light and kings to the brightness of His rising, but also "The glory of Lebanon shall come unto Thee, the fir tree, the pine tree, and the box together, to beautify the place of My sanctuary, and I will make the place of My feet glorious."

Whatever the style of architecture may be, the house of worship should bear the impress of the purpose to which it is dedicated. It should distinctly say to him who enters "This is the house of the Lord." The earliest style of buildings, after Christianity emerged from the obscurity to which the persecutions of the first three centuries condemned it, was the basilica. The name expresses the conviction of the Christian conscience that the house of the Lord must be a royal house, a house of beauty.*

Löhe, in his plea for the beautification of the church, shows how sin, proceeding from man, affected all created things. "The whole creation groaneth." But since God has begun in Christ to heal humanity, it is the mission of sanctified man to sanctify

* Mr. Ruskin says that those who built the Gothic churches really believed they were building dwelling-places for Christ, and they wished to make them as comfortable and beautiful for Him as they could. The facade of Amiens bears out this idea, for the central figure in it is Christ, called "the good God of Amiens," Who welcomes all who come to enter its portals and gives them His benediction." LARNED'S *Churches and Castles of Mediæval France.*

Digitized by Google

the creature, and to bring it back again to holy uses, so that it may also be delivered from the curse and restored to a beauty exceeding even that of the primal Paradise. The whole earth shall be full of His glory. In the meantime the Church establishes stations on the way, habitations of peace, wherein we may be reminded how fair shall be that Paradise in which our eyes shall see the King in His beauty. This is the secret purpose of the Church when she builds and adorns her sanctuaries. From an inexhaustible store of truth she finds a thousand ways of confessing her faith, not only in the spoken word and the harmonies of music and poetry, but also in architecture and sculpture, in painting and embroidery.

Architecture does not belong to the scope of this paper. For it no apology is needed. It is when we come to the interior of many modern churches that our hearts grow heavy. Large sums of money are wasted for decorations that are incongruous in design and secular in spirit, and therefore convey to the eye and heart no message of sanctity and religion. Sometimes it is an ambitious churchliness which constructs altars and chancels with appurtenances which mean nothing to the Protestant worshipper. Again, the spirit of imitation leads many congregations to sew patches of ecclesiastical decoration on the garments of anti-ritualistic simplicity, without regard to the fitness of things. There may be a wealth of display in the carpets and windows and furniture, but if the decoration is not in harmony with the place, it produces an atmosphere that is foreign to the spirit of devotion.

The present era of prosperity is marked by the erection of many new houses of worship, and the reconstruction of old ones. An improved churchly taste is manifest. This is gratifying. But unfortunately the only available models of churchliness are taken from a denomination whose canons differ somewhat from those of our Church, and it is humiliating to find that a new Lutheran church is nothing but a second edition of an Episcopal church, not revised and improved. While there is an improvement on the unæsthetic simplicity of the past it is much to be regretted that pains are not taken to produce a more truly Lutheran style of church decoration. This style will be found in the *via media* between Roman Catholicism and Reform. Our fathers accepted the Roman Catholic churches as they were, only

Digitized by Google

removing the most objectionable features. But in building new churches we should not merely repristinate with moderate criticism, we should reconstruct along the lines of our liturgical canons. These canons are:

1. Historical conservatism; 2. Adaptation to modern conditions; 3. Expression of Lutheran principles of worship.

A small handbook on this subject would prove of great value to intending builders of churches.

Articles of church furniture in general use are the pulpit, the reading desk, the table and the font. Some churches have the pulpit only. In this case the church is an auditorium. The preacher stands in the focus of all eyes. He is the chief actor, the dominant figure.

No one denies the paramount importance of preaching. Nevertheless congregations worshipping in an auditorium suffer a distinct loss. There is a dramatic value in the action involved in the use of the lectern, the table and the font. From the reading desk the minister delivers to the people the Holy Scriptures, the inspired Word of God. From the pulpit it is the voice of the herald or messenger. From the table and font are distributed the sacramental gifts. For sacrificial purposes the table becomes an altar where the minister, in the name of the congregation, presents the sacrifices of prayer, praise and thanksgiving. These are valid distinctions in acts of worship and their value and significance are worthy of consideration on the part of the advocates of extreme simplicity.

The earliest Christian altars were simple tables made of wood, specimens of which may still be found among the treasures of the churches in Rome. The oldest of all, at which the Apostle Peter himself is said to have ministered, is a simple slab mounted on a single pedestal. The New Testament speaks only of the Table of the Lord, (I Corinthians 10, 21), although the symbolism of the Supper is also presented in this passage.

The change in the form of the altars was brought about by the dogmatic delusion which transformed the Lord's Supper into the Sacrifice of the Mass, and still more by the relation which the altar was made to take to the graves of the martyrs. The form of the altars, as the Reformation found them, was to a great extent the expression of a doctrinal system which Protestants repudiate.

Digitized by Google

Nevertheless Luther proceeded in a conservative manner, being more concerned about the preaching of the Gospel than questions of ritual. He made no changes that were not absolutely required. "We must bide our time," he said.

But the Renaissance, a secular movement running parallel with the Reformation, produced important changes in the structure of the altar, and its work was for the worse. With no religious principle to guide it, it gave free play to its æsthetic impulses in designing friezes and architraves and facades of colossal dimensions. Even the Romanists were outdone in obscuring the original significance of the Lord's Table.

What is the significance of the altar? The altar is first of all the Table of the Lord. Any other view of it is alien to our doctrine. For this reason, Löhe, whom some regard a very high churchman, says "The location of the altar is higher than the nave, in order that the congregation may be witnesses of all that takes place at the altar. But Protestants have no interest in placing the altar too high, because they repudiate the Sacrifice of the Mass and the worship of the Host, and because they cannot admit that there is a line of separation between the place of the sacrament and the priestly congregation."

In the second place the altar is the place of prayer. The acts of prayer which the minister performed in the name of the congregation were formerly intimately connected with the Communion Service. Hence also the acts of the benediction, such as confirmation, absolution, marriage and ordination, are properly performed at the altar. Here too may be presented the offerings, as "an odor of sweet smell, a sacrifice well-pleasing to God." (Phil. 4, 18; Heb. 13, 16).

In a figurative sense it is therefore not improper to speak of the Table of the Lord as an altar, and it is in this sense that Protestants use the term.

The chancel rail is found almost everywhere in American Lutheran churches. It marks a separation between ministers and people which the teaching of our Church does not recognize. Take it away.

With this review of the history and significance of the altar, to which neither the highchurchman nor the most radical antiritualist can justly take exception, we are prepared to inquire as to its proper place in the arrangement and decoration of the church.

Digitized by Google

On the one hand our altar will not be the high structure which our Episcopal and Lutheran brethren inherited from Rome and the Renaissance. Nor will it on the other hand be the little stand in front of the pulpit, resembling a piece of parlor furniture, serving on Communion days for the vessels and elements of the Sacrament, and on other days as a convenient receptacle for the hats and overcoats of the brethren.

Whether a celebration takes place or not, it is the Lord's Table in the Lord's House, and is therefore the most fitting symbol of the κοινωνία, the fellowship that characterized the earliest Church and that still binds believers together. It symbolizes also those sacrificial acts which are an essential part of all true worship. It should therefore be of goodly size, made of substantial material, and should occupy a prominent place in the choir, in sight of the whole congregation. It should be covered at all times, that is at every Service, with a white linen cloth. If the Table stands free, the cloth should project over the four sides. If it stands against the wall, the cloth should project over the front the width of a span, and over the ends a greater length.

As to the decorations which may be placed upon the altar, there is a difference of opinion. It is not very important and the discussion may be deferred. It is a question whether flower vases should be placed upon the table, but artificial flowers are unquestionably forbidden. In some churches the front and sides of the altar are covered with a costly cloth, suitably embroidered, known as the *antependium*. If the altar is made of sculptured stone, this is not necessary. But in any case a so-called *antependium* strip is a favorite form of decoration. It is made of wool or silk, is one-third as wide as the table, and covers the entire depth of the table and hangs for a considerable distance over the front. Its purpose is to tell in color and design the story of the particular Season in the Church Year.*

* The limits of this article forbid, or we might speak of numerous objects related to the altar, believing that many reforms are needed here in our church practice. One is the substitution of the *ciborium* for the *paten*. It looks better, has ancient usage to warrant it, and is better for practical reasons. Another is the banishment of the *velum*. At present its use is almost universal not only in Lutheran but also in Reformed Churches. It is a remnant of the Romish superstition in regard to the *mysterium tremendum*, and illustrates the persistence of custom even where the dogmatic foundation has long ago been taken away. Some writers speak of the symbolical importance of the *corporal* and the *palla*, but these are superflui-

Digitized by Google

The church colors ordinarily used in Lutheran churches are five in number: white, red, green, violet and black. White, according to Luther, "the color of the angels and the saints," is used on the Festivals of Christ, from Christmas eve to the end of the Epiphany, and from Easter to Ascension (*Exaudi*). Red, the majestic color of fire and blood, is the color of the Church. In garments of red she clothes herself on Whitsunday, the anniversary of her baptism by the Holy Ghost, and also on all Church anniversaries and mission festivals. Violet is the color of solemn meditation and preparation and is used during Advent and the Passion Season. Black is used on the anniversary of the Crucifixion. Green, the every-day and universal color of nature is used at other times.

As for the pulpit, its location is more important than its decoration. The great gulf that often separates the preacher from the people ought to be closed up. For textile fabrics on the pulpit there is little need. The pounding of the pulpit cushion is an unsanitary proceeding. But for wood carving or for metal work there is a wide field for the artist. The draught of fishes afforded a suggestive subject for a carving on an oaken pulpit.

The lectern is sometimes regarded as an innovation in our American churches. Few German churches in this country have it, and it looks as though we had borrowed it from the Episcopalians. But such is not the case. They are a survival of the ancient ambo, and at least in Middle Germany are to be found in many of our churches. Where they have disappeared, I am inclined to think it the result of carelessness and neglect. Where the lectern is not used the minister uses the altar-table instead, a practice which is undesirable but not altogether indefensible.

Lecterns should be graceful in form and not so high as to hide the reader's head. The "eagle" is only one of many forms that may be used. As in the case of the pulpit, it is not necessary to deck it with textile fabrics, nor does the rule of color apply to the decoration of the lectern or pulpit.

The font is an object which has not yet received a settled home in our Lutheran churches. The liturgists have not yet reached an agreement upon its proper location. The weight

ties with which we can easily dispense. The *lavabo* cloth is seldom seen, and yet this has hygienic and æsthetic value. Its general use might forestall the introduction of the individual Communion cup.

Digitized by Google

of authority seems to be in favor of the administration of baptism in the presence of the whole congregation, and hence the font should be placed outside of the choir, at the head of the middle alley of the church so that the officiating minister may be seen and heard by all.

Space will not permit me to enter into details or to speak of the numerous minor objects of the church edifice. I shall simply allude to the walls, the windows and the floors. Each of these is worthy of careful study. We should reject the eccentric, the unæsthetic, the gross, and should endeavor to treat these objects in harmony with the sacred uses of the house which they are to serve. These may seem to be unimportant things for a minister, but is it unreasonable to believe that He Who made this beautiful world and Who is Himself the author and source of beauty, should be unable to speak to us through the eye as well as the ear. As Gregory of Nyssa said: "It is not enough to be led to the knowledge of God by hearing only, the sight must also be a teacher of exalted ideas."

Mosaics, frescoes, sculpture and wood carving are possible only for the richer churches. But where the price can be paid, these are desirable forms of church decoration. We need only recall the frescoes of Kaulbach in Berlin to appreciate the value of mural painting. Examples of fine wood carving are to be found both in the ancient and modern churches of Europe.

The art of embroidery deserves mention, because in it the deft hands of the women of the congregation may be employed to such great advantage. In the Christian era, the art of embroidery as applied to church decoration, is traced to Helen, the mother of the first Christian emperor. But eighteen centuries earlier, when Moses erected the tabernacle, "all the women that were wise-hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, the blue and the purple, the scarlet and the fine linen." There were men also "whom God filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of work of the engraver and of the cunning workman and of the embroiderer." (Exodus 35).

The progress of the art of embroidery in Christian history can only be briefly indicated. In the seventh century it was cultivated in the British Isles with such success that "*opus Anglicum*" became proverbial. And if to-day the merchants of the world have to send to St. Gallen for their finest embroideries, it

Digitized by Google

is because more than a thousand years ago the clerics of that little town in Eastern Switzerland cultivated this art as they did other arts to the glory of God.

The Crusades brought back to Europe not only a wealth of new material, but also of new designs, against some of which Bernard of Clairvaux protested with ascetic earnestness. The climax of excellence was reached in the fifteenth century, not in Italy, but in the Lowlands of Germany and along the Rhine, and even in Scandinavia. The Reformation greatly reduced the sphere of the art while the Renaissance corrupted its spirit, substituting the classic forms of heathendom for the sacred symbols of Christianity. The closing decades of the nineteenth century have witnessed a revival of the earlier and purer art.

The *antependium* affords a fitting place for the embroiderer's designs. The simple Chi Rho, ☧, the monogram of Christ, or the common Alpha and Omega, Α Ω, tell of Him Who is the first and the last in Heaven and on earth. The flowers and leaves of the thistle wound around the cross tell how Christ suffered for a guilt that was not His own. If roses are used, they tell of the Divine love that brought Him to earth. Five in number, they remind us of the wounds in His hands and His feet and His side. The ears of grain and the clusters of grapes speak of Him Who is the Bread from Heaven and the life of the world. That primeval innocence has been restored by the death of the sinless God-man is indicated by the lily, while the cross and the palm leaves proclaim the final triumph of the Crucified One.

Pictures, emblems and symbols have from the earliest times been favorite forms of expression, although the Puritans and all the Reformed Churches repudiated them. The justification of pictures and emblems is found in the fact that religion, occupying the field of the supernatural, must find means of expressing unseen realities by means of visible things. Goethe said: "All things transitory are but parables."

Among the commonest emblems are the hart, the serpent, the anchor, the lamp, the ark, the sickle, the fish, the pelican, the rainbow and the rose. Types are often an effective method of illustration. Thus in a church in Freudenstadt the wood carvings on the gallery panels represent Creation and the Nativity, Jonah and the Resurrection, Manna and the Supper, Sodom and the Judgment. Types form an important part of the Passion

Digitized by Google

Play of Oberammergau. They should be used in moderation and should come within the ready comprehension of the congregation.

Do you object to these pictures in church? Luther himself was a smasher of idols. But when Carlstadt quoted to him "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image," Luther retorted at once "Thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them." "You cannot help making images," said he, "if not with your hands, then with your imagination, in your mind and heart."

But for those who object to pictures, there is still left a wide field for edifying decoration in the use of Scripture texts.

Art cannot take the place of religion. If art is in the church for its own sake, whether in preaching, or in the singing of the quartet choir or in church decoration, it is not an aid but an obstacle to religion. The work of decoration must follow the religious life. We decorate not for its æsthetic value, but because our faith therein finds expression. Where religion precedes, art may follow and by its aid expression may be given to spiritual truth in a multitude of subtle and suggestive forms. As Michel Angelo said "True decoration is the shadow of the hand with which God decorates."

But paramentics has its limits, and there is another point of view which we cannot but respect. The iconoclasts of the eighth and ninth centuries made legitimate protest against perverted forms in which the idol had taken the place of God. And we cannot ignore the spiritual earnestness of their followers in the sixteenth century, the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, Holland and Scotland, who saw in these things the trappings of the great whore, and therefore banished them from their services. These protests must not be overlooked. History warns us of perils. There were periods in the Church when religion declined as ritual advanced. In our day we have a striking example in the Greek Church of a perfected system of symbolism and ritual, along with what seems like the absence of a spiritual religion. Such, at least, is the verdict of Harnack in his graphic picture of the Greek Church in *Wesen des Christentums*.

In view of such facts it behooves us to inquire whether art really is the handmaiden of religion. The Saviour teaches us that the characteristic of true worship is spirituality. Forms of

Digitized by Google

worship are admissible only in so far as they conduce to edification. If art has any relation to true worship, it must be in harmony with these truths. It is not enough to show that there has been a historical connection, we must prove that there is no real antagonism between them.

The oft-quoted apothegm of Goethe throws some light on the subject. He calls art "a preliminary redemption, a Gospel of the natural man, a human introduction to the Gospel of grace. It is the province of art to separate the spiritual, the permanent and the real from that which is material and transitory." It is this faculty that distinguishes the painter from the photographer. Another consideration is the fact that as soon as religion finds expression in worship, there is not only a field for art but also a necessity for it. Hence we conclude that St. Paul's injunction as to "whatsoever things are lovely" is not to be ignored in our treatment of the House of the Lord.

In the church of St. Sebald in Nürnberg, there is a famous sacramentary, towering sixty feet from the floor. While the sculptor was finishing with scrupulous care some ornament near the top, he was asked why he was so careful, no one would see it. He replied, "God will see it." Of the neighboring church of St. Lorenz Luthardt says: "I heard there many a sermon which I have forgotten, but there is one sermon which I could never forget, the "sermon in stones," which the edifice itself preached to all that worshipped there. The spirit of piety which made these buildings so beautiful has made them permanent witnesses of religion. And yet the simplest interior, even though it may be only a hired hall in the city street, or a sod church on the prairie may reflect a spiritual message as truly as the Gothic arches of St. Sebald and St. Lorenz.

G. U. WENNER.

New York.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

VOL. VII.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LITURGICAL COLORS.

THE liturgical colors are those which the Church employs in her Cultus. There are liturgical colors in a wide and narrow sense. Those in the former are such as are prescribed for any artistic embellishment to Sanctuary or Church, in the dress of statuary, paintings, hangings, banners, carpets, even to the minutest detail in decorative color schemes.* In the narrow sense, with which we deal in this paper, the liturgical colors are those which the Church uses in the vestments for altar and priest in her various Offices. In both connections the colors are looked upon as being symbolic, and in their application, this symbolism is called upon to play an important part in conveying to the beholder particular attributes and ideas. In the latter case, in addition to their symbolism, the colors are so employed or scheduled, that their use may indicate the various Events and Seasons which make up the Church's Year. They are doubly-symbolic then, as a service-use, as well as a festival- or season-use. Their symbolism however is entirely the result of their religious use. The colors in use to-day in the Roman, Lutheran and Anglican Communions are, white, red, green, purple and black. These are *the* "Liturgical Colors."

The *use of colors* in the worship of the Church is not of Christian origin. There can be no doubt that in this as in many other things, the Church of the New Covenant has adapted to her use that which existed for centuries in the Church of the Old Covenant. In addition to this she may have been influenced by the heathen systems with which she came in contact in so far as

* This is the case in the Greek Church.

Digitized by Google

she noticed the use of certain colors for priestly dress and in their sacrificial rites.* However the direct line seems to be that which leads back to the O. T. Church.† The colors which form the two groups are, in three out of five cases, the same; their symbolism is but slightly different, (due allowance being made for the difference between the two Churches, and the development of the Church of the N. T.);‡ the uses are the same: priest's dress and the important hangings and cloths in the Sanctuary.

The use of colors in the Old Testament Church is not the result of man's artistic choice, nor is it a mere adaptation from another religion.§ It has the highest possible authorization. It is of Divine origin. It comes into existence in and with the Law, in Divine revelation. The colors so authorized are enumerated in Exodus 28, 5. They are: gold, blue, purple, scarlet and white (fine linen). The application of these colors as prescribed for general liturgical use, through the various chapters of Exodus and the other books of the Law, is as follows:|| The textures used for the hangings of the Tabernacle, and its inner

* This is not to be taken as an unqualified statement that such an influence bore direct results. The heathen systems employed an official priestly dress, as well as colors, in this and ritual. These were used symbolically. Cf. PORTAL: *Les Couleurs Symboliques*, Paris, 1857, under the various colors.

† This cannot be absolutely proven simply because the color system of the Church is not found completely developed and in use till comparatively late. (In the 12 Cent. Innocent III) and the centuries to be bridged over give but scant traces of anything that might be considered as evidences of such a development. However those that do appear and can be accepted as genuine and accurate are fair ground for the establishment of such a claim. These will be referred to in the sequel.

‡ For example, where in O. T. times a color is looked upon as symbolic of an attribute of God, in the new this will be developed to the fuller symbolism, applied to One of the Persons of the Holy Trinity.

§ A negative critic might very readily try to prove that such a system is founded on Egyptian usage. That the Egyptian theology contained symbolic colors may be gathered from a number of writers, among them Portal as above; but the colors and symbols are so widely different that it will admit of no comparison whatever.

|| Cf. F. DELITZSCH (LOTZ): *Farben in der Bibel*, in P. R. E. 3 Ed. V, 759 ff.

Digitized by Google

roofing, and those for the sacred vestments of the priests, were of four colors, blue, purple, scarlet and white. These four combined were used in the outer curtains; the veil, the entrance curtain;* and the curtain for the gate of the court.† They were also used in the ephod, girdle and breast-plate of the High Priest.‡ Purple, blue and scarlet were used in the pomegranates about the hem of the High Priest's ephod.§ The robe of the High Priest's ephod, the lace of his breast-plate and the lace of his mitre, were exclusively of blue;‖ as well the fifty loops of the ten inner curtains.¶ The coats, mitres, bonnets and breeches of the priests were all of one color, white.** The hangings for the court were also of white.†† Cloths in which the sacred utensils were to be wrapped during the Pilgrimage were either of blue,‡‡ scarlet,§§ or purple.‖‖ Colors may also be found in use in some of the sacrificial rites, e. g., the scarlet thread in the cleansing of lepers.¶¶ The "gold" is enumerated with the four colors mentioned above, in Ex. 28: 5, and used in combination with them in various articles of the High Priest's dress, it is not looked upon as a *color* in the sense in which the others are considered, but is used for its appearance of splendor and brilliancy.***

The exact and comprehensive manner in which every Ser-

* Ex. 26: 1, 31, 36. † Ex. 27: 16. ‡ Ex. 28: 5, 6, 8, 15.
§ Ex. 28: 33. ‖ Ex. 28: 28, 31, 37. ¶ Ex. 26: 4, 5.
** Ex. 39: 27, 28. †† Ex. 27: 9; 38: 9. ‡‡ Num. 4: 6.
§§ Num. 4: 8. ‖‖ Num. 4: 13. ¶¶ Lev. 14: 4, 6, 51.

*** These colors and their use in the vestments have been tabulated by ROLFE: *The Ancient Use of Liturgical Colors*, London, 1879, p. 10, as follows:

VESTMENTS	WORN BY	COLOR
The Ephod	High Priest	gold, blue, purple, scarlet, white
The Girdle	" "	" " " " "
The Breast-plate	" "	" " " " "
The Robe of the Ephod	" "	- "
The Broidered Coat	" "	- - - - "
The Mitre	" "	- - - - "
Holy Crown	" "	" "
The Coats	The Priests	- - - - "
The Girdles	" "	- " " " "
The Bonnets	" "	- - - - "

Digitized by Google

vice-need, every object in and about the Tabernacle, every vestment for High Priest and his assistants, is described in the Law, is not only a positive proof of the definiteness and orderliness of the worship of Jehovah; but when attached to this all is its Divine origin and the Divine command authorizing this as the manner in which God is pleased to be worshiped, there is given to it all a weight which compels observance, and places it above the sphere of human choice or pleasure. And as the accessories are developed *for* man, so is the entire Cultus, coming directly from Jehovah, man's mind having no share in plan or ordering. It is revealed in complete form for man to obey and use; not a disconnected mass of indiscriminate rites, but a whole harmonious in all its parts. It is so developed and ordered that it *must* stand as one great *symbol* of the relation of Jehovah to Israel, and everything that develops out of that relation. There can be nothing then that is superfluous, nor that does not contribute its quota of meaning to that of the rest to make up the whole.

The fact then that the vestments of the High Priest and his assistants and the various curtains and coverings are so carefully described in every detail, is one whose importance to the system cannot be denied.* That they were to be of certain color, or combinations of color, or decorated with certain colors—all definitely ordered—is as important. This led many to believe that a distinct purpose was meant to be expressed thereby. This is called their "symbolism;" and writers both ancient† and modern‡ have attempted to develop it.

* In addition it may be noted that God forbids priests to appear in other garb when ministering before Him.

† Among the ancients, PHILO, *Opp. I* and JOSEPHUS: *Ant.* Bk. III, c. vii, § 7, p. 84. WHISTON AND BURDEN Ed. Also *Ancient Jewish Commentators.*

‡ Moderns: CALVOER: *Rit. Eccl.* Jena, 1705. II, Sec. III, c. 23. KRAUSE: *De Colore Sacro.* Lit. 1707. CREUZER: *Symbolik*, I. 125 sq. BAHR: *Symbolik*, I. 335. FRIEDERICH: *Sym. d. Mos. Stiftshuette.* Lpz. 1841. *Studien und Kritiken.* 1844. II. 315. DELITZSCH: *Farbenstudien und Blumenstuecke.* Lpz. 1888. ROLFE: as above. LEGG: *The Anc't Use of Lit. Colors.* London. 1882. DELITZSCH (LOTZ) article as above.

Digitized by Google

Philo adapts his to the current Gentile philosophy and is of little service to our purpose; but Josephus, though he follows Philo's thought to some extent, produces a symbolism that is very interesting. He says:* "The veils which were composed of four colors declared the four elements; for the linen was proper to signify the earth, because the flax grows out of it; the purple, the sea, because that color is dyed by the blood of a shell-fish; the blue is fit to signify the air, and the scarlet will be an indication of fire. . . . . The vestments of the High Priest, being made of linen, signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky being like lightning in its pomegranates and resembling thunder in the noise of its bells; and the ephod showed that God had made the universe of four elements; and as for the gold interwoven, I suppose it related to the splendor by which all things are enlightened. He also appointed the breast-plate to be placed in the middle of the ephod to resemble the earth for that has the very middle place in the world; and the girdle which encompassed the High Priest round, signified the ocean which goes round about and includes the universe. . . . . The mitre which was of the color of blue seems to me to denote Heaven, for how otherwise could the Name of God be inscribed upon it? It was also illustrated with a crown of gold because of that splendor with which God is pleased."

This, of course, is no symbolism in the true sense of the term nor worthy of the use of the colors in which they are found. These colors may have a natural symbolism,† but they are not symbolic in themselves. They only become symbolic in that the representation of particular subjects and ideas, is combined with them. Bearing this in mind, let us attempt to develop the

* *Antiquities*. III. vii. 7. Latin in CALVOER: *Rit Eccl.* Pt. II. Sec. vii. c. xxiii. p. 485.

† For example: *Green* is looked upon as the color symbolic of *hope*, because one thinks of the green of the plant which in Winter dies away, but in Spring revives again; or *blue*, as the symbol of *faithfulness*, reminding one of the Heavens whose blueness though for a time o'ercast, *always* breaks through again.

Digitized by Google

symbolism of these colors as used in the worship of Jehovah.

Examining the table given above, one cannot help noticing the preeminence of the use of the "fair-linen," (Byssus), the white. It appears to be *the* liturgical color and rightly so. It cannot be spoken of as a *color* in the exact sense of the term, yet it is. It is the simplest, purest,—primary and is the foundation for all the others. White is that wherein the light of the sun is reflected unhindered. Light is white and white is the *light* "color." In contrast to it is black (which note is never authorized as a vestment or Tabernacle use) which absorbs all colors and does not reflect the light of the sun. The light in it is subdued, the colors buried. These two present the contrasts with which we must start: Life, light, joy, holiness, activity on the one side; over against them, death, darkness, sadness, wickedness, inactivity. These are the Biblical contrasts in which these colors figure. Alone, WHITE in the Scriptures is the mark of *purity* and *victory*. It is that which is the particular color symbol of the Deity* and hence of those in His immediate Presence,† and those directly ministering to Him. This then in the dress of the priests, used so thoroughly would mark the fact of *their official ministry*, the representatives of the Holy One and servants in His worship. In the garb of purity, serving Him the Pure and Holy One, they stand before the people clothed in that raiment which to them is the symbol of that in which they must come before their Lord, to offer to Him their sacrifices with clean hands and pure hearts. White is the color common to all priests. It is *over this* that the High Priest wears the "golden vestments" in which all the colors appear.

The purple has been the color of kingly garb from oldest time,‡ and always a mark of those in authority. In the garb of the High Priest it would mean that he is the servant of Him

* The Ancient of Days, the Eternal in Dan. 7: 9 in snow-white robe. The Transfiguration of Christ.

† The Angels and Spirits. Elders and souls washed clean. Rev. of S. John.

‡ Judges 8: 26.

Digitized by Google

Who is spoken of as the King of kings and Lord of lords. *Purple* and *blue* being co-related as colors would be indicative, when used together in these vestments, of a two-fold activity of the Heavenly King.

PURPLE points to the *Majesty of God* in His *sublimity* and BLUE to the *Majesty of God* in His condescension. In connection with this latter note the color which is so prominent at the giving of the Law—beneath the Presence the purest blue—(sapphire)—It would follow from this that blue would always remind them of their Mighty God, the Law-Giver. Purple and blue then in the High Priest's vestments would mean that he is the servant of that Majesty, Who is sufficient unto Himself and yet condescends to covenant with man and is faithful in His covenant.

Scarlet is the color of fire, symbolic of destruction. Sins are spoken of as being "as scarlet" therefore deserving of wrath—punishment. It is scarlet which is found in cleansing and sacrificial rites. It may then be looked upon as a symbol of man's sinfulness and hence his guilt for which he must be punished unless he atone and obtain pardon. SCARLET then in the High Priest's vestments, with the white, would mean that he is the servant of the Holy God not only in His love but also in His wrath.

This is the liturgical use of colors in the O. T. Church. It has the Divine authority, but there is none for its symbolism. Yet we think there is one there and rightly so, whether that attempted is fitting or not. The use of the colors mentioned to the exclusion of all others, their definite appointment, cannot be considered as other than pointed and full of meaning. God authorizes, and man does no wrong to seek His purpose therein, if that purpose is to illuminate the use and aid in the understanding thereof..

The present use has much in common with the old. To say

Digitized by Google

it *is* traced back to the old and to trace it are two very different matters. Some writers say unqualifiedly that it comes direct and that there is excellent authority for it. These are in almost every case, Romanists and the authority, "Tradition." Others claim that with the development of some of the Church's dogmas, primarily those of the "*Priesthood*" and the "*Sacrifice of the Mass*" the entire Cultus had to be developed in conformity with it. This latter is the better position and more can be said in support of it. For when he who ministers becomes priest, then Sacrament becomes Sacrifice. How quickly then would a priestly dress arise, and where would one look for it more readily than to the example of the O. T. dress.* This, adapted to their need but feeling the effects of the customs in their time, with the additions necessary to the doctrine of the N. T. Sacrifice, would appeal the strongest. Had it not Divine authority? Was it not used in His worship?

Let us consider first what may be said for the former view mentioned above in the light of this development in the Church, and see to what it leads us.

The tradition is that some of the Apostles wore parts of the High Priest's dress. Eusebius† quotes a tradition which says St. John wore "the golden mitre." Epiphanius‡ bears the same testimony for St. James, the brother of the Lord. Valesius, Baronius,§ Bona‖ and other Romanists accept this as sufficient ground for their conclusion. The Council of Trent¶ adds to it its authority. There are many excellent evidences that the priests wore a white vestment** in secret during the Persecutions,

* Modern scholars do not consider this; but this use *is the legitimate example*, and we believe was considered, even though the fashion of the day made itself directly felt in the *form* the garments took.

† *Hist. Eccl.* III, 31.

‡ EPIPHANIUS: *Haer.* LXXVII, 14.

§ *Analecta*, c. 34, n. 39.

‖ *Rerum Liturgicarum.* Lib. I, c. xxiv. ¶ Session 22. c. v.

** AUGUSTI: *Denkwuerdigkeiten*, XI, 309, where references may be found to Gregory Naz., Athanasius, Chrysostom, Sozomen, Jerome, Gregory of Tours.

Digitized by Google

but this is only hinted at, due to the "Secret Discipline"*—and openly as soon as the Church was left in peace. It is said of Constantine, that he presented "glorious" vestments to various churches for use at the Sacraments, as a thank-offering. A rubric in the Liturgy of St. Clement† bids the Bishop to put on the "glorious vestment" at the Αναφορα. There are a few other scattering references to priestly dress during the next few centuries,‡ enough to lead to the time when they are found in wide use and almost completely developed.

There is sufficient evidence here to maintain without question that there was a distinct priestly official dress, and that it was white; but that other colors were employed, or that a complete symbolism was connected with it, cannot be shown.

Through these centuries comes the development of the doctrine of Sacrifice, and as it develops it brings many things with it. The Service—"the Mass"—develops with it. The Church Year side by side—until the Church stands forth outfitted with a complete system, a veritable "machinery of worship." The church buildings, their furnishings, those of the Sanctuary and of those that minister there, all grow with and are added for its sake. It is then, late in this period that the Mass vestments appear in almost their present form, suddenly complete, and immediately considered symbolic. *These vestments are colored.*

The Pseudo-Alcuin is the first to mention five liturgical colors; and note their appointments.§ The first authorization is found with Innocent III (1198–1216).‖ He mentions four:

* AUGUSTI: *Denk.* VIII, 208.

† NEALE AND LITTLEDALE: *The Lits. of St. Mk., St. Jas.*, etc. 3 ed. '75. DANIEL: *Codex Lit.* Vol. IV. *A. N. F.* Vol. VII.

‡ A. KRAZER: *de Liturg.* 1786, p. 278 sqq. and in MSS illuminated by monks, wherein the coloring of vestments may be looked upon as evidence, as well as ancient mosaics.

§ BINTERIM: *Denkwuerdigkeiten.* IV, 1. p. 197. ALCUIN: *de offic. eccl.* c. *de vestibus sacris.*

‖ INNOCENT III: *de sacr. Miss.* Lib. I. c. 65. *de quatuor coloribus principalibus, quibus secundum proprietates dierum vestes sunt distinguendæ.* M. S. L.

Digitized by Google

white, scarlet, black and green; and *bases the use on Exodus 28: 5* ff. His appointment follows: *Color albus tanquam symbolum candaris vitæ et castitatis*—for Feasts of Confessors and Virgins; *color rubeus*—for Feasts of Apostles and Martyrs; *color viridis*—for *Dominicales* and Feast Days; *color niger*—for Fast Days and Masses for the Dead. Added to these is the *color liturgicus quintus: violaceus*, which at his time was used only twice in the year at Rome: *Dominica Lætare* and *Festo Innocentium*. This use is limited to Rome and the sections of the Church where her direct influence was felt. In other sections while there is a use the differences are marked.* But this coming from the Pope served to introduce it more widely and make the use approach uniformity. The next century finds this the common use,† and as it is found developed in Durandus, with but few exceptions it is found authorized by Pius V (1566–1572) in the General Rubrics of the *Missale Romanum*.‡

The appointment of these colors and their symbolism as found in Durandus is as follows:

The four principal colors are white, red, black and green.

WHITE is used on the Festivals of Virgins who are not martyrs; and of angels; on all the Feasts of the Virgin; and on the Feast of All Saints (though some use red on this day). White is here the *symbol of purity*.

On the Festivals of S. John, the Evangelist; of the Conversion of Paul; and of the "Throne of Peter" (reason to be given later); also from the Vigils of the Nativity to the Octave of the

217 p. 799. The other Rom. references may be added in this connection. RUPERTUS: *de div. off.* Lib. I. BONAVENTURA: *de explic. Missæ.* WALF. STRABO: *de reb. eccl.* c. 24. HUGO DE S. VICTORE: *de Sacram.* Lib. II. *Parte* IV. RABANUS MAURUS: *de institut. clericorum*, I. SICARD OF CREMONA: *Mit.* II. c. 5. M. S. L. 213. p. 77.

* In Gall, Milan, England. Cf. first Table in ROLFE as above.

† WM. DURANDUS: *Rationale div. off.* Venice. 1589. Lib. III. c. xviii. *De quatuor coloribus, quibus ecclesia in ecclesiasticis utitur indumentis.* p. 54 ff. The "use" hereafter includes the other paraments as well.

‡ c. xviii. p. xxxix. Ed. *Mechliniæ.* 1880.

Digitized by Google

Epiphany inclusive, intervening Martyrs' Days excepted. Reason: because of the splendor of the Star.

At the Nativity of the Saviour, and of John the Baptist since both were born without sin, for John was sanctified in the womb. (!)

On the Festival *Cœna Domini* because of the consecration of the chrism for the purification of the soul.

On *Dominicales* at the office of the Mass until the Octave of the Ascension inclusive, whenever the office is celebrated *de tempore*, except on Rogation or Martyrs' Days.

At Easter because of the white raiment of the angel, and the white robes of those who are then baptized.

At the Ascension because of the whiteness of the cloud which received Christ and the white apparel of the angel.

At the Consecration of a Church, on whatever day it comes, for the Church is the Bride of Christ.

RED (SCARLET) is to be used on the Feasts of Apostles, Evangelists and Martyrs, because of the blood which they shed.

On the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, in memory of the Blood of Christ; some however, prefer to use *white* on this day.

From the Vigils of Pentecost to the following Saturday inclusive, in memory of the fire which descended on the Apostles.

The death of John the Baptist is celebrated with red.

All Saints' Day is celebrated with red as it was instituted in honor of the Martyrs; but the Roman use is *white* ("they shall stand clad in white raiment"), moreover, Virgins and Confessors who are not Martyrs are included in that celebration.

BLACK is to be used on Good Friday—*feria sexta in parasceve;* on days of affliction and abstinence on account of sin; and on Rogation Days; at penitential processions and Masses for the Dead.

From Advent to the Vigils of the Nativity and from *Septuagesima* to the *Sabbato magna.*

Digitized by Google

On the Feast of the Holy Innocents, though some prefer red.

Black is the symbol of affliction for sin, of adversity, of sorrow and death, and marks deep penitence.

GREEN is to be used on *feria* and common days and especially between the Octave of the Epiphany and *Septuagesima* and between Pentecost and Advent. "For green is between whiteness and blackness and redness."

To these four colors others are related as violet to black. To use violet on days when black is to be used is not improper. Hence the Roman Church uses violet from I Advent to the Vigils of the Nativity and from *Septuagesima* to the Vigils of Easter (exclusive), excepting *feria quinta Cœna Domini* (white) and *feria sexta in parasceve* (black).

Another Roman use* is three colors on the altar at Easter. First, black—removed after the First Lesson, signifying the time before the Law; second, whitish (*sub albus*), removed after the Second Lesson, typic of the time under the Law; third, red, removed after the Third Lesson, stands for the reign of grace through the Blood of Christ.

The above includes the main Roman appointments and a symbolism of the use widely accepted. In many respects it is pointed and very beautiful, and serves its purpose in lending its share to the complete harmony of Office and Season or Feast. But the color symbolism does not stop there. It is pushed into an artificial use which makes it well-nigh valueless. The vestments and other paraments† have their own peculiar symbolism,

* DURANDUS: *Rat.* I. c. 3. p. 13.

† BONA: *Tract Asceticus de Missa.* c. V. § II. p. 121. Also his *Rer. Lit.* Lib. I, cxxiv. p. 280 ff. opp. Antwerp. 1694. Cf. Collects to be said when vestments, etc. are assumed. *Miss. Rom.* lxxvi ff. Bona concludes his chapter *De sacris vestis et earum significatione* thus: *Sicut autem casula in duas partes dividitur, ita charitas duplex est, erga Deum et proximum: et sicut illa varias exigit colores, juxta temporis aut festivitatis diversitatem, ita haec varias affectus, nunc lætitiæ ob Dei magnalia, nunc gratitudinis ob ejus beneficia, nunc fortitudinis in adversis, nunc tristitiæ ob propria et aliena peccata.*" opp. p. 121.

Digitized by Google

some very beautiful, some very artificial; and then the *colored* vestment, etc. is provided with one as well. It is in such a complexity* that all the beauty of the simple symbolism is lost and the result proves its uselessness to the original purpose. That, we take it, was to aid both priest and worshiper to gain the *most* good out of the great harmonious, beautiful Office. Through the Church Year trying to make vivid the Great Things in her history, of Christ and His work, and to aid, appointing a color which with its simple and effective meaning, would always bring home through eye and thought some event or teaching; through the Church Year reflected in every Office, and the Office itself lending its share, in ministrant garbed in vestment of the Season —or Feast—color, serving before the altar whereon or about which it showed again—could one help but *see* the purpose?

The simple use is the proper and legitimate use, nothing can be said against it. Years of use have given it sanction sufficient to remain untouched to-day. Nor is there need to prove its growth from pre-Christian times to make it valid. If it subserves a good purpose and is in harmony with the Church's faith and doctrine, then let it be used.

Much is urged against the use of these colors in the Lutheran Church; some would keep but one or two. Their scheme is "foreign." Their purpose of "little value." Their use "overdrawn." "We have no scheme of priestly garb." But the garb and the colors are ours as much as the Liturgy and the *altar* and the *antependia* which hang before it! One could make an excellent plea merely from an artistic standpoint, but a stronger argument the Church *lives* every year. It is her *Church Year*. There is nothing that lends itself to marking the various Seasons and Feasts in the Year so vividly as the changing colors. The spirit of the Day or Time may make itself felt in the Variables

* During the Middle Ages "symbolism" runs riot in the Church, in every sphere. Cf. JOS. SAUER: *Symbolik d. Kirchengebaudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters*. Freiburg. 1902.

Digitized by Google

and other parts of the Service; but there is the Day's and Season's *color with its meaning*. The eye beholds and instantly the mind is working. What is the result? Is it helpful or valueless?

From an evangelical standpoint, this meaning has been summarized by Meurer very pointedly. He writes:* "WHITE, the pure brilliant white, 'the unbroken light,' 'the color of angels and saints' as Luther calls it, is certainly the chief Festival Color, if one dare name it color.

"In RED, that majestic color, the color of fire and blood, the Bride of Christ, the Church—which was founded through the Baptism of Fire of the Holy Spirit and preserves the testimony of so many precious blood-witnesses and followers of the Lamb Who was slain—clothes herself rightly on her highest Feast Days.

"GREEN is the most common and widely diffused color, the every day garb of the earth, the color which the eye is able to stand in great masses without being tired or blinded thereby and which always has something fresh about it. It will therefore lend itself—as a complete contrast to the red,—as the best color for the Church's common Seasons.

"VIOLET is a solemn earnest color and is especially appropriate for the times of preparation.

Concerning BLACK there is need for little comment. It is the negative to light, the other pole of the color scale. It is accepted as the universal symbol of the deepest sorrow and humility."

The appointments proper to the Lutheran Church.

WHITE:—Festival of the Nativity and throughout the Christmas Cycle to and inclusive of the Festival of the Epiphany, and the Sunday which falls in its Octave.

Festival of Easter, its Octave, *Quasimodogeniti*

* MEURER: *Altarschmuck*. p. 52.

Digitized by Google

and the Easter Cycle inclusive of the Feast of the Ascension and the Sunday after, *Exaudi*.

All Festivals of the Virgin which are retained.

RED (SCARLET):—Feast of Pentecost, and its Octave, Feast of the Holy Trinity.

Festival of the Reformation.

Festivals of Apostles, St. Michael's Day, Feast of All Saints.*

At the Dedication of a Church.

A Day of General Thanksgiving, and Festival of Harvest.

GREEN:—The Epiphany Season exclusive of the Festival and its Octave, and the Trinity Season exclusive of the Festival of the Holy Trinity, and any Apostles' or other Days otherwise appointed.

PURPLE:—The *Tempora clausa*, Advent and the Passion-tide beginning with *Septuagesima* and continuing through the Saturday in Holy Week, excepting Holy Friday.

BLACK:—Holy Friday.† Days of Humiliation and Prayer; and the "Festival of the Commemoration of the Dead" (Todtenfest) if observed.‡

A *complete* "Table of Appointments" is hard to find. The writer has compared some which are quite full but which do not agree in all respects with each other, nor with the above. This is based upon those existing at the time of the Reformation. If a use was found to be pure it was retained, if not the attempt was made to make it so.

As the Centre of all the Church's Life is Christ, so is the

* White would not be an inappropriate use; for reason see above under "white," p. 6 and note "†".

† Some appoint this for the entire Holy Week.—MEURER.

‡ This "Festival" is of German origin and widely observed in the German Churches.

Digitized by Google

Centre of the Church's Year, His Life and Work, and That in Its humility and exaltation is reflected in her days. For the humility, she takes the color of royalty to express the majestic lowliness of That Life for It is not a common life of humility and martyrdom, but That of the Royal Son of God; and when the deepest hour is reached and the Cross is raised, as the earthly sun is darkened and awe and fear reign when He gives up the ghost, so too she takes that color for her symbol. It shrouds the Church, it shrouds the heart in memory of that awful Day. It is pointed that she uses this color but one day in all her Year; and as it passes quickly from the eye to give place to its opposite, so too that awful thought is lost in the wonder and glory of the Resurrection.

For the days that tell of herself and her own faithful and martyred ones, she takes the color symbol, of her birth, of her ardent service, of the blood-giving of her children.

For her quiet days she takes the green—ever fresh, ever bright, to pass through her long Seasons as she gives the Word though so often heard, but always holding something new for those who journey with her, through the quiet, refreshing, ever green pastures of the Word.

There is no complete satisfactory treatment of the subject of Liturgical Colors, their history, use and symbolism, to the writer's knowledge; and the working out of this paper has been a matter of going through many things, in many cases in vain, hunting for threads of testimony with the purpose, to gather the accurate and let them speak for themselves. The treatment is far from thorough and complete; but if some hints have been contributed which will show the value, beauty and usefulness of the Use, then the purpose will be accomplished.

Liturgical colors—and one cannot speak of colors as "liturgical" without meaning they are symbolic*—are and always will

* They never were simply a scheme of colors.

Digitized by Google

be classed as *adiaphora*. But as we have sought and claim to have the pure and true in the Essentials, and seek to make them what the Church has always thought them, a grand harmony illuminated by its every part; then we dare not neglect a part which adds its share thereto. We would say unhesitatingly if Liturgical Colors could be shown to be useless to, and of no value in, the Church's Cultus, that they should not have a moment's thought. On the other hand if they are of value should they be slightingly passed over or altogether ignored?

How helpful to the worshiper when, on entering the Church, say on S. Paul's Day, he sees Altar and Pulpit decked with the scarlet hangings embroidered with the ancient symbols of the Deity. They draw and hold his eye and soon he thinks of S. Paul, Apostle—Martyr—Apostle working with never wavering love and devotion for the Lord Whom he had been granted to know; and Martyr finally bearing last witness for His cause and to his fervent love for it in giving his blood. There hangs the color that wakens that thought—the color of fire, the glowing tongues of the Spirit, through Whose coming the soul is wakened—the color of love, which is shown in the consecrated service—the color of blood with which that service is sealed. And should there be a "Cross and Crown" embroidered upon the Frontal, would it be useless or add another word? Rather the latter—for there is shown the life of loving service accomplished only 'mid trial and temptation, finally receiving the reward the crown that fadeth not away. Does it all not make us think of these great Examples and serve to urge us, mutely, to make our love and service as glowing and faithful?

Or let it be the Feast of the Nativity; and white is everywhere. White the peculiar color of the Deity, white the symbol of light and glory and victory. We hear a Babe is born in such lowly surroundings. We hear the Prophecies. We hear the Angel speak to Mary. But here we see a Little One like all oth-

Digitized by Google

ers; but while we look we hear the Angels of God singing their message, and we know Who has come and why. There then everywhere before us is the color of purest joy, of victory foreshadowed, of the Blessed God and His light and glory revealed in That Babe, mutely urging us to make our hearts pure and true for, and fill ourselves with this joy in, the coming of the Holy One.

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH.

Easton, Pa.

In addition to the works referred to in the Notes the subject may be found dealt with in the following:—

(With those marked * the writer is not acquainted):

RIETSCHEL: *Lehrbuch d. Liturgik.* I. 150 ff.

JAKOB: *D. Kunst im Dienst d Kirche.* p. 348 ff.

BUERKNER: *Kirchenschmuck u. Kirchengeraet.* p. 81.

BRAUN: *Zur Symbolik d. Lit. Farben.**

MARRIOTT: *Vest. Christianorum.* p. 175–186.

WALCOTT: *Sacred Archæology.**

ROHAULT DE FLEURY: *La Messe.* VIII. 25 ff.*

OTTE: *Handbuch d. Kirche. Kunstarchæologie d. deutsch. Mittelalters.* I. 272 ff.*

THALHOFER: *Handbuch d. Kath. Lit.* I. 911 ff.

FLUCK: *Kath. Lit.*

Portions of DURANDUS' *Rationale* are found in English translated by:

NEALE AND WEBB: *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments* which is a translation of Book I.

PASSMORE: *Sacred Vestments.* (Bk. III.)

Articles in SMITH AND CHEETHAMS: *Dict. Christian Antiquities.*

Digitized by Google

CONSECRATION.

THE Lutheran Church occupies a peculiar position on ecclesiological questions. On the one hand she retains many of the customs of the past and is altogether favorable to the historical and æsthetic point of view. On the other hand she sets her face against every custom that is doctrinally questionable.

I have been led to this remark by observing the frequent recurrence of the word Consecration in our ecclesiastical vocabulary. We read of the consecration of churches, the consecration of bells and even of the consecration of deaconesses. In the case of deaconesses it follows that if *they* are consecrated, the rest of the women in the Church are not consecrated. Or, as the Romanists put it, some are religious and the rest are secular. The act of "consecration" lifts the former into a different class. If it does not, the word is a misnomer. I have not yet heard the term used with us in connection with the appointment of *men* to the office of the ministry, but there is no telling when we shall read that so and so many men have been "consecrated."

Has the word a legitimate place in the Lutheran Liturgy? I hesitate to make a dogmatic assertion. I would rather invite a discussion of the question and thus bring out the reasons in favor of its use. Perhaps as an *advocatus diaboli*, I may provoke the friends of the term to defend the usage. In the imperfection of language it is sometimes difficult to find the right word for an idea, and words have often lost their first meaning. But, on the other hand, words are things and help to make ideas. It has happened before this that one generation played with an expres-

Digitized by Google

sion which a subsequent generation changed into a dogma. History makes words, but words also make history.

Etymology is sometimes helpful in a search of this kind, but in the present investigation it has proved of only secondary value. The word, being such a good one, was early applied to illegitimate uses, and was frequently confounded with other words of similar import.

According to Harper's Latin Dictionary, *consecrare*, sometimes written *consacrare*, in classic usage meant to devote something as sacred to a deity. Used in connection with persons it meant "to elevate to the rank of deity, to place among the gods." But when we turn to *dedicare* we find it has practically the same meaning, "to set apart a thing to a deity." Temples and places were dedicated. But there is still another word that must be reckoned with, *benedicere*, which meant to consecrate or hallow. In the Vulgate, *kadash*, Genesis 2, 3 is translated *benedixit*.

In ecclesiastical usage the words *consecrare*, *dedicare*, *benedicere* come into frequent contact, but the distinctions are not always sharp or permanent. DuFresne's *Glossary** gives the following definitions:

A bishop *dedicates* a hall, temple, altar. That is he presents the place to God, blesses and sanctifies it.

A bishop *consecrates* the vessels of the church, the chrism, oil, incense, etc. He consecrates those things which are thus separated from a common to a sacred use.

When the grace of God is invoked on persons and on a religious use of things, the *benediction* is pronounced. It is performed with the sign of the cross, invocation of the Holy Ghost, imposition of hands, ointment, holy water, incense, etc., with the use of the prescribed forms contained in the Benedictionals of the Roman Church. Some of these benedictions are pronounced by bishops only, others by any ordinary minister.†

* Cf. HERZOG'S *Real Encyclopædie*. 2d Ed. s. v. *Benediktionen*.

† AUGUSTI, *Denkwuerdigkeiten*, Vol. X, p. 170, refers to J. H. BOEHMER,

Digitized by Google

These definitions indicate the chief differences, but they are not beyond question and are sometimes confounded. One cannot help noticing however that the tendency among modern ritualists is to make Consecrations of many acts that were formerly Benedictions.

A better source of information than Etymology is Church History and History of Doctrines. In the Old Testament both men and things were consecrated or dedicated, that is, set apart for the service of God. In the New Testament all Christians are dedicated to God's service. "Ye are a holy priesthood, a peculiar people." As to persons, when a man becomes a minister he enters an office, but is not thereby lifted into a new order. The conceptions of sacerdotalism are a later development. Likewise of later origin was the practice of consecrating things such as churches, cemeteries or *vasa sacra*. It seems to have been suggested by the Manichæan doctrine of evil. But in the New Testament things in themselves are not evil. According to 1 Timothy 4, "Every creature of God is good," but our use of it may be evil. Hence it is a Christian duty to make a right use of things, which is possible through the Word of God and prayer. When a blessing is asked at table, the food is not consecrated or made any better, but our use of the food is consecrated.

The necessity of consecrating men and things seems to have been suggested still further by the teaching which prevailed in regard to the Mass. At first the Lord's Supper was the Common Service. But in the days of Cyprian, the Common Service began to give place to the Sacrifice offered by the minister for the purpose of securing the grace and favor of God. It was about this time that men began to speak about the consecration of the elements, bread and wine. In the East the moment of consecration or transubstantiation was in the so-called Epiclesis or invocation of the Holy Ghost. In the Western Church the

---

Jus eccles. Protest., as giving a definition of these three words. Who can find this book?

Digitized by Google

change was regarded as taking place in the use of the *verba*.

When once the idea of the consecration of the elements was thoroughly fixed in the mind, it became easy to transfer the thought of consecration to other objects. Benediction and consecration came to mean the same thing in the minds of the people. By parity of reasoning it was held that what consecration did for the elements of the Mass, benediction or dedication or consecration, for these terms began to be loosely defined, would do for persons and things. Miraculous powers were conferred by this act. Consecrations were multiplied. At first only bishops were consecrated. Then everybody and everything. Our modern consecrators seem to have caught the spirit of the third century.

Where the doctrine of the consecration of persons is held, there follows easily the doctrine of Apostolical Succession. Ministerial authority is conferred by tactual transmission. The bishop, by manual imposition, transmits to the candidate a *character indelebilis*. The Anglicans accepted this doctrine, and it is one of the chief grounds for their ecclesiastical claims, and for spelling their church with a capital C. Their Prayer Book has a form for the Consecration of Bishops.

The Methodists, as children of the Anglicans, inherited the verbiage and forms of the Prayer Book and they too have a form for the Consecration of Bishops, although when they make mere minor ministers they use another word.

The Lutheran teaching on Ordination does not endorse this position, although the ideas which underly this development are widely spread, and it is difficult to purge out the old Roman leaven. Even among us the idea prevails "once a minister, always a minister," and men who have long since demitted the ministry and entered into other employments are still looked upon as members of the sacred order.

CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

The earliest account of a church dedication is given by Sozo-

Digitized by Google

menus.* In the year 335 Constantine caused the Church of the Martyrs to be built at Jerusalem. A Synod being in session at Tyre, he invited all the bishops to come over to Jerusalem, and the church was dedicated with great pomp. The Church continued to celebrate the anniversaries of this occasion. This was the origin of the church-dedication anniversaries which became popular both in the East and the West. Ambrose made much of church dedications, but with him the church is holy because it is the place where the Sacrifice is made.†

The *Rituale Romanum* places the dedication of churches under the head of Benedictions. The Anglican books call the act a Consecration. The Methodists call it a Dedication.

Lutherans repudiate the idea of a special sanctity of churches. They deny that they are more holy than any other space on earth. They deny that there is a special Divine presence in the consecrated building, revealing itself there more than in any other place.‡

The Roman thought of the consecration of a church, was that God and His manifestations were in a special manner connected with the church. With such a conception the Lutheran Church was compelled to take issue and did so in the last of the Smalcald Articles.§ "There remain the papal juggleries connected with such foolish and puerile things as church dedications,

* Cf. KLIEFOTH, *Lit. Abh.*, 2, Vol. II, p. 116.

† *Ibid.* p. 237.

‡ It is not an easy task for the writer to say these words. Our people are not in special need of them. They are not manifesting too great a spirit of reverence in their churches. The way in which many of them enter the church, and the way in which many of them conduct themselves in the church does not indicate a pressing necessity for this doctrine. Personally I wish that I could take a different position, and impress upon ministers and young people a doctrine of the sanctity of the Lord's house which would prepare them for a more worthy participation in the Services of His house. But it is better to tell the truth, even though some may wrest it to their own destruction. It is a duty to be reverent in the house of God, but the duty must be enforced by other considerations than the sanctity of the building.

§ Cf. K. A. 4, 152.

Digitized by Google

baptism of bells, etc." (What would Luther say of the baptism of ships, if he lived in our day?)

The early Lutheran *Agenda* therefore contained no forms for church dedications. (Perhaps also because there were no churches to dedicate.) But in the year 1546 Luther himself dedicated a church. He commenced the Service with the following address:

"My dear friends, we are now about to bless this house and dedicate it to our Lord Jesus Christ. This duty devolves not only upon me but you also are to take hold of the sprinkler and censer so that this house may be consecrated, to the end that nothing else may take place here than that our Lord Jesus Christ may speak in it through His holy Word and we on the other hand may speak with Him through prayer and hymns of praise. Therefore, that it may be properly blessed and consecrated in a Christian manner, not like the churches of the papists with their bishops' chrism and incense, ... let us pray." After the prayer he preached a sermon from Luke 14, 1–11, on the proper celebration of the Lord's Day, and closed with these words: "Enough has now been said from the Gospel on the subject of the dedication of this house. And now dear friends, since you have helped to sprinkle it with the real holy water of God's Word, take hold of the censer, that is prayer, and let us call upon God and pray first for His Holy Church, that He may continue to us His Holy Word and spread it abroad everywhere, and that this house which has now been dedicated may be kept pure through the sanctification of God's Word, that it may not be desecrated by the devil or made unclean by his lies and false teaching. . . . . ." And this was the dedication.

Church dedications in Saxony at the beginning of the 18th century are thus described by Gerber: "The procession started from the parsonage or from the old church, went around the new church and entered it with the singing of a hymn. The school children walked in front followed by the ministers carrying the

Digitized by Google

vessels and the books. Then came the congregation walking two and two. The Service in the church was held in the usual manner with Psalm 84, Psalm 87, Psalm 132: 8, 9, or other suitable passages as lessons, and an appropriate sermon and prayers.*

With reference to the dedication of bells, pulpits, organs, altars, fonts and cemeteries, the same principles governed the Lutherans as in the dedication of churches. Whenever such objects were dedicated, the service consisted in their public presentation and use, and in supplicating the blessing of God upon their use and upon those who should use them. This was a very different thing from the Roman practice of consecrating these articles in the Mass, for the purpose of communicating to them some spiritual efficacy.

But Lutherans were not content with simply criticising ancient usage. They maintained the positive principle which should govern the Christian in his use of God's creatures as laid down in 1 Timothy 4. The creature did not need any sanctification to accomplish the object for which God had created it. But men needed sanctification and this could be attained only by the Word of God and by prayer. And men needed it not only for some things but for the whole life. Not the thing but the use of the thing is to be sanctified.†

Abraham Lincoln was not a liturgist, but in his Gettysburg speech he seems to have come very close to the Lutheran conception of consecration:

"We have come to dedicate a portion of that field. . . . But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. . . . It is for us the living rather to be dedi-

* K. A. 4, 153.

† Discussions of the Lutheran position on this subject are to be found in the Brunswick KO of 1531, BUGENHAGEN'S, and in the *Corpus Doctrinæ* of the Brunswick-Wolfenbuettel KO of 1569, composed by CHEMNITZ.

Digitized by Google

cated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us here to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us."

With the recognition of this principle that it is not the *thing* which is to be consecrated but that *we* are to be consecrated and that *our use* of the thing is to be consecrated, we gladly accept every service in which persons or things are devoted to the service of God. But our consecration will be larger and more free. We shall ask a blessing over a good book as well as over a meal. The humble widow who in the fear of God supports her family at the wash-tub is as truly consecrated as the sister who wears a garb, and the "man with the hoe" stands on the same plane as the consecrated bishop.

I would not wish to be understood as desirous of doing away with any of the beautiful services in which the Church sets apart earthly objects for sacred use. On the contrary, I would gladly see them multiplied. But such a service is not a consecration in the historical significance and in the popular conception of the term. It is an offering to God, and a prayer for a sanctified use of that which has been offered. I would therefore venture to hope that some other word might be substituted for consecration. For places and things, would dedication be better? For persons I am not prepared to suggest a substitute. As I stated in the beginning, my purpose is to awaken discussion and not to affirm a dogmatic certainty.

GEORGE U. WENNER.

New York.

Digitized by Google

THE LITURGICAL USE OF THE CREEDS.

It is, perhaps, a mere coincidence that the Oecumenical Creeds, which are Trinitarian in character, should be three in number,—the *Nicene*, which was adopted at the Council of Nicæa, 325 A. D.; the *Apostles'*, whose latest clause was added 650 A. D.; and the *Athanasian*, which originated in its earliest form about the middle of the fifth century and gained its present form about the middle of the ninth century.

In the Communion Service, the Nicene or the Apostles' Creed is used at the Morning Service, according as there is or is not a Communion. No Creed is recited at the Vesper and Matin Services. The Apostles' Creed is found in several of the Orders for Ministerial Acts. The Athanasian Creed appears at some place in the Service-Book, but it nowhere forms a part of the public worship. When it is remembered that the public worship reaches its highest point in the Communion Service and that in this Service the Nicene Creed alone is employed, it will be seen that the relative value set upon the Creeds, in their Liturgical Use corresponds to their historical order (in their definitive form)—the Nicene, the Apostles', and the Athanasian.

I. THE NICENE CREED.

As has just been said, this Creed is the Communion Confession and is recited whenever the Communion is administered. Its use in the Service began at an early date. Already in 488 A. D., Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of Antioch, directed that it should be recited at every gathering of a congregation, and a similar

Digitized by Google

direction was given by Timotheus, Patriarch of Constantinople, 511 A. D. From the East this use gradually spread to the West, entering Europe by way of Spain, 589 A. D. "Thence it came, with the addition of the *filioque* in the Third Article, to France and Germany under Charlemagne. . . . Finally, it was accepted by Rome under Benedict VIII, in the year 1014. Luther rightly kept it, and in 1524 gave it to the people in versified form, to be sung by them after the minister had introduced the first line."*

II. THE APOSTLES' CREED.

As the Nicene properly belongs to the Communion Service, so the Apostles' properly belongs to the Baptismal Service and the subordinate weekly and daily services, the two Creeds corresponding to the two Sacraments.† In this use is preserved its historical character, for this Creed is founded on and developed from the Baptismal Formula, Matt. 28: 19. The Creed itself is the gradual development of the Confession of Faith required of the Catechumens in the early Church. Its use, however, formed no part of the public worship. "For a long time the rule of faith was regarded as a secret, and was withheld even from the Catechumens till the last stage of instruction. This explains the fact that we have only fragmentary accounts of it in the writings of the sub-Apostolic and following age. Even as late as the time of S. Augustine we find him laying it down as a fundamental principle, *Symbolum nemo scribit ut legi potest*, 'No one writes down the Creed that it may be read.' "‡ When, where and by whom this Creed began to be used in the public Offices of the Church, is not known with any degree of certainty.

III. THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

This Creed does not enter into the public Service of the Lutheran Church at the present time. At the time when Luther's

* *Liturgics*. HORN. p. 56.

† JACOBS' *Lutheran Movement*. p. 302.

‡ MACLEAR'S *Introduction to the Creeds*. p. 10.

Digitized by Google

metrical version of the Nicene was more common than that Creed itself, the Athanasian was occasionally used, as on Trinity Sunday and at Ordinations. The *Te Deum* was also used at times.* It is interesting to note that two of the old names of this Symbol (tenth and eleventh century, respectively) are, *Hymnus S. Athanasii de Trinitate*, "a Hymn of S. Athanasius concerning the Trinity," and, *Psalmus Quicunque Vult*, "the Psalm *Quicunque Vult*." In a printed sermon defending the use of the Athanasian Creed in the Anglican Service-Book, Canon Liddon has this foot-note: "To refer to the '*Quicunque*' as a Psalm may be only a pedantic crotchet. But if it is intended to imply that as a Psalm the *Quicunque* is not properly a Creed, this is to contradict the formal language of the Church of England both in the Articles and the Prayer Book."† It may here be stated that in the Anglican Liturgy the use of the Creeds is as follows: The Nicene is said in the Order for Holy Communion. In the Order for Evening Prayer only the Apostles' is used. In the Order for Morning Prayer the Apostles' is used, "Except only such days as the Creed of S. Athanasius is appointed to be read." There are twelve of these Days, including, of course, Trinity Sunday. The Athanasian Creed also forms part of the Liturgy of the Greek Church. The Holy Spirit is said to be "of the Father." The words, "and of the Son," are omitted.

THE POSITION OF THE CREED IN THE SERVICE.

We here speak of the Nicene Creed. Its earliest place was in the *Missa Fidelium* before the *Preface*, the place which it still holds in the Eastern Church. Upon its introduction into the Church of the West, it was recited by the congregation before the Lord's Prayer. It was in France and Germany that it was placed after the reading of the Gospel.‡ In the Lutheran Orders

* JACOB'S *Lutheran Movement*. p. 302.

† For the Sermon advocating the retention of the Creed, see *University Sermons*. Second Series. pp. 95–114.

‡ HORN'S *Liturgics*. p. 56.

Digitized by Google

it is introductory and subordinate to the Sermon. "In a few Orders," says Dr. Jacobs,* "it directly follows; but in most, it precedes. In the latter case, its Office is to give a summary of the faith as a whole before the minister expands the part contained in the Gospel for the Day. The whole horizon of the faith sweeps before the view, and, then, the hearers are prepared to enter the one limited part. Where it follows the Sermon, as in the Reformation of Cologne, it is the affirmative answer to the Sermon. Another explanation is sometimes given. 'The Creed is recited after the Gospel that while, by the Holy Gospel, there is faith unto righteousness, by the Creed, there may be confession with the mouth unto salvation.' (Durandus). 'After Christ has spoken to His people, it is proper for them to express their belief the more ardently and intently, as it is written in the Gospel of John that they did, who had heard the word from the Samaritan woman.' (Gerbert)."

THE PURPOSE OF THE CREEDS IN THE SERVICE.

The Creeds form a fixed and normal part of the Liturgy, and belong to the Sacrificial Acts of Christian worship. They are a tribute of praise rendered by the worshipper to the Triune God and themselves constitute an act of objective worship. They honor God by this declaration of faith in Him as he has revealed Himself to be, and they honor His Holy Word by this acknowledgment of its absolute truth. To confess before God our faith in Him is to describe Him as He is; to describe Him as He is, is to worship Him with praise,—as we do when we declare before H m our belief in "One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of His Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, by Whom all things were made.

* *Lutheran Movement.* p. 301.

Digitized by Google

. . . . And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets." Such is the very language of devotion and adoration,—of a John the Baptist, "I have seen, and have borne witness that this is the Son of God;" of a Nathanael, "Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Israel;" of a Peter, "We have believed and know that Thou art the Holy One of God;" of a Martha, "Yea, Lord, I have believed that Thou art the Christ, the Son of God;" of a Thomas, "My Lord and my God;" of a St. Paul, "There is one God the Father, of Whom are all things, and we unto Him. And one Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things, and we through Him." It is, we repeat, the very summit of adoring worship when we come before the Triune God and in the language of the Creeds make confession of our steadfast faith in God the Father, Who has created us, in God the Son, Who has redeemed us, and in God the Holy Ghost, Who has sanctified us.

The subjective benefits which accrue to the faithful confessor in the Liturgical Use of the Creeds are manifold. For one thing, as Dr. Liddon has pointed out,* they prevent religious emotion from becoming a passing sentiment, destined to evaporate and disappear. If the emotion is to last, it must not be separated from the event or person that called it forth. As the event is lost from mind, as the person fades from view, the impression becomes dim and indistinct, and then dies away; and the emotion shares its fate. "Here is the value of the Christian Creeds: they fix in clear outline before the soul of the believer the great objects of his faith, which rouse in him movements of love and awe: they resist the tendencies of unassisted emotion to lose itself on what is vague and indistinct: they place before him God, in His Essential Threefold Nature, and in His Redeeming and Sanctifying work, and in this way they sustain the living emotion of the

* *Passiontide Sermons.* p. 205.

Digitized by Google

soul directed towards God, as revealed by Himself. The Creeds are not a series of detached propositions: they are a collection of statements which correspond to a living whole. To an unbeliever a Creed only suggests the reflection: How many propositions—dogmas—for a man to believe! To a believer, before whose soul's eye the Divine Object described in the Creeds is livingly present, a Creed suggests the reflection: How impossible to omit any one of those elements of a description which the Reality demands."

From Bishop Westcott* we learn several further uses served by the Creeds in general, and more particularly in the Service. Such a confession of our faith gives a positive distinctness to aspiration and offers a watchword for effort. Having found the truth ourselves, we will not be satisfied merely to give expression to it in a verbal formula; but because this truth concerns others as well, we will be constrained to impart it also to them. Again, a formal Creed witnesses to the universality of our faith. "Let us extend our thoughts, and remember that the confession which we make is made practically in the same form from day to day by countless congregations in Western Christendom, and we shall know that that which we have in common with all who bear Christ's Name is greater, immeasurably greater, than the special beliefs, however precious to ourselves, however perverse and wilful and unfounded in the eyes of others, which keep, and must keep us apart." Again, the Creed which binds us all together now, even in spite of ourselves, binds us to all the past. "As often as we repeat the Creed of our Baptism we repeat the words by which Martyrs have lived and died, the words under which nations have been enrolled as soldiers of Christ's army, the words which have remained through every vicissitude the standard of Christian belief. And he must be something less than a man who is not moved by the power of this unbroken fellowship with the past, which makes us heirs of every victory of Faith." Once more, the Creed which unites us with the past, preserves for us

* *The Historic Faith.* pp. 19-22.

Digitized by Google

in complete and harmonious outline both the foundations and the proportion of Faith. "The Creed is of no one age. As often as we repeat it we are guarded from forgetting the articles which our circumstances do not force upon our notice. All the facts remain; and when a crisis comes, that will be ready to our hand which our fathers have delivered to us. We want nothing new, but the old rekindled by a fuller light."

Such, then, is the Use of the Creeds in the Service. There are other incidental offices performed by such Liturgical Use, but the principal functions have at least been alluded to. It is a necessity arising from a law of our being that when we arrive at a conviction of truth we do give expression to it. We have such a conviction of religious and distinctively Christian truth, and we feel impelled to declare in words our heart's belief. The words which express this belief the most clearly and fully are furnished to us in the three General Creeds. We adopt their language not because the Church has made them for us and demands of us such adoption and confession, but spontaneously, willingly, gladly, because they best express the personal convictions which we have derived from God's pure Word alone. The God Who has revealed Himself in His Holy Word, the Triune God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Creator, Saviour and Sanctifier,—it is this God in Whom we delight to confess our personal belief. While we confess Him, we moreover worship and adore Him; and as individuals and as a congregation, we recognize our place and portion and blessed privilege in the Holy Christian Church, the Communion of Saints.

The Service opens in the Name of the Triune God: it closes with a Doxology to the Triune God. In the middle stands the Creed, explaining and justifying both the Name and the Doxology.

JOHN W. HORINE.

Charleston, S. C.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE LITURGY OF THE NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH.

THE congregation comes to church to glorify God and to upbuild itself.—It does not come together simply to serve God through prayer, confession, thanksgiving and praise, but also to receive the peculiar blessing which God has promised it, and which gives and nourishes a new spiritual life.

God's means of blessing are His Word and the Sacraments.

That God comes to His people through these means of grace, and that they can serve Him in the manner already stated, are basic principles in the Norwegian Lutheran Church Service.

These principles were fixed by Luther and the "Augsburg Confession."

Luther, in his *Formula Missæ* of 1523 followed the Roman Catholic Liturgy as closely as possible, leaving out whatever was false. And in Central and North Germany this formula was made the basis of the Order of Service, while in Southwest Germany, where the Lutherans came into touch with the Catholics and the Reformed, his *Deutsche Messe* was used. Even this latter formula has had an influence on the Norwegian Liturgy, in that it has been followed in the Order of Service that has to do with the Sacraments, as the *Formula Missæ* has been followed in what has to do with the Word.

The Order in the *Formula Missæ* is: Introit, *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, Collect, Epistle together with Gradual and Hallelujah, Gospel, Nicene Creed, Sermon, Preface in Latin, the Words of the Institution in German, the *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, Lord's

Digitized by Google

Prayer and *Pax*, and the singing of the *Agnus Dei* during the Distribution, and finally another Collect and the Aaronitic blessing.

The *Deutsche Messe* is more radical, that is, it is less like the Roman Catholic. In the first part of the Service there remains only *Kyrie*, Collect, Epistle, Gospel, Creed and Sermon. A noteworthy addition were the hymns sung in German. Even the Creed was made a hymn—but that goes too far. The sacramental ceremonies are likewise impoverished, for the Preface was dropped, the Lord's Prayer was paraphrased as a part of the Exhortation, the rich expressions about the death of Christ and the remembrance were not given at all.

The more strict Lutherans adopted the *Formula Missæ* and strove hard to get a beautiful Service. They began to use the Apostles' Creed instead of the Nicene; they introduced Confession and Absolution, and the General Prayer after the Sermon; they established the Exhortation to the communicants; and they provided for the singing of the Litany if there was no Communion. Their Service carries out the basic principles of the Lutheran Service fully; it shows a harmonious and living activity by both minister and congregation; it balances between freedom and rule, between the free word and the liturgical parts.

At the time of the Reformation Norway was united with Denmark. It is true that Norway was still called a kingdom and retained her old national laws; yet, as she was really governed by Copenhagen, we may consider her little else than a Danish province. Therefore when the Reformation entered Denmark, it came also to Norway.

The transition from the Roman Catholic to an Evangelical faith and practice was naturally slow; and during these many years there was an uncertainty in the forms of the Church Service. When the authority of the Pope was set aside in 1536 and the State Church of Denmark was established, King Christian III was obliged to write to the Elector of Saxony to "borrow" Bu-

Digitized by Google

genhagen and Melanchthon "for the glory of God and the establishment of a Christian Order." Denmark did not then have capable men for this work, and Germany could not spare those asked for.

Thereupon King Christian appointed a committee of his own men to draw up an Order of Service. He changed it somewhat and then sent it to Luther, who, together with the theologians at Wittenberg, approved of it. At the same time that Luther made his reply, Bugenhagen came to Denmark. The King and he went through the Order of Service again, making a few changes in it and adding eight appendices. In 1537 the "Ordinance" went into force and in 1539 it was passed by the Diet; in 1542 it was published in Danish. It treats of Church Government as well as the Order of Service; it is at once a manual of Church Law and Liturgy. As already stated, it follows both the *Formula Missæ* and the *Deutsche Messe*. It remained in force until 1685, when it was superseded by the "Ritual." In Norway it was copied in all its essentials by the "Ordinance" of 1607.

During this transition period just described there was no fixed form of Service, owing to the fact that each pastor was left to follow his own judgment in the matter. But even after the "Ordinance" of 1542 was published, there was considerable shifting, because, while the "Ordinance" specified the Order of Service, it did not give the specific form of each part. In this matter it simply referred to other handbooks, of which there was already a number, such as, Peder Plades' "Enchiridion" of 1538, and Frantz Vormordsen's "Manual" of 1539. The first named is a translation of Luther's "Enchiridion" and his book on Baptism and Marriage. The last is a handbook of the whole Service, giving forms, Collects, references to the speeches that belong to the several liturgical parts, etc.; it did not contain the texts, but only the references to them in the Bible. The great fault with these and other handbooks was, that they did not contain all that was to be used in each part

Digitized by Google

of the Service; another was, that they did not agree in all parts.

The "Ritual" mentioned above was the "Ordinance" without the parts on Church Government. Its authorization was due to Bishop Hans Bagger, Provost Henrik Bornemann, Dr. Hans Leth and Bishop Thomas Kingo. The "Book of Service" appeared three years later in 1688, published by Bishop Bagger, —the Ritual which, excepting a few changes, has been used in the Norwegian Church to the present day. This book of Bagger's contained also a good deal of pastoral advice, some of it very curious to our notions. This was printed in the Norwegian editions of the book until the "New Ritual" came out. As an example of this pastoral advice, I quote the following from a Norwegian edition of 1879: "Whoever wantonly swears and curses, and thus takes the Name of God in vain, shall be considered as one who does not deal honestly. . . . . If, during the Service at church, the children profane it by play, noise or any other misdemeanor on the church grounds, then the authorities shall have the power to punish the younger ones with whippings and the older ones with the pillory," etc.

In the first decades after the Reformation in Denmark there were made two important changes in the Service: the one, that the Sermon was given a fixed place; the other, that Danish hymns took the place of some of the old chants sung by the preacher and the choir. Both of these changes became permanent.

The "Ordinance" Service began with silent confession by the minister, during which he knelt at the altar, and after which, at the King's desire, he offered up prayer for the Word, the King and the realm. While he was doing this the congregation, kneeling, read a silent confession. In place of this, in the "Ritual" there was an opening prayer which was read while the congregation knelt. Then, in the "Ordinance," followed the Introit and *Kyrie* (sung three times by the congregation), but in the "Ritual" the *Kyrie* followed the opening prayer. The next

Digitized by Google

part was the angels' anthem, "*Gloria in Excelsis*," which was afterwards made a hymn. Then, the minister, turning to the congregation, sang, "The Lord be with you," to which the congregation, rising, sang: "And with thy spirit." The next was the Collect, with an "Amen" by the congregation; and then the Epistle, followed by the Hallelujah. But in the "Ritual" a hymn bearing on the Epistle or introducing the Gospel was substituted for the Hallelujah. The Gospel was thereupon read and replied to by the congregation in: "God be praised for His glad tidings," or, as in the "Ritual," "Praise be to Thee, O Christ." The Creed was read next, later replaced by a hymn. The Service from the pulpit was to begin with prayer. The "Ritual" required the minister to admonish to prayer and all to unite in the Lord's Prayer. In the festival season of the year, from Christmas to Pentecost, a festival verse was sung before the reading of the Gospel text, and sung three times on the great Festivals, while the minister knelt in the pulpit. After the Sermon followed a general Confession and Absolution, which, however, was soon dropped. The "Ordinance" and the "Ritual" prescribed the form of the General Prayer after the Sermon, leaving the contents to the judgment of the minister, but the "Handbook" of 1539 gives a model. Thereupon came the Lord's Prayer and (in the "Ritual" only) the Aaronitic blessing and a hymn.

Baptism and the Lord's Supper were next. The Exhortation before Communion, of a polemical-dogmatical tone, was originally from Melanchthon's "Articles of Visitation", though here from *Deutsche Messe*, and is still used. It was followed by the Lord's Prayer and the Words of the Institution of the Sacrament and the Consecration. The minister gives the bread and wine to the Communicants saying to each one: "This is the true Body of Christ" and "This is the true Blood of Christ." This formula was introduced for the first time by Jesper Brockmann, in 1646, the word "true" being against the Calvin doctrine. The *Agnus*

Digitized by Google

Dei was sung three times during the Distribution according to the "Ritual." A Communion blessing and a hymn of thanksgiving closed the Communion ceremony, and the Aaronitic blessing, with the sign of the cross, and a hymn and closing prayer end the Services.

In the comparison given above, it will be noted that the Service in the "Ritual" is a little more meagre than in the "Ordinance," though it may still be considered Apostolic to the core. It gave the Sermon and hymns more prominence than its predecessor.

Still greater changes were made by Pietism and Rationalism. The Service became meagre indeed. Pietism cut out the formal prayers and limited the ceremonial parts, and Rationalism did its best to make it short. Bastholm published in 1785 "An Attempt Towards a Better Plan in the Church Service," which aimed to make the Service "short, interesting and inspiring." Its character was to be dramatic. As illustrating this may be mentioned: During prayer the congregation knelt; they sang the Amens; the chants, Creed and Blessings were omitted; and the Lord's Prayer was re-written where used. A new so-called "Evangelical Christian" hymnal was introduced. But the old hymns, which it contained, had been so hideously distorted, that the book was said to be neither evangelical nor Christian.

The "Rescript" of 1802 did not really proceed as far as Bastholm. The new hymnal was adopted and the following changes made in the Service: The *Kyrie* was omitted; the Creed and *Gloria* were used alternately every other Sunday, but both were soon omitted in practice; the Gospel was not read before the altar; fewer verses of the hymns were sung; the Sermon was made more prominent. In short, the Service had become very impovished, though the marks of glory were not altogether defaced.

And this was the Order of Service and its character at the time of the first Norwegian emigration to America and even down to 1887. This was the Service that the Norwegians of

Digitized by Google

America brought along with them. Its parts were: Opening Prayer, Hymn, Collect, Epistle, Hymn, Sermon, General Prayer, Blessing, Hymn, Collect, Hymn, closing Prayer. The Baptism and Communion parts retained their character.

In the meanwhile great changes had taken place in Norway, in religion and Church affairs not the least. A deep, spiritual, religious movement, begun in about 1800 by Hans Nielson Hauge, a layman, grew apace on every side, especially among the common people. This awakening was sound and Lutheran. The old devotional literature and hymns were again in high honor and pious use. Though the rationalist Order of Service was kept at the regular public meetings, other forms were observed at the special devotional meetings, which began to be common. At first the ministry was very hostile to the movement, but, little by little, it weakened as the new life seemed to course through the veins of the Church. Minister after minister became its defenders; until at last, about 1850, the theological faculty at Christiania also were of this new mind. Since then the late Professor Gisle Johnson has been the greatest spiritual leader of Norway.

The Norwegian people were almost completely regenerated in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1814, when the union with Denmark was dissolved, they awoke to a new sense of nationality and secured a Constitution, which made them as free as any people in the world. The King of Sweden is at the same time King of Norway, but otherwise she is independent and a land of freedom. At the same time that her people pushed forward to political freedom, did they extend their activities in other ways. Religion, as I have shown, was one of these; it quickened these other endeavors and was in its turn quickened by them.

It is not to be wondered at that inside the Church were heard demands for reform. The pulpit revived the pure doctrine and breathed a new spirit. A religious press came on the field,

Digitized by Google

anxious to propose questions of moment and to discuss them. One of the first problems was as to a hymnal. The Evangelical Hymnal, which had never been popular, had already been superseded by Guldberg's. But Guldberg's, again, was not satisfactory either. Here, then, was a great problem. And there arose the man to solve it. This was M. B. Landstad, a man thoroughly in sympathy with the new religious spirit, himself a poet, completely national, and thus able to give expression to the religious emotions of the Norwegian heart. By his side we may place the musician Ludvig Lindeman, likewise possessed of the new religious and national enthusiasm. He has composed many hymn-tunes, the motives of many of which are taken from the folk ballads. He has taught his people how to sing unto the Lord; he has done more than any one else to make the Norwegian congregation a singing congregation. The Landstad–Linderman hymnal, which was prepared to meet a great need, has proved very satisfactory, and deserves all the admiration it has awakened in all who know it well.

In connection with the new spirit of preaching came a demand for a richer content,—one series of texts was felt insufficient. This problem was assigned to a committee to work out; after several years two new series of texts from the Gospels and Epistles, essentially like those in the Swedish Church, were proposed. Since 1887 the three series have been in general use in the Norwegian Church. The men to whom we are most indebted for the completion of this work are Professors Gisle Johnson and A. Bang and Rev. Sven Bruun.

Still another question was in regard to the Liturgy. Revs. Hesselberg and G. Jensen, whose scholarship on this point was the greatest, undertook the difficult task of revising the Book of Service. In their revision, the ministerial acts (Baptism, Communion, Marriage, Burial, etc.) were left substantially as in the old Book of Service, but, on the other hand, the Order of Service was entirely reconstructed. The royal decree of January 8, 1887,

Digitized by Google

which authorized this new Book of Service, gave preference to the new Order of Service, although the congregations were permitted to use the old.

The number of congregations, both in Norway and America, that has adopted the newer and richer Order of Service is constantly increasing.

This new Order of Service, which is based mainly on the Liturgy of the Bavarian Church, is as follows:

Opening Prayer, read by the Assistant (Precentor) before the Chancel, while the Minister kneels at the Altar. "O Lord, we have come into this Thy holy house to hear what Thou, God the Father, our Creator, Thou Lord Jesus, our Saviour, Thou Holy Spirit, our Comforter in life and in death, wilt say unto us. By Thy Holy Spirit, and for Christ's sake, O Lord, so open our hearts that we may learn to be sorry for our sins, to believe in life and in death on the Lord Jesus, and to make daily progress in holiness of life and conduct. Hear and answer us for Christ's sake. Amen."

Opening Hymn, contents determined by the Church Year.

Confession of Sin. Minister. "Let us bow before the Lord and confess our sins." (Kneeling before the Altar) "I, a poor sinner, confess unto Thee, holy and almighty God, my Creator and Redeemer, not only that I have sinned against Thee in thoughts, words and deeds, but also that I have been conceived and born in sin, so that before Thee, O righteous God, I am altogether guilty and worthy of condemnation. I therefore flee for refuge to Thine infinite mercy, and pray Thee for Christ's sake: God be merciful to me a sinner. Amen." Or: "Holy God, Heavenly Father: Look in mercy upon me, a poor, sinful man. I have provoked Thee by thoughts, words and deeds, and know the evil desires that are in my heart. Have patience with me. Forgive me all my sins and grant that I may fear and love Thee alone. Lord have mercy upon me. Amen."

The Kyrie, or a Litany Hymn.

Digitized by Google

The Gloria. Minister (intones) "Glory to God in the highest." Congregation (sings) "And on earth peace, good will toward men."

Salutation and Collect for the Day (intoned).

The Epistle. Congregation standing.

Short Hymn, corresponding to Epistle or a Hymn of Praise.

The Gospel. Congregation standing, and singing after the Gospel the Response "Praise and glory be to Thee, O Lord," or "Blessed be the Lord for His glad tidings."

Apostles' Creed (Minister facing Altar).

Hymn.

Sermon, preceded by a Prayer from the Pulpit and closed with the *Gloria Patri.*

The General Prayer, for which two forms are given, closing with the Lord's Prayer and the Apostolic Benediction.

Hymn. Here may follow Baptism of children or Catechization.

Hymn, or

The Preface, including *Salutation*, *Sursum Corda*, *Gratias Agamus* and *Vere Dignum* (all intoned).

The Sanctus.

The Exhortation, after which as many of the Communicants as can do so kneel before the Altar and all others stand until the Distribution.

The Lord's Prayer (intoned).

The Words of Institution (intoned).

The Distribution, with the Sentences, "This is Christ's true Body," "This is Christ's true Blood," and "Our crucified and risen Lord, Jesus Christ, Who now hath bestowed upon you His Holy Body and Blood, whereby He hath made full satisfaction for all your sins, strengthen and preserve you in true faith unto everlasting life. Peace be with you. Amen."

A Hymn of Thanksgiving.

Thanksgiving Collect. Minister faces Congregation and in-

Digitized by Google

tones "Let us give thanks and pray" and facing Altar intones "We thank Thee, O Lord, Almighty and Everlasting God, that Thou hast refreshed us with these Thy salutary gifts. We now beseech Thee, of Thy mercy, to strengthen us, through these same gifts of Thine, in faith toward Thee, and in fervent love toward one another, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord."

Salutation and *Aaronic Blessing* (intoned).

The Closing Hymn.

The Closing Prayer, read by the Assistant (Precentor) before the Chancel, while the Minister kneels at the Altar. "O Lord, with all our heart we thank Thee that Thou hast now taught us what Thou wilt that we shall believe and do. Help us now, our God, by Thy Holy Spirit, for Christ's sake, to keep Thy Word in a pure heart, thereby to be strengthened in faith, perfected in holiness of conduct, and comforted in life and in death. Amen." This prayer concludes with the Lord's Prayer.

When the Holy Communion is not administered the Hymn after the Sermon is followed by a Collect for the Word, the Benediction, Closing Hymn and Closing Prayer as above.

The Minister is permitted to *say* the words he should intone "if he possess little or no ability to sing."

The English translation of the "Alterbog" here given is the Order of Service officially adopted by the United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America.

We might, in passing, note that this Service Book was fortunately brought forward in Norway under a liberal ministry, of which the famous Jacob Sverdrup was leader. Under him it was sure to be adopted in conformity with the needs of the Church. It was adopted, and has proved peculiarly satisfactory.

It would make an interesting study to account for the character and form of, say, Confession and Absolution and the reasons for the changes made in these, as well as in the Order of Service proper. Here, however, I will let it rest in saying that every part of the Service has an interesting history.

Digitized by Google

But to mention a few characteristics of the new Order of Service. The two-fold principle with which we started—that the congregation came to serve God and to receive His blessing—, is adhered to throughout. The pastor appears as God's spokesman; the congregation is made more than a passive recipient. Note that the congregation takes part not only in the singing of hymns, but also in confession, praise and creed. Note also the fulness of the expression of faith—in confession, praise and creed. It is true that in spoken prayer the congregation is not allowed to take part other than through the precentor, who makes the opening and closing prayers. But note that the General Prayer following the Sermon has been given a permanent form and contents and not only a form into which might be put anything as in the case of the "Ordinance" prayer. What is lacking now to make our Services more ideal is: that the congregation take part in the General Prayer in some way and that there be an Introit and Hymns for the new text series.

A rich and complete Order of Service is a good thing. One who does not understand it may underestimate its value and even despise it. Yet, even though it is not understood, even though it does not appeal to the unbeliever, it is a great help in preserving the spirit and order among the believers; in fact, it is often as inspiring as the Word itself. There have been times when the Word of God has not been preached from the pulpit; such times may come again. The new Rationalism is already at the church door to be admitted as spokesman. Now, if the liturgic part of the Service be not heavily freighted with God's truth, and if the dire evil should come to pass that the pulpit again become rationalistic, what should we say about the plight of the congregation?

On the other hand, if the congregation shall come to understand and prize its Liturgy, it can get nourishment for its spiritual existence in faith through the Liturgy when the Sermon becomes spiritless and unsound. And as the congregation is kept

Digitized by Google

in the faith by the Liturgy, the minister, in turn, is strengthened in his purpose to be true to his faith by the example of his congregation as well as by the influence of the Liturgy itself.

The new Liturgy is as beautiful as it is inspiring when it is properly rendered. The hymns contribute somewhat to this effect. Also Lindeman's revised chants, which are more melodic than the originals, at the same time that they are recitative. Another important contribution is Professor Rydning's arrangement of the communion Liturgy for the organ. Professor Rydning has been a pupil of Lindeman and possesses a considerable knowledge of Church Music; he is the instructor in music at the United Church Seminary.

The Norwegian Church has a beautiful Order of Service. The fixed forms are inspiring. May God then grant us the inspired testimony from the mouth of living witnesses, a testimony that permits Christ's glory to shine forth enlightening and quickening the congregation, while it reverently listens to the Word of the Lord and takes it to heart. Then the Service will be in truth pleasing to God, a glorifying of His Name and an inspiration to His congregation.

E. KR. JOHNSEN.

United Norwegian Church Seminary,
St. Anthony Park, St. Paul, Minn.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP
IN THE FIRST POST-APOSTOLIC AGE.

(BEFORE THE YEAR 150.)

THE purpose of this paper is to present in brief form a picture of the worship of the Christian congregations, so far as we are able to trace it, in the time between the close of the Apostolic Age and the middle of the second Century. No attempt will be made to construct even a relatively complete Liturgy in this period, for such an attempt would result only in ignominious failure and we shall confine ourselves to the simpler task of setting down what our sources give us and accounting, so far as may be, for what we find.

The chief danger that confronts us in dealing with such a subject is that of reading into the sources ideas which they do not actually contain and of assuming that customs universally prevalent in later times must have had their origin in the period under discussion if not, indeed, in one still earlier. A second temptation, scarcely less alluring, and equally fatal to historical truth, lies in the assumption that traces of liturgical customs, or language which may be so interpreted, found in a document of Syrian or of Roman origin applies to any other part of the Early Church. If the student succeeds in avoiding both of these snares, a third is still in his path, in the form of faulty editions of second Century documents which have been emended by later hands, and few of the sources for the history of the second Century have come down to us in their unaltered form. Fortunately the labors of the nineteenth century have reduced the last dan-

Digitized by Google

ger to a minimum and we may feel at last reasonably safe in using any of the good modern editions.

Before approaching the proper subject of this paper, it may be well to take account of certain facts which bear directly or indirectly, upon every phase of life of the Church in the period which we are studying.

The second Century was not an age of forms. It was on the contrary, the most plastic age of the Church. The truth as it is in Christ Jesus had entered the life of the Roman Empire as a great force, the full meaning of which was only faintly apprehended. It had to work upon the material which it found, and the results could not be uniform when the preparation had been so various. The Jew, the Greek, the Roman, were bound to be affected in different ways by the message of the Gospel which came to all, and, centuries were to pass before there could be even relative unanimity of opinion concerning the great central truths whose possession was to give the Church its power. At the end of the second Century Christian doctrine was still in a fluid state, and Gnosticism, the earliest of the heresies, was still a living power. Before the century ended, however, the power which was eventually to define the Catholic faith and extirpate heresy had begun to show itself. That power was the so-called monarchical episcopate. Each Church had its own bishop who was regarded as the depositary of Apostolic truth.

The organization of the Church preceded, and had to precede, definition of doctrine, but it was not alone the fight with heresy which made the organization necessary. The second Century was a time of wonderful missionary activity. This was the special work of the "Apostles"—the charismatically endowed preachers of the Gospel who wandered from place to place—but the retention of converts within the fold, the prevention of backsliding into heathenism and of "lapsing" in times of persecution —these things demanded compactly organized congregations.*

* Cf. HARNACK, *Mission and Ausbreitung des Christenthums*, pp. 256 ff, 316 ff.

Digitized by Google

A third element in the development of Church organization was the need of an officer to preside over the administration of the finances of the congregation and to direct its charitable work.* But upon these points we do not wish to dwell. Enough has been said to account for the organization which meets us in the second Century—an organization with the bishop at its head and with presbyters and deacons under him. In this organization the congregation found its unity, upon this organization it was at a later time to base its claim to catholicity and apostolicity.

The beginnings of this organization the Church of the second Century had inherited from the Apostolic Age.† It had also inherited certain traditions of worship, together with certain rudimentary forms of prayer, and it had inherited the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. This triple inheritance was the seed from which the Liturgy was to spring.

The first liturgical practice to be definitely fixed was the observance of Sunday as the day of common worship. The Church in Jerusalem had met every day.‡ By the time the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written Sunday had become the regular day of meeting,§ and in the second Century all our sources agree in assigning the assembly of Christians to the first day of the week. Pliny (*Ep.* x. 96 (97) to Trajan) says simply "on a fixed day (*die stato*) they are accustomed to assemble." The *Didache* (ch. xiv) says:—"on the Lord's Day of the Lord, gather your-

* HATCH in *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, and *The Greek Influence in the Early Church*, traces the episcopate to this source.

† This is not the place to discuss the organization of the New Testament Churches. Whatever that organization may have been, it was the result of conditions which the Church had to face and was not of Divine institution. The present writer is inclined to believe with those who see, in the "angels" of the Seven Churches, bishops presiding over these Churches. The functions of such bishops, however, would differ widely from those of the "monarchical" bishop whose claims are asserted in the Ignatian letters and realized in the second and third centuries.

‡ Cf. the present writer's "Christian Worship in the Apostolic Age," MEMOIRS, Vol. VI, No. 4, p. 48.

§ l. c. p. 49.

Digitized by Google

selves together and break bread and give thanks." Ignatius, (*Ad. Magn.* ix), Barnabas (ch. xv), and Justin Martyr also testify to the observance of the Sunday and assign reasons for the selection of that special day. Ignatius says: "Those who had walked in ancient practices attained unto newness of hope, no longer observing Sabbaths, but fashioning their lives after the Lord's Day, on which our life also arose through Him and through His death." Barnabas after an examination of Old Testament passages relating to the Sabbath, on which he puts a fanciful interpretation, concludes:—"Ye see what is His meaning; it is not your present Sabbaths that are acceptable, but the Sabbath which I have made, in the which, when I have set all things at rest, I will make the beginning of the eighth day, which is the beginning of another world. Wherefore also we keep the eighth day for rejoicing, in the which also Jesus rose from the dead, and having been manifested, ascended into the Heavens." Justin Martyr (*Ap.* I, lxvii) is more concise. He says: "Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day, on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead."

The obvious conclusion from these passages—drawn as they are from sources of the most various local origin—is that the observance of Sunday in the first half of the second Century was universal, and that the observance consisted in worship. In the second place we notice that all of our authors regard the observance of the Sabbath as an "ancient practice" which has passed away. The Sunday takes the place among the Christians that the Sabbath held among the Jews, but it is regarded neither as a continuation of the old institution nor as a substitute for it. It is something as new as the Gospel itself. It commemorates not the end of the first creation, but the beginning of the new creation, the entering into the world of the new life brought by the Resurrection of the dead. As such it is a

Digitized by Google

day of joy, which could not but find expression in the Service.*

Three other seasons which were destined to play a large part in the liturgical history of the Church call for passing comment here. The first of these is Easter Day. That it was observed by the first converts from Judaism is certain, and that it had a place in the Gentile congregations founded by Paul is evident from I Cor. 5: 6–8. These two circumstances combined with the fact that Sunday was regarded as a weekly celebration of the Resurrection, make it certain that the observance of Easter was universal in the Church from the beginning. Even in our period, however, there are traces of the differences in Easter observance that were afterwards to give rise to the Quarto-decimian controversy, for according to Irenæus (quoted by Euseb. *H. E.* V, 24) Polycarp (†155) and Anicetus of Rome (154–165) had disagreed concerning the day on which the celebration was to take place. Polycarp claimed to follow the practice of S. John in observing the 14th Nisan, while Anicetus adhered to the usage of the Roman Church and observed the Sunday after the full moon. The controversy—which was to result in the first victory of the Roman tradition over the Asiatic—did not culminate until the end

* The longer Greek recension of the Ignatian letters, which dates probably from the latter part of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, presents an interesting amplification of *Ad. Magn.* ix, already quoted, which is in full accord with the spirit of the shorter and genuine version. It reads as follows:—

"Let us, therefore, no longer keep the Sabbath after the Jewish manner, and rejoice in days of idleness; for 'he that does not work, let him not eat.'". . . But let every one of you keep the Sabbath after a spiritual manner, rejoicing in meditation on the law, not in relaxation of the body, admiring the workmanship of God, and not eating things prepared the day before, nor using luke-warm drinks and walking within a prescribed space nor finding delight in dancing and senseless applause. And after the observance of the Sabbath let every friend of Christ keep the Lord's Day as a festival, the Resurrection-day, the queen and chief of all the days, . . . on which our life both sprang up again and the victory over death was obtained in Christ."

The passage testifies convincingly to the fact that the Early Church not only did not regard Sunday as a substitute for the Sabbath, but actually in some localities or in some congregations, observed both days, yet in the observance abrogated those practices which according to Jewish law were the essential things in the hallowing of the day.

Digitized by Google

of the century, but the differences seem to have existed from the first.

When the dispute finally attained serious proportions, however, we find it involving another question; that, namely, of Lenten observance. It was customary to precede the Easter celebration with a fast. This fast seems to have been universal but its duration varied in different Churches. Irenæus (*l. c.*) tells us:—"Some consider themselves bound to fast one day, others two days, others still more, while others fast for forty." In this passage we observe the beginnings of the Church Year with Easter as its center. The origin of the observance is to be found in the forty hours' fast preceding the Easter celebration, typical of the forty hours' rest of Jesus in the grave, which was the usage of the Roman Church. This period was subsequently extended, probably at Rome, to forty days, the period of our Lord's fasting in the wilderness and the Roman use became universal sometime in the fourth Century.*

The origin of the Station Days† (*dies stationum*) is much older than that of the Lenten fast. The *Didache* (8: 1) is the earliest authority for the observance of Wednesday and Friday as days of fasting and prayer. We read there:—"Let not your fastings be with the hypocrites, for they fast on the second and fifth days of the week; but do ye keep your fast on the fourth and on the preparation day." Clement of Alexandria (Strom. VII, 12) refers this custom to the commemoration of the council of Christ's enemies (Mark xiv: 1) and the crucifixion.

This custom is especially noteworthy as showing the importance which the Early Church attached to the Christian week, before the development of the Christian year. Each week was a repetition of the week of our Lord's Passion, culminating in the Sunday celebration of His victory over death. Even after the Church Year had reached its full develop-

* See MOELLER, Kg² I, 346 and literature there cited.

† So named first in HERM. *Sim.* V, 1.

Digitized by Google

ment* the cycle of the Week maintained itself and has remained in the Roman usage to the present day.†

Along with this development of the liturgical seasons we find another, which has its origin in our period and which was destined to a rapid growth, to long duration and to serious abuse. In the letter of the Smyrneans (ch. 18) describing the death of Polycarp (155 A. D.) we find the following passage:—"So we afterwards took up his bones . . . . and laid them in a suitable place where the Lord will permit us to gather ourselves together, as we are able, in gladness and joy, and to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom for the commemoration of those that have already fought in the contest and for the training and preparation of those that shall do so hereafter." In this celebration of the "birthdays of the martyrs" (i. e. the days of their martyrdom) we find the origin of the Saints' Days which had such a large place in the Catholic period of the Church's history. They were at first purely local, each Church commemorating its own martyrs, and down to the time of Cyprian we have no evidence to show that they were observed with the celebration of the Eucharist, but the outbreak of the general persecutions, which multiplied the numbers of the martyrs and placed on martyrdom such a high valuation, made the observance universal and opened the way for later abuses.

* Not later than the fifth century. See *Ap. Const.* V, 13, 20.

† In an interesting passage in the V *Similitude* HERMAS thus describes the "acceptable fast." "This, then, is the way that thou shalt keep the fast. First of all keep thyself from every evil word and every evil device, and purify thy heart from all the vanities of this world. If thou keep these things thy heart shall be perfect for thee. And thus shalt thou do. Having fulfilled what is written, on that day on which thou fastest, thou shalt taste nothing but bread and water; and from thy meals which thou wouldst have eaten, thou shalt reckon up the amount of that day's expenditure, which thou wouldst have incurred, and shalt give it to a widow or an orphan, or to one in want, and so shalt thou humble thy soul, that he that receiveth from thy humiliation may satisfy his own soul, and may pray for thee to the Lord. If, then, thou shalt so accomplish this fast, as I have commanded thee, thy sacrifice shall be acceptable in the sight of God and this fasting shall be recorded; and the service so performed is beautiful and joyous and acceptable to the Lord." (*Sim.* V, 3).

Digitized by Google

Our survey of the liturgical seasons has carried us somewhat far afield. Let us return to the traditions of worship which the Church of the second Century inherited from the Apostolic Age.

The New Testament offers clear testimony to the custom prevailing in the Church at Corinth and, by legitimate inference, in many other of the Gentile congregations, of holding on each Sunday two assemblies for worship. That this custom was still followed in the beginning of the second Century is evident from Pliny's description of the worship of the Bythinian Christians about 111 or 113 A. D. (Pliny *Ep.* x. 96 (97) to Trajan). One of these Services was held early in the morning (*ante lucem*) and may be assumed to correspond to the Service for edification existing in Corinth. The elements of this Service were Prayer, Scripture-reading, Hymns and Preaching. The second Service was held later in the day and was devoted to the common meal (known later as the *Agape*) which culminated in the Lord's Supper.* We shall see that the two Services were soon combined into one and that the combination of the two is the starting point for the chief Service of all later Liturgies, but for the present we are concerned chiefly with the second, or evening Service, at which the Lord's Supper was administered.

The oldest prescriptions for liturgical worship which we possess are those contained in the section of the *Didache* which deals with this Service. It comprises chapters ix, x and xiv, and reads as follows:—

14. "And on the Lord's Day of the Lord, gather yourselves together and break bread and give thanks (εὐχαριστήσατε), first confessing your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. And let no man having his dispute with his fellow join your assembly until they have been reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be defiled;† for this sacrifice it is that was spoken of by the

* See the present writer's "Christian Worship in the Apostolic Age," MEMOIRS Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 49 ff.

† Cf. Matt. 5: 23, 24.

Digitized by Google

Lord; *In every place and at every time, offer Me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and My Name is wonderful among the nations.*"*

9. "But as touching the Eucharistic thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία), give ye thanks thus:

"First as regards the cup:

"We give Thee thanks, O our Father, for the holy vine of Thy son David, which Thou madest known to us through Thy Son Jesus; Thine is the glory for ever and ever.

"Then as regards the broken bread:

"We give Thee thanks, O our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou didst make known unto us through Thy Son Jesus; Thine is the glory for ever and ever.

"As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains and being gathered together became one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever and ever.

"But let no one eat of this Eucharist but they that have been baptized into the Name of the Lord; for concerning this also the Lord hath said: *Give not that which is holy unto the dogs.*†

10. "And after ye are filled thus shall ye give thanks:

"We give Thee thanks, Holy Father, for Thy holy Name which Thou hast made to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known unto us through Thy Son Jesus; Thine is the glory for ever and ever.

"Thou, Almighty Master,‡ didst create all things for Thy Name's sake, and didst give food unto men for enjoyment, that they might render thanks to Thee; but didst bestow upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Son. Be-

* Mal. 1: 11, 14.

† Matt. 7: 6.

‡ δεσπότης—the regular form of address to the Father in the Greek Liturgies.

Digitized by Google

fore all things we give Thee thanks that Thou art powerful; Thine is the glory for ever and ever.

"Remember, Lord, Thy Church to deliver it from all evil and to perfect it in Thy love; and *gather it together from the four winds**—even the Church which has been sanctified—into Thy Kingdom which Thou hast prepared for it; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever.

"May grace come and this world pass away.

"Hosanna to the God of David.

"If any man is holy let him come; if any man is not, let him repent.

"Maranatha.

"Amen.

"But permit the prophets to offer thanks as much as they will."

In these prayers there are several things which deserve special attention.

It must be borne in mind, first of all, that the prayers here set down are not regarded as inflexible forms which must always be followed, but are intended to provide against a contingency which would seldom arise in the earliest period of the Church but would become more common as time went on. This contingency is indicated in the last sentence quoted,—"Permit the prophets to offer thanks as much as they will."

The proper officiating personage is "the prophet," not the bishop and not the presbyter. A bishop or presbyter might, indeed, be a prophet and exercise "prophetic" functions, but his "ordination" and the official position in the congregation which it conferred, carried with it no right to preside at the *Agape* or to offer the Eucharistic prayer. That was the prerogative of the man who had the special endowment of the Holy Spirit and his sole right to perform this duty rested upon his possession of the *charisma*. Such a man would be a member of the congregation

* Matt. 24: 31.

Digitized by Google

and is entitled to congregational support (*Did.* xiii), "For," says the author of the *Didache* significantly, "they are your chief-priests." The prayer of a prophet, however, like all his other utterances, was regarded as the result of a direct inspiration of the Spirit and could not, therefore, be confined to any formula. Accordingly he was to be allowed "to offer thanks" (εὐχαριστεῖν) in whatever way he pleased, i. e., extemporaneously. The extempore character of the Eucharistic prayer seems to have maintained itself for a considerable time. Justin Martyr, in the passages which will be quoted later, says that the president "offers thanks at considerable length" (*Apol.* I, lxv) or "according to his ability" (ch. lxvii) and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (Bk. VII, ch. xxvi) quote the words of the *Didache*, substituting "presbyter" for "prophet."

But in the days when the prayers of the *Didache* were composed the charismatic ministry was dying out. "Speaking with tongues" (I Cor. xii ff) lasted for so short a time that it has sometimes been supposed to have existed only at Corinth. By the beginning of the second century it was quite possible that a congregation should have no prophet among its members and under such circumstances there could be no inspired prayer. It was to meet such a contingency that the prayers above quoted were composed. As the prophetic gift became more rare these and similar set forms would become the ordinary usage of the Church and extempore prayer would become less and less frequent until eventually it would entirely disappear.

Meanwhile the question must have arisen—"In the absence of a prophet, who is to offer these prayers and preside at the administration?" The *Didache* does not answer this question at all, and Justin Martyr calls this functionary simply "the president of the brethren" or "that one of the brethren who presides," for the Greek text admits of either translation. We may assume, however, that the duty would naturally devolve first upon one of the presbyters, and then, as the single bishop gained authority,

Digitized by Google

upon him. Just when this transference of duties began it is impossible to say. The charismatic and the official ministry were beginning to run into one another as early as the time of the Pastoral Epistles where we find (I Tim. iii. 3) "aptness to teach" —a distinctly charismatic trait according to I Cor. xii. 28—demanded of the candidate for the bishop's (or presbyter's) office. The Ignatian letters (110–117 circ.) represent the first clear emergence of the later monarchical bishop from among his prebyters. They form, so to speak, the platform of the episcopal party and claim for the bishop a position which he had not by any means attained and was not to attain for many years. When, therefore, we find Ignatius writing to the Smyrneans (*ad Smyr.* viii):—"Let that be held a valid Eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it;" and again:—"It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold a love-feast;" we are not to conclude that this was the universally accepted view of the Church, but we may assume that the episcopate, in its development, was on the way to absorb those liturgical functions which belonged primarily to the "prophets."

Turning again to the prayers we notice in the second place that we are still in the time when the Lord's Supper was preceded by a common meal. The whole procedure was regarded as a religious rite and was known as the Eucharist or breaking of bread, while the prayers that introduce the two parts of the Service show the spirit in which it was conducted.

The Service was preceded by a public confession of sins and no man having a quarrel with a fellow-Christian was allowed to come to the assembly (ch. xiv). After this they sat down to the meal and prayers were offered in consecration of the bread and wine that were set before them. After this eating and drinking, more prayers were offered, to each of which, as to each of the preceding prayers, the congregation would respond with the "Amen." Then, with the sentences given

Digitized by Google

at the close of ch. x, the solemn administration was begun:

"May grace come and this world pass away!" *Amen.*

"Hosanna to the God of David!" *Amen.*

"If any man is holy let him come; if any man is not, let him repent. Maranatha!" *Amen.*

The Distribution would follow and the congregation would be dismissed.

We could wish that our information was more detailed. There can be little doubt that many things were customary in this Service which, as matters of well-known observance, are not here set down. Still we may believe that the essentials of the rite, or those things which were then regarded as essential are given us. These were simply the elements, the Eucharistic prayers, and the communication, and even the nature of the prayers would vary when a prophet was present (v. *supra*).

It remains only to ask: what conception of the Sacrament is here expressed?

In chapter xiv the Service is spoken of as a "sacrifice." It is true that this word was used in a wholly figurative sense as referring chiefly to the prayers of the communicants, but these prayers had already given the Service a new name. By S. Paul and by numerous writers of the Early Church it had been called the "breaking of bread," but here (ch. ix) and in the Ignatian letters (e. g., *ad Smyrn.* viii) it is called for the first time the Eucharist, and this title was eventually to become universal. We may say, therefore, that while there was as yet no idea of a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross connected with the Lord's Supper, the Service was nevertheless conceived even at this time under the category of sacrifice rather than under that of sacrament. It was a Service, a spiritual sacrifice of thanksgiving offered to God.

We are not, however, to suppose that the sacramental element was not consciously present. The idea of a sacramental gift is very clear in the second of the prayers given in ch. x.

Digitized by Google

That gift, however, does not involve the doctrine of the Real Presence in any way. It is "spiritual food and drink and eternal life;" it is the "Holy Name;" "knowledge, faith and immortality." In the prayer over the cup (ch. ix), where we would expect to find a reference to Christ's atoning death, there is no direct allusion to the communion of the Saviour's blood, but only thanks "for the Holy Vine of Thy servant David." The prayer over the bread (ch. ix) and the final prayer (ch. x), especially the former, allude most beautifully to the body of Christ, but it is His spiritual body, which is the Church, that is there symbolized. Such is the interpretation which the Early Church, or a part of it, placed upon the words of Paul:—"The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ."

We need not wonder that the teaching of St. Paul had been thus obscured. It is doubtful how far the Church, even in the Apostolic Age, had been able to receive the Apostles' teaching, and it is certain that the atonement had a smaller place in the theology of the second Century than it had in the theology of Paul. The Incarnation was regarded as the one fact of supreme importance. The Resurrection was conceived as a testimony to the reality of the Incarnation, and the Parousia (παρουσία) as the completion of all that the Incarnation had begun. With a doctrine which made the life of Jesus, with its revelation of life, light and immortality, the chief things in the Gospel and reduced His atoning death to an episode, these prayers are in thorough harmony. That they were not in accord with the later views of the Church is shown by the alterations and insertions made in them at a subsequent period.*

The question may be asked, if the connection of the Lord's Supper with Christ's death has been lost, what idea has been substituted for it? As a matter of fact there was no substitution. The meaning of the Lord's Supper is not exhausted by the reference to the sacrifice on Calvary, and the obscuration of that ref-

* Comp. Note I at the end of this article.

Digitized by Google

erence has only brought two other ideas, subordinate, but inherent in the rite, into prominence. The first of these is the unity of the Church, a unity amid diversity, here on earth symbolized, but not realized, in the common participation of the consecrated bread. Seldom has that idea been more beautifully or more reverently expressed than by the unknown author of this prayer:—"As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains and being gathered together became one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom." "Remember, Lord, Thy Church, to deliver it from all evil and perfect it in Thy love; and gather it together from the four winds into Thy Kingdom which Thou hast prepared for it."

The second idea is that of the prophetic character of the Sacrament. It looks forward devoutly to the second coming of the Lord and symbolizes the consummation, when the Lord Himself shall with His followers "drink anew with them in the Kingdom of Heaven." "May grace come and this world pass away! Maranatha (the Lord cometh)" is the formula that immediately precedes the Distribution, which is a continual reminder of the Parousia, that vivid hope which dwelt so deep in the heart of the Early Church. Of the Holy Supper Paul had written (I Cor. xi. 26):—"As often as ye eat this bread and drink of the cup ye proclaim the Lord's death *till He come*." When the first idea was obscured the second came into greater prominence. The Church afterwards changed the emphasis and laid all importance to the first idea, with the natural consequence of all but disregarding the second thought—viz., that the Lord's Supper is, and should be, a prophetic symbol as well as the memorial of an accomplished fact.

Leaving the *Didache* we turn now to the second main source for the worship of the Early Church. In his *First Apology*, addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, written not later than A. D. 150, and perhaps as early as A. D. 138 or 139, Justin Martyr gives a double description of the Eucharistic Service. Chap-

Digitized by Google

ter lxv connects directly with lxi in which the rite of Baptism has been described and discussed. It reads as follows:—

"But we, after we have thus washed him who has been convinced and assented to our teaching, lead him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for him who has been illuminated (i. e., baptized, cf. chapt. lxv), and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments,* so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation.

"Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss.

"Bread and a cup of wine mingled with water are then brought to the president of the brethren;

"And he, taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the Universe, through the Name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length, for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands.

"And when he has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the people present express their assent by saying 'Amen.' This word Amen answers in the Hebrew language to γένοιτο (i. e., So be it!).

"And when the president has given thanks and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us deacons give each of those present the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and they carry away a portion to those who are not present."

The opening sentences of chapter lxvii should be connected with the close of chapter lxv. They complete the description of the Eucharistic Service.

"And we afterwards continually remind each other of these things.

"And the wealthy among us help the needy; and we always keep together.

"And for all the things wherewith we are supplied we bless the Father of all through His Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Ghost."

This then is the Service which follows the administration of Baptism. Let us turn to the same author's description of the

* The words have no special doctrinal significance, but are a part of the author's refutation of the charge of lawlessness so commonly brought against the Christians.

Digitized by Google

regular Sunday worship. It takes up the greater part of chapter lxvii.

"And on the day that is called Sunday all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles (i. e., the Gospels, cf. above chap. lxvi) or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits:

"Then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things.

"Then we all rise together and pray;

"And, as we before said, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability (or, with all his might), and the people assent, saying Amen; and there is a distribution to each and a participation of that over which thanks has been given (or of the Eucharistic elements), and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. "And they who are well-to-do and the willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succors the orphans and widows and those who through sickness or any other cause are in want, and those who are in bonds and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need."

The first thing that we notice in this description as compared with the condition of affairs indicated in the *Didache* is that the *Agape* has fallen away from the regular Sunday Service. This separation must have occurred in various parts of the Empire at different times and was doubtless due to various reasons. We have seen* that the custom gave rise to serious abuses even in the Apostolic Age and these abuses would increase rather than diminish as time went on. Then, too, the increasing number of the Christians would soon render it impossible for the whole congregation to take part in the common meal. Finally the imperial prohibition against secret societies, in localities where it was strictly enforced would have exposed the Christians to the danger of legal suppression if not of persecution.

This last reason seems to have led to the complete abandonment of the custom in Bythinia. Pontus as early as 112 A. D.,†

* MEMOIRS, Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 61 f.

† PLINY writes to Trajan:—"But even from this they had desisted after my

Digitized by Google

and the fact that Justin nowhere refers to the love-feasts would seem to indicate that the same law had resulted in their abandonment in Rome before the year 140. But even where the custom was still maintained* the reasons first mentioned seemed early to have brought about its entire severance from the sacramental Service.†

The place of the love-feast in the Service was supplied, however, by the consolidation of the early Service for edification‡ with the Service of the Sacrament and this is the Liturgy the main features of which are described in the long passage from Justin Martyr. It is to be remarked, however, that the distinction between the two Services is by no means lost to view. On days when a baptism was performed the baptismal Service takes the place of the Service for edification. The *missa catechumenorum* of a later day was essentially the original early Service as described by Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, stripped of its charismatic features and expanded, while the Morning Prayer of the Church of England and the weekly Morning Service of our own Liturgies preserve the old distinction.

Upon closer examination of the description of the Service given by Justin we find that it consists of the following elements.

1. The Reading of the Scriptures, here specified as the "memoirs of the Apostles (by which are meant the Gospels, cf. ch. lxvi) or the writings of the Prophets." The Old or the New Testament might therefore be read, and the rubric would say "as long as time permits."

---

edict; in which, in pursuance of your commands, I had forbidden the existence of clubs (*sodalitates*).

* e. g., in Africa, see TERTULLIAN, *Apol.* ch. xxxix. It is also referred to in CLEMENT ALEX. and in several passages in the Canons of HIPPOLYTUS.

† The letter of Ignatius to the Smyrneans (ch. viii) speaks of the Eucharist and the love-feast in such a way as to imply that they were separately observed. For argument to the contrary see, however, LIGHTFOOT, *Apostolic Fathers*, pt. ii, Vol. II, p. 312.

‡ See above p. 56.

Digitized by Google

2. The Sermon, based upon the text just read and delivered by the "president of the brethren." Originally this duty had fallen to the lot of the "prophet," but like the right of presiding at the Eucharist, it had passed into official hands, i. e., into the hands of the bishop or of one of his presbyters, for there can be no doubt that by this time presbyters and bishops were distinct. An interesting example of this early preaching has come down to us from this period in the so-called Second Epistle of Clement which is a fragment of an ancient homily.

3. Prayer. This was the General Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men to which reference is made in I Tim. ii. 1, 2. That this prayer while still the function of the man with the *charisma* was extempore, goes without saying. That it would soon acquire some kind of a fixed form when it was offered by men who had not the spiritual gift is equally certain, and the common consent of scholars declares the prayer found in the First Epistle of Clement (chs. lix, lx, lxi) to be a part of the Roman Liturgy or, at all events, a good specimen of congregational prayer, dating from the close of the first or beginning of the Second Century (probably about 96 A. D.).*

A fourth element was the Singing of Hymns, not mentioned in this passage probably because regarded by the author as belonging to the non-essentials of worship, but referred to in *Ap.* I, ch. xiii. We "offer thanks by invocations and hymns."

5. The Kiss of Peace is mentioned by Justin in connection with the Baptismal Service and in such a way as to make it appear a part of that Service rather than of the Eucharistic Service which follows. In speaking of the ordinary Sunday worship he omits all reference to it, but it will be noted that in the Baptismal Order it follows immediately upon the General Prayer, from which the congregation passes to the Eucharist. In the Clementine Liturgy—probably the oldest that we possess—the Kiss is given at that point in the Mass of the faithful where the doors are

* See MEMOIRS, Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 53 ff.

Digitized by Google

closed and the solemn celebration properly begins.* From this and the New Testament passages† which seem to imply that the Kiss of Peace was even then a liturgical custom,‡ we infer that it formed the first part of the Eucharistic observance, and preceded the bringing in of the elements.

6. The *Consecration* follows upon the Kiss. Bread and mingled wine are brought to the president who offers the Eucharistic prayer "at considerable length" (ch. lxv), "according to his ability" (ch. lxvii). The words of chapter lxvi§ are usually understood as interpretative of this Eucharistic prayer, and are commonly quoted as authority for the statement that the prayer of consecration included, as in later Liturgies, a repetition of the Words of Institution, but of this we cannot be certain. It seems probable, but with the fact in mind that the *Didache* makes no reference to them, our assertions must be guarded.‖

As to the further content of this Eucharistic prayer we may safely say that the forms of the *Didache* or similar forms independently derived—for Justin is writing at Rome—would probably be followed.¶

7. The *Distribution* was the work of the deacons, (ch. lxv) who carried the elements to the congregation and reserved a portion to be sent to those who were unavoidably absent. Justin and the *Didache* are both silent concerning any post-Communion usage.

8. After the Eucharist followed the *Collection*. The offerings of the congregation being gathered and deposited with the "president" who distributes them to the needy. This fact alone would indicate that "president" was with Justin only another

* *Ap. Const.* Bk. VIII, ch. xi.

† Rom. xvi, 16; I Cor. xvi, 20; II Cor. xiii, 12; I Thess. v, 26; I Pet. v, 14.

‡ The writer withdraws the statement made in MEMOIRS VI, No. 4, p. 63.

§ See below NOTE II.

‖ Compare, however, MEMOIRS, Vol. VI, No. 4, p. 63.

¶ For a very interesting hypothetical analysis of those prayers see KLIEFOTH, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, Bd. IV, pp. 302 ff.

Digitized by Google

name for "bishop." The administration officer of the congregation and the *leitourgos* are one and the same man and the claims of Ignatius are in a fair way to realization.*

With Justin Martyr our period ends. The traditions of worship and the organization which the Church inherited from the Apostolic Age, both have taken on new forms, but both are recognizable for both bear upon them the marks of their origin. Of greatest significance, however, is the fact that the organization in its development has displaced the old charismatic ministry and taken the worship of the Church into its own hands. When the new conception of the ministry, the germs of which are to be seen in the Ignatian letters, has taken full possession of the Church's thought, when the "president" of Justin Martyr has become the "priest" of Tertullian a new era will open up in the history of the Liturgy.

NOTE I.

LATER VARIATIONS IN THE PRAYERS OF THE DIDACHE.

In the Seventh Book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* the prayers of the *Didache* are given in an expanded form which is instructive as showing the change which had taken place in the view of the Lord's Supper, and the new emphasis which was now laid upon the death of Christ. The variations are of sufficient importance to warrant us in presenting them without further comment, in parallel columns:

DIDACHE.	AP. CONST. BK. VII.
Ch. 9. We give Thee thanks, O our Father, for the holy vine of Thy son David, which Thou madest known through Thy Son Jesus.	
We give Thee thanks O our Father for the life and knowledge which	Ch. 25. We give Thee thanks, O our Father, for that life which Thou

* For JUSTIN MARTYR'S view of the Lord's Supper see NOTE II at the end of this article.

Digitized by Google

Thou didst make known to us through Thy Son Jesus.

hast made known to us through Thy Son Jesus, through Whom also Thou makest all things and takest thought for the whole world; Whom too Thou didst send to become man for our salvation, and didst permit Him to suffer and to die, Whom Thou didst also raise up and wast pleased to glorify and hast seated Him on Thy right hand; through Whom also Thou hast promised us the Resurrection from the dead.

As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains and being gathered together became one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom.

Do Thou, O Lord Almighty, eternal God, as this grain was once scattered and afterwards gathered together so as to form one loaf, so gather Thy Church together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom.

Furthermore we thank Thee, O our Father, for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us, and for His precious body, whereof we celebrate the antitype, He Himself having commanded us to show forth His death.

(The Doxology follows).

Ch. 10. We give Thee thanks, Holy Father, for Thy holy Name which Thou hast made to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge, and faith, and immortality which Thou hast made known to us through Thy Son Jesus.

Ch. 26. We give Thee thanks, O God and Father of Jesus our Saviour, for that holy thing which Thou hast made to tabernacle within us, and for the knowledge, and faith, and love, and immortality, which Thou hast given unto us through Thy Son Jesus.

Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for Thy Name's sake, and didst give food unto man for enjoyment, that they might render

Thou, O Almighty God, the God of the universe, didst create the world and the things which are therein, through Him; and didst im-

Digitized by Google

thanks to Thee; but didst bestow upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Son Jesus. Before all things we give Thee thanks that Thou art powerful.

plant a law in our souls, and didst prepare things beforehand for their reception by men. O God of our holy and blameless fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Thy faithful servants, Thou art powerful and faithful and true and without deceit in Thy promises. Thou didst send upon earth Jesus Thy Christ, to converse among men as man and to take away error by the roots, being Himself both God the Word and man.

Remember, Lord, Thy Church to deliver it from all evil and to perfect it in Thy love; and gather it together from the four winds—even the Church which has been sanctified—into Thy Kingdom which Thou hast prepared for it.

Do Thou, even now, through Him, remember this holy Church which Thou hast purchased with the precious blood of Thy Christ, and deliver it from all evil, and perfect it in Thy love and Thy truth and gather us all together into Thy Kingdom which Thou hast prepared.

NOTE II.

JUSTIN MARTYR'S CONCEPTION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Reference has already been made to the view of the Lord's Supper contained in the prayers of the *Didache* and it seems advisable to add a word touching the view held by Justin. The reader is left to make comparisons and deductions for himself.

In the midst of the description of the rite already quoted we find (*Apol.* I, ch. 66) the following passage:—

"And this food is called among us Εὐχαριστία, of which no one is allowed to partake but he who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ hath enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these, but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the Word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have

Digitized by Google

we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His Word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation is nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus Who was made flesh. For the Apostles in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them; that Jesus took bread and, when He had given thanks, said: 'This do in remembrance of Me; this is My body;' and that after the same manner He took the cup and gave thanks and said: 'This is My blood;' and gave it to them alone."

With this passage we may now compare three others, which occur in the Dialogue with Trypho, and which throw some light upon the vexed question of Justin's meaning.

The first of these is in ch. 41:—

"And the offering of fine flour which was prescribed to be presented on behalf of those purified from leprosy, was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, which, in remembrance of His suffering which He suffered in behalf of those men who are purified in soul from all evil, Jesus Christ our Lord prescribed to be made, in order that we may at the same time thank God for having created the world, with all things therein, for the sake of man, and for delivering us from the evil in which we were, and for utterly overthrowing principalities and powers by Him Who suffered according to His will."

Then, quoting Mal. i, 10–12, he continues:—

"He speaks, then, of those Gentiles, namely of us, who in every place offer sacrifices to Him, i. e., the bread of the Eucharist and likewise the cup of the Eucharist."

The second passage is in the same writing ch. 70:—

"Now it is evident that in this prophecy (Is. xxxiii, 13–19) [He alludes] to the bread, which our Christ commanded us to eat* in remembrance of His being made flesh for the sake of those who believe on Him, for whose sake also He became a sufferer; and also to the cup, which He commanded those who partake in the Eucharist to drink* in remembrance of His blood."

The third passage is that of ch. 116. Quoting again Mal. i, 10–12 Justin comments:—

"God says that He is pleased with the prayers of that nation then dispersed and calls their prayers sacrifices. Now that prayers and thanksgivings, when offered by worthy men, are the only sacrifices perfect and well-pleasing to God, I also admit. For these alone Christians have undertaken

* Literally "to do" ἄρτον ποιεῖν, ποτήριον ποιεῖν are used as *termini technici* in speaking of the Eucharist.

Digitized by Google

to offer, and that in the remembrance of their food, solid and liquid, in which also the suffering, which the Son of God endured for them, is brought to mind.

With these passages before us, it now remains to ask, What view of the Lord's Supper did their writer hold? Space compels us to sum it up very briefly.

1. The Eucharist is regarded as essentially a sacrifice. The idea which we found in the prayers of the *Didache* is here made very prominent.

2. The sacrifice is, however, still entirely spiritual. "Prayers and thanksgivings are the only sacrifices perfect and well-pleasing unto God" (Dial. 116). Nevertheless the Eucharistic Service culminates in the prayer over the bread and wine, so that the consecrated elements, not the bread and wine before the consecration, as Kliefoth maintains, are regarded as the visible, tangible expression of the spiritual sacrifice and are themselves called "sacrifice." (Dial. 41).

3. The sacramental idea is retained, however, in the Distribution. That which is distributed is "the flesh and blood of that Jesus Who was made flesh" (*Apol.* I, ch. 66). This single statement is taken by many writers to be a proof that Justin held the doctrine of the Real Presence. To this opinion we can only assent with an important qualification. Verbally he did hold such a doctrine, but he had not reflected upon it and it is out of harmony with the main trend of his thought. What Justin did see in the Lord's Supper was primarily a memorial, first of the Incarnation (*Apol.* I, ch. 66; Dial. ch. 70) and then of the Passion (Dial. ch. 41, 70, 116).

4. The sacramental importance of the Lord's Supper takes, however, in the mind of our author a subordinate place. As in later times, when the Eucharist was conceived as the repetition of what transpired on Calvary, it came to be regarded as *the* Sacrament, and Baptism was relegated to the lower place of the

Digitized by Google

ceremony of initiation, so in Justin's time we find Baptism in the first place and the Eucharist thought of as the rite in which "those who are purified in soul from all evil" (Dial. ch. 41) offer their spiritual sacrifice, call to mind the Incarnation and the Passion of their Lord, fulfill His command, "This do," and—it seems almost like an afterthought—receive the Body and Blood of Christ.

CHARLES M. JACOBS.

Allentown, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE APPLICATION OF LUTHERAN PRINCIPLES TO THE CHURCH BUILDING.

DER KIRCHENBAU DES PROTESTANTISMUS VON DER REFORMATION BIS ZUR GEGENWART. Herausgegeben von der Vereinigung Berliner Architekten. Mit 1041 Grundrissen, Durchschnitten und Ansichten. Berlin. Toeche. 1893.*

HANDBUCH DES EVANGELISCH-CHRISTLICHEN KIRCHENBAUES, von Dr. Phil. *Oskar Mothes*, K. S. Baurath. Mit 59 Illustrationen im Text. Leipzig. Tauchnitz. 1898.†

IT is said that the Lutheran Churches of the United States build a new House of Worship for every day of the year. Many of these are small and are built of perishable material. They are intended to give place to more substantial structures. They follow the styles of building which obtain in the regions in which they are built, and bear curious marks of the untrained taste of those who have contributed to their erection. Even if pastor and committee have some peculiarity of taste or a little knowledge of architecture, their means are limited; they must borrow and must hasten to pay; and there are so many incongruous ends to be served by the building, that it seems vain to aim at unity or to consider symbolism, or any of the rules of art. If the edifice, on the other hand, is to be built of brick or stone, and is in any sense built for the future, as well as the present generation,

* *Church-Building of Protestantism* from the *Reformation until the present time*. Edited by the SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTS of Berlin. With 1041 plans, sectional drawings and views. Berlin. Toeche. 1893.

† *Handbook of Evangelical-Christian Church-Building*, by Dr. Phil. OSKAR MOTHES, K. S. Baurath. With 59 illustrations in the Text. Leipzig. Tauchnitz. 1898.

Digitized by Google

it is recognized to be wise and necessary to consult an architect; but not one architect in a thousand has any knowledge of German Church Architecture, or of the requisites of a Lutheran Church; and they therefore copy either Protestant Episcopal Churches, whose principles are altogether different from ours, or Methodist or Zwinglian Churches whose spirit is opposed to ours; or, if a well-schooled German architect is chosen, his work does not find the sympathetic coöperation of the builders or the approval of the community. The time has come, I think, for a consideration of the principles of Lutheran Church Architecture. In what respect do these differ from the principles of Roman Catholic or Reformed architecture? Is there a history of Lutheran Church Building? Is there any distinctively Protestant style of architecture; any distinctively Lutheran? What peculiar arrangement or style is demanded by the genius and history of Lutheran belief and worship?

The books whose titles accompany this article dispose of the notion that the Protestant Reformation merely adopted the church buildings that had been in use, with few and no characteristic modifications of their interior, and that there has been little church building in Germany until the recent immense growth of cities required the formation of new parishes and a heavy outlay upon new places of worship. Instead, they tell us of hundreds of churches, many of them of monumental construction and style, of all varieties of architectural style, obedient to the tastes prevalent in different eras, in some cases of daring experiments undertaken to invent new, distinctive, evangelical styles of architecture, and beginning in the age of the Reformation and sprinkled through all the years that have elapsed since. Both books give us a lively scientific criticism of these attempts, and discuss the theories of architects; while the Berlin architects give us pictures and plans which make the discussion intelligible. They make it perfectly clear that there is no postulate which has not been considered in the Fatherland, no novelty

Digitized by Google

which has not been tested. They also show us that German architecture is peculiar. At another time I may attempt a comparison of English Church Architecture with the same art in Lutheran Germany, a subject that promises the utmost interest and instruction. They demonstrate, moreover, that Protestantism is not wedded to any particular style of architecture but may make use of all the historical styles. While Mothes agrees in this, he evidently prefers the Gothic style and urges that it is native to the German. They hold that certain modifications of pre-Reformation architecture are required by the principles of Evangelical Protestantism; but, at the same time, that these modifications are a return to the usage of the Church in the ages preceding the dominance of Roman Catholicism.

Mothes closes his suggestive preface with these words:

"Luther did not, and the Evangelical Church neither can nor will, cast to one side the tradition of the Christian Church, but they would cleanse it from the human opinions and the abuses which have formed upon it in the course of time; and they demand the same purification of ecclesiastical art, of architecture.

"A Handbook for this art therefore should, first of all, give a veracious description of the development of ecclesiastical art before the Reformation, based on careful investigation, and show how this followed the course of the history of the Church, and in what places, within what limits, and in what way, the resultant tradition can be used by the Evangelical Church or must be rejected by her. It must show what has been done for Evangelical ecclesiastical art since the Reformation, its achievements, failures, and faults. With this it should give suggestions, how the edifices of the Evangelical Church should be shaped and completed so as to agree in their ARRANGEMENT with the ritual-liturgical as well as with the practical requirements of our Church: in their CONSTRUCTION with the modern technical standpoint and the general principles now acknowledged; in their FORM and CHARACTER with the spirit of Christianity in gen-

Digitized by Google

eral, the simplicity and inexhaustible depth of the nature and word of Jesus given in the Gospel, with the Evangelical Church especially, which is built on this foundation; and with the unchangeable laws of BEAUTY, which have their origin in the will of God, are symbolized to us in Nature, and therefore answer to that spirit."

An attempted condensation of the contents of these books would be tedious. To discuss even a few of the topics they suggest, might bewilder the reader and lead his attention away from the points which are really essential. I cannot pretend to the knowledge of the subject which would give value to any opinion I may express. It is more important that I should tell what those who are of authority say. Yet it is a duty of those who have given anxious attention to the matter, and see the errors which ought to be corrected, to state the conclusions to which those of authority lead them. I propose, therefore, to lay down a few propositions which I hope may become a basis of discussion, and to add to them in the form of Notes material drawn for the most part from these books. It will be evident from my omissions what I consider to be open questions, and the attentive reader will discover that in some cases I am not convinced by the books. And it is right to add that though I think that these principles should be much more closely observed than they have been, I do not think that they ought to be regarded as a law and that every reverend old church ought to be altered to accord with them. The truth is, that we may learn a great deal from the ways in which our fathers, who certainly were not without the "Lutheran consciousness," endeavored to satisfy what they knew to be essential to their faith and their traditions.

Digitized by Google

Propositions for Discussion.

I. The Lutheran Church is bound to no particular style of Architecture. The style should be chosen with reference to the site of the building, its surroundings, and its purpose.

While the Gothic style may seem to have especial claims, on the other hand it is doubtful whether the Gothic is suited to the small structures which many are compelled to build. A large Gothic church with nave and aisles is not favourable to a Service where the minister must be seen in all parts of the Service and distinctly heard.

II. While many churches which had been built before the Reformation were taken over and in some respects were altered to adapt them to their new use, so many new Lutheran churches have been built in all periods since the Reformation, so many experiments have been tried, that the requirements and character of a distinctively Lutheran church building are fully known.

III. A Lutheran Church differs from a Roman Catholic Church

1. in having but one Altar;

2. in making due provision for the preaching of the Word;

3. in providing that the whole congregation may intelligently take part in the whole Service of worship;

4. in not making a separation between a "clergy" and a "laity;"

5. in providing for the Communion of the people, instead of a Celebration of the Sacrament;

6. in arranging for a Service whose reality depends on the presence and participation of the Congregation. On the other hand, the sanctity of a Roman Catholic Church is guaranteed by the supposed Presence of Christ upon the Altar, and the Consecration of the church.

Digitized by Google

IV. A Lutheran Church differs from a Non-Lutheran Protestant Church because in the former

1. Christ is present in His Word and Sacraments, through them speaks to us, and through them imparts Himself to us;

2. and the Holy Communion is not merely a mark of the confession and communion of the people of God, but is a Sacrament.

(The word "Reformed" is used in German books to connote what we have attempted to express by "Non-Lutheran." We acknowledge that there are Churches in other communions than the Lutheran which, in greater or less degree, accord with Lutheran principles. By "Non-Lutheran" we mean the whole of Protestantism which rejects and stands opposed to the positive principles confessed by the Lutheran Churches.)

V. It is for these reasons that a place must be accorded the Word and Sacraments in a Lutheran Church *separate* from the Congregation, speaking *to* it in the Name of God, and dominating the whole arrangement of the church. The Altar should be central, at the end of the main axis of the church, because it is the place of direct communion with God in the Sacrament and in prayer; the Pulpit and the Lectern should be in organic relation to it; and all must be so arranged that the minister at the Altar, or in the Pulpit or at the Lectern, will be visible and his voice will be intelligible from every seat in the church.

VI. No place of worship can be arranged to answer the purposes of both a Sunday School and a Church. The former is a School, the latter is a Church. In the former the Altar and the Pulpit are out of place, in the latter they are essential. There ought to be but one Altar of the congregation. It is manifestly unfitting that the Altar and the Altarspace (Choir, Chancel) should be used in any way and for any purpose other than the worship of the congregation conducted by the Minister. (We

Digitized by Google

use the word *Altarspace* as well as *Choir* for the German *Chorraum*, instead of the usual term "recessed chancel." The Germans say "Kanzel," where we say Pulpit.)

VII. The Organ and the Choir of Singers should be placed at the end of the church opposite the Altar.

The Organ should not be placed behind the Altar. This position is defended by those who hold that the whole Service depends on the Congregation, and deny the Real Presence in the Word and Sacraments; and by those who declare that, the Service properly consisting of responsive interchange between Christian people, it is part of the function of the Choir to preach the truth. It is also urged that in this position the organ and choir lead the singing of the congregation more efficiently. This is not the case. Their leadership lessens in power with the length of the church. It is most efficient when the music of the choir and organ proceeds in the same direction as the singing of the people, when coming from behind the congregation it is the background, and gathers up the singing and holds it together. Singing for entertainment or display is out of place in the church. The choir, as a part of the congregation, confesses the truth given by God through His Word. It does not dispense the Word. The Word, the division of the Word, the Ministry of the Word, and the administration of the Word in the Holy Sacrament, must be distinguished as the sole source of the congregation's life and being.

Neither should the Organ and the Choir be in the Chancel nor to the side of it in view of the congregation. This custom is derived from the Protestant Episcopal Church, which teaches that there is a distinction between Clergy and Laity, and does not hesitate to adopt the imitation of a priestly choir and to throw the Choir between the people and the Means of Grace. In a Protestant Episcopal Church the worshippers may consist of Clergy, Choir, and People. In a Lutheran Church only the Peo-

Digitized by Google

ple are in the presence of God; the Choir is a part of the Congregation; the Minister exercises the Office of the Word, in which God speaks. There are the same practical objections to this position as to the position rejected in the preceding paragraph.

VIII. An open space should be preserved before the seats of the congregation for the convenience of those who go to and from the Table of the Lord.

IX. There should not be a screen or closed rail between the Altar and the people. A rail is needed only for those who kneel at the Altar. It is most accordant with Lutheran principle and usage to erect the rail at each side of the Altar and not in front of it.

X. The Altarspace should be raised above the floor of the church to render all that goes on in it visible, and to give it dignity; but for the convenience of the minister and the communicants the floor of the Altarspace should not be raised more than two steps above the floor of the church.

XI. The Altar itself should stand upon a little platform raised one step above the floor of the Altarspace. It should stand free from the wall, at least so far from it that the communicants may be able to walk around it. Its size and shape are regulated by the uses made of it, and its derivation from a table, from the grave of a martyr, and from its character as the altar-hearth of the congregation.

XII. The Pulpit is most conveniently placed at the pillar of the Chancel-arch. Historically it should be on the "Epistle Side," i. e., to the South side of the church when the Altar is in its historical position at the Eastern end. It should not obstruct the view of the Altar from any part of the church.

Digitized by Google

XIII. The Desk from which the Gospel is read should stand in a corresponding position on the other side.

XIV. The Font should have a place of its own, corresponding to the ancient baptisteries. This may be found in the corner of the nave to the Gospel side of the Altarspace.

XV. The Altarspace should be lighted by a window or windows. Windows of coloured glass, leaded, often interfere seriously with light and ventilation. But it is necessary to shut out the sights of everyday.

XVI. A modern prejudice against Galleries is not justified. They are necessary in a large church where Preaching is a part of the Service, in order to bring as many as possible within sound of the preacher's voice. They ought to be built in harmony with the general style of the church. They should not extend into the Altarspace, but should stop at such a distance from it that the Altar will not be hidden from any seat in them. Where there are transepts, it would be better to put them in these. Where there are galleries, there should be two rows of windows.

XVII. In the decoration of the church and of the windows all the traditional symbolism of the church (colours, emblems, etc.) should be observed.

XVIII. Every detail of the church should be in harmony with the architectural style chosen.

Digitized by Google

NOTE A.

THE EISENACH REGULATIVE.

(Set forth *June 5, 1861, by the Conference of German Authorities in Eisenach.*)

The notes inserted in italics are critical remarks by Mothes. The notes marked R are the remarks appended to the *Regulative* by Rietschel in his *Liturgik*, Vol. I.

1. Every church should be orientated according to ancient custom, i. e., so built that the Altarspace lies towards the East. (*The custom is præ-Catholic, and is founded on the breaking of the dawn, the coming of the light of faith. The Jesuit custom of turning to the West, reminds us of the coming of darkness. A practical reason is that the chief Service takes place in the early part of the day, and again, that it is uplifting to look towards the East.*)

RIETSCHEL: We hold the question of Orientation to be non-essential. Where possible, the old custom should be kept, but it should not be allowed to interfere with the suitability of the building for its purposes. If much light pours in through the altar windows, it will be necessary to curtain them through the whole Service. On the other hand, if the Altar be towards the West, windows of a dark colour will hardly answer their purpose on dark winter days.

2. The ground plan of a church which best answers to the Evangelical worship is an oblong right-angled parallelogram.

(*This is rarely found except in the often abominable and inappropriate prayer rooms of Rationalism, etc.*).

The external height including the main gable in churches with a single nave should be in the proportion of ¾ of the breadth, while the acoustics of a church are better in proportion as the breadth of it approaches its length.

(*Here two sentences are jammed together both of which are unfounded and both confounded. Many a church with only a nave is*

Digitized by Google

only 6m. broad, and then ought the roof be more than 4½m. high? The second sentence leads to the paradox that the square is acoustically the best parallelogram).

A prolongation to the East for the Altarspace (Apse, Tribune, Choir), and on the Eastern part of the long sides for a Northern and a Southern Transept (*which is impossible except in the case of a pretty long parallelogram*) gives to the building the suggestive form of the Cross. In a church built about a centre without cross-arms, the octagon is acoustically permissible, but for the same reason a round church is inadmissible. (*This dictum cannot be established either from theory or from practice; it is unfortunate because not supported by examples. Polygons and rotundas already have been excluded by the requirement of an extension for the Altar*).

R. The question between a long nave or a "central" building must not be considered essential. For smaller churches a single long nave will answer, while for churches of greater size the "central" arrangement will be suitable, because it permits a larger number of seats to be placed not far from the pulpit and Altar. As to the size of the building, Luther's advice is decisive: "Feine maessige Kirchen mit niedrigen Gewoelben sind die geeignetsten fuer Prediger und Hoerer." Monumental churches, in so far as they no longer let the church appear as a house in which the congregation assembles around the preaching of the Word, in whose further parts the human voice no longer is intelligible, can never again be regarded as suitable for Evangelical churches.

3. The Dignity (*This word is not well chosen. "Dignity" is aimed at in heathen styles. What is meant is the Christian* CHARACTER *of the church*) demands (*for the present*) the use of one of the historically developed Christian styles of architecture, and recommends in the fundamental form of a long parallelogram besides the old Christian *Basilica* (*found also in the form of a square, shorter than its breadth, and made to appear longer by the arrange-*

Digitized by Google

ment of the nave: e. g., *cella trichora, oratorium cruciforme, basilica cruciformis*) and the so-called Romanesque (*pre-Gothic*) style (*this word scientific writers apply rather to the manner of construction than to the form*) especially the so-called German (*Gothic*) style. (*But the German Renaissance, Norman, Byzantine, ought not to be summarily ruled out*). The choice of the system of architecture (*What is meant here?—the style of building or the system of form?*) for the particular case should follow not merely the artistic taste of the builder, (*Does this mean the one who pays the cost, or the designer?*) but the prevailing character of the architecture of the locality. (*Many a region has no such character, or one that is undignified, or Catholic, or the like*). Remains of older church buildings that can be used, should be preserved carefully and used as a model. (*Here is no warning against the despotism of such portions of old buildings belonging to different periods*). And so all the parts of the building in its inner arrangement, from the Altar and its vessels down to the seats and furniture, even the organ, must correspond with the style of the church.

R. We must object strenuously to the rigid insistence on one of the old styles. We must regard it as an advance of modern development that the question concerning the specifically church style has fallen more and more into the background. Of course voices still are heard urging that the Gothic or the Renaissance is the only one endorsed by history. But, if we see aright, the newer development shows an increasing emancipation from a strict imitation of any historical style of the past, that no particular style is urged, and that according to the needs of Evangelical worship and with reference to the character of the city and region, the manifold motives of different styles come to harmonious but free employment. Only in this way can there be a sound evolution, since neither in a simple return to a past time, nor in the invention of a new style (*new styles are not invented by reflexion but are the fruit of an organic growth*) lies the calling of our time.

Digitized by Google

A simple revival of the Gothic of the Middle Ages would conflict with sound Evangelical feeling. As certainly as the Evangelical were able to adapt themselves to the Gothic church buildings of the Middle Ages, so little can their great choirs, which place the Altar out of sight of the congregation and therefore make a side Altar necessary for the liturgical Altar Service, be regarded as a model for new buildings. Here also a chief principle of the Gothic is violated. A Gothic structure with its columns cutting off the view of Altar and Pulpit is not especially suited to the Evangelical Service. There are objections to the dominion of the Gothic on account of acoustics. And the more the several ornaments of the Gothic style must stand in inner connexion with the whole organism of the building, the more objectionable will be the employment of the various motives of the Gothic separated from the whole. It is certain also that a simple revival of the *Basilica* or the Romanesque style, with its high choir and its strong columns, will not answer for the Evangelical Church. Yet the noble and simple motives of the Romanesque have found fruitful use in the Evangelical Church in recent times.

4. The church building requires durable material and a solid construction, without any deceptive covering or wash. (*It would be better to say, A church building, as a building for a congregation that survives for ages, should be and appear monumental; and therefore should be of durable material and construction; for truth's sake all pretense should be avoided, and everything that seems perishable, and therefore all accommodation to the passing fashion.*) If wood be chosen for the interior, which in the ceiling is especially favourable to acoustics, it must not be made to represent stone. The Altarspace in any case should be massively vaulted. (*"Massively" is unnecessary.*)

5. The chief entrance of the church is most appropriately in the middle of the small Western end, so that the long axis of the church extends from it straight to the Altar. (*The motive*

Digitized by Google

should be stated: e. g., striving forwards to the light, drawing nigh to God, the Altar is the goal of the arrangement of the church, the Sacrament is the culmination of the Service, etc.).

6. There should always be a tower, if the means permit it; and if these are wanting at the time of building, it should be added afterwards. It is desirable (*No, indispensable*) that it should be in organic connexion with the church, and as a rule it should be over the Western entrance. (*This is not energetic enough. A motive is not given, e. g., to summon, to show the way*). Two towers may either stand at the sides of the choir (*first introduced by Odo of Cluny, † 942, only Catholic and Monkish*) or close the West front of the church (*as early as 526 by the Arians, therefore not Catholic, and therefore permissible.*)

7. The Altarspace (Choir) is to be elevated several (*better at least two, at most five*) steps above the floor of the nave. It is large enough if on every side of the Altar it affords the room that is needed. No other seats except those for the ministers and the authorities of the congregation, and, where it is usual, the Confessional, belong in it. (*No seats for the Bridal Pair and witnesses, for the Communicants, and Confirmants?*) Nor should any rails separate the Altarspace from the nave. (*Very questionable. The argument that every appearance of an hierarchical spirit is to be avoided, has no force against a rail with a broad open entrance.*)

R. In the Wiesbaden Program it is desired that there be no Choir, because with the removal of a separate priesthood there is no longer use for a place for the priests. But the separate choir in the Evangelical sense is to be taken not as a room for the clergy, but as the place of the celebration of the Holy Supper. The Lutheran Church will not give up the Altar and the Altarspace, though she does not think of it as the place of sacrifice but as the Table of the Lord. Whether the Altar be put into a building made for it (not too deep a recess, however), or if it be found in the church building proper, it will always

Digitized by Google

have its own separate place. Nor may it be placed on one side. In this the Eisenach Regulative and the Wiesbaden Program agree. If now the significance of the Altar as the Table of the Lord requires this, its position is fixed in the chief axis of the church by the fact that in confirmation and marriage the congregation within the church gathers closely around the Altar. The Altar requires for practical uses a large special Altarspace before it, which could not be given it in a side position without destroying the symmetry of the building. This necessity is as great in a Reformed Church as in a Lutheran Church. But for æsthetic reasons also a separate Altarspace should be preserved.

That the Altarspace is raised a little above the floor of the nave does not mean that it is considered holier, but is grounded on its use for the celebration of the Supper and in occasional acts. And primarily this is required by the practical purpose, that the minister officiating at the Altar may be seen and understood the better. But the elevation should not be unreasonably great. The Altar itself should be raised one or (better) two steps, because thus at confirmations, marriages, and other rites it is rendered possible to kneel, and because it is easier for the minister to give the Cup to Communicants if he stands higher than they.

8. The Altar may be placed, according to liturgical and acoustic requirements, to the rear between the choir-arch and the rear wall of the choir, but never against this wall. (*Here should be given the minimum width of the passage behind the Altar, and with reference to the windows of the choir the maximum*). One step above the floor of the choir (*better two*) it must have rails (NO, *the platform must have side arms, appodiatorien*), and provision for the kneeling of confirmants, communicants and wedding couples (*for the second at the sides, though this is not the custom everywhere; and for the first and third at the front*). The Altar is marked as such by the Crucifix; and if over the Altar-table an architectonic addition be erected, the picture, relief or

Digitized by Google

image upon it must represent one of the chief elements of redemption.

9. The Font can stand within the walls of the church in the vestibule of the main entrance (*not a very dignified position, often draughty, and obstructive*), or in a chapel erected for the purpose near the choir. Where Baptism is administered in the presence of the congregation, the best place for the Font is just before the entrance to the Altarspace. (*Here it obstructs the view of the Altar, is in the way, and is likely to be used for profane purposes. For the one Sacrament as well as for the other only one position should be assigned.*) It may not be replaced by a portable table. (*Good; but neither may it be replaced by a basin set on the Altar.*)

10. The Pulpit may stand neither before nor behind nor over the Altar, nor in the choir. Its proper place is where choir and nave meet, on a column of the choir-arch towards the nave; in churches having several aisles, on one of the Eastern columns of the middle aisle. (*This is too vague. Better to keep to the first sentence.*) The height of the Pulpit must depend on that of the galleries, and should be as low as possible (*not under 2m. from floor to floor, and not over 3½m.*) so that the preacher may be seen from the galleries and from the space under them. (*The height of the galleries also may be adjusted to the height of the Pulpit.*)

R. If it be conceded that the Altar for theoretical, æsthetic and practical reasons ought to be kept as heretofore in the chief axis of the church, the question arises whether the same argument applies to the Pulpit. This has been urged in recent times with the greatest pertinacity. It can be effected only in one of three ways: Pulpit and Altar must be thoroughly united with each other; or the Pulpit must stand separate behind the Altar; or it must be placed before the Altar.

The first way has often been adopted in the Evangelical Church, the Pulpit being made to spring from the Altar and hang over the altar-table. It is extravagant to say that thus the Altar is trodden underfoot, or is desecrated. In the Evangelical

Digitized by Google

Church the Altar as a piece of furniture has no especial sanctity. Only while it is in use has it a meaning. But æsthetic reasons speak against this arrangement, and among more recent architects there will be found hardly one champion of this form. An especial objection is, that in this case the preacher is separated from his hearers by a great open space, which must be kept free for communicants, confirmants, or a wedding party. The very argument urged in favor of this arrangement, that a preacher ought to stand in the midst of the congregation, is thus nullified. He becomes a pulpit orator who speaks to an assemblage separated from him by an open space. Sulze's proposal, to unite Pulpit, Altar and Font, so that the table by the addition of a desk becomes a pulpit, cannot make the open space unnecessary, and is too much in conflict with historical usage to find many adherents. Besides, for acoustic reasons the preacher ought to be raised above the hearers in the nave of the church.

Æsthetically it is better to place the Pulpit separate from the Altar behind the Altar. This arrangement can be defended from the custom of the ancient Church. Yet we must admit that this suggests a distinction between the clergy and the laity. There is also the practical objection that the separation between the preacher and the congregation is greater than in the former case.

These objections are obviated by placing the Pulpit in front of the Altar. But if a separate room exclusively devoted to the Holy Supper is not provided, the concealment of the Altar by the Pulpit will always be offensive. The view of the Pulpit from the Altar will be unpleasant apart from the fact that the Pulpit will then interrupt the view of the nave from the Altar and the view of the Altar from the nave. Such an arrangement renders a second altar necessary in front of the Pulpit for the liturgical Service, and thus the old unevangelical arrangement of an High Altar and a lesser altar is revived. And how shall the sounding-board be put into place or the so-called *Schallpfeiler* to which it must be affixed?

Digitized by Google

So there is left for the Pulpit the position at the side, which has been usual hitherto. The best place for it is on one of the pillars of the Chancel-arch. This position is often opposed on practical and æsthetic grounds and said to be abnormal in a symmetrical church. The placing of the Pulpit in the axis is demanded as an unconditional evangelical postulate. But wrongly. When the Pulpit is put forward into the nave the congregation can gather immediately around the preacher. He is not a pulpit orator standing before them, but a witness standing in their midst, who, inwardly connected with them utters the faith which binds them all together. The Pulpit, however, should not be too high, lest the minister appear like one standing over the congregation and out of living connexion with it. As to the alleged offense against symmetry, there is no such offense if the Pulpit is recognized as a necessary member of the building. It gives life to the building, while a mechanical symmetry would only give an impression of stiffness. The transference of the Pulpit to one of the middle pillars of the nave is indeed often necessary in the older structures from the Catholic period, but should be avoided in new buildings because it occasions great difficulty and disharmony in the arrangement of the seats.

11. The Organ, at which also the precentor and the singing choir must be stationed, finds its natural position opposite the Altar at the West end of the church upon a gallery over the main entrance, but its view of nave and choir must not be obstructed by the beams of the gallery.

R. The position of the Organ is also a subject of debate in our day. The champions of a combination of Altar and Pulpit in the middle axis hold, in contradiction to the Eisenach Regulative, that the Organ ought to be in view of the congregation at the East end of the church. They argue that in listening to the rendition of a piece of music one naturally turns his face towards the musician. The fallacy of this argument lies in the false view that the organ and the singing have an independent æsthetical

Digitized by Google

significance. On the other hand, the first use of the organ and the choir is to lead the singing of the congregation. The Liturgy with its responses between the minister and the congregation makes the position of the organ opposite the Altar the most suitable one for the Organ. Otherwise the minister during the Liturgy would stand between the choir and the congregation, which properly belong together and are to respond to him. The parts in which the choir and organ have independent action are quite different from the presentations of the concert-room. Another external reason for putting the organ and choir in the rear of the congregation is, that sometimes members of the choir must move about, and sometimes there is difficulty in maintaining order, which would greatly disturb a congregation.

The only argument in favor of placing the organ and choir in the Altarspace in view of the congregation which is worthy of consideration, is the sound thought of Spitta, that responsive singing between the choir and the congregation ought to be introduced. But this would require only the stationing of a choir in view of the congregation, not the transference of organ and choir to the Altarspace.

12. Where a Confessional or a *Lehrstuhl* is used it belongs in the Altarspace. (*Why? Shall every penitent be exposed to the view of the congregation?*) The latter should be before the Altar or on one of the steps that lead from the nave to the choir (*therefore very near the Font, which often leads to putting the desk on the Font*), yet so that the view of the Altar be not hindered; or on a column of the choir-arch, in order that it may be turned before the Altar for the purpose of catechisation, etc. (*It should be a special desk. The Gospel desk should not be movable, just as the Gospel, the firm foundation of our faith, is immovable.*)

13. Galleries, if they cannot be avoided (*a concession to their enemies*), except the Western, must be put on the long sides of the church, in such a way that they will not interfere with the free survey of the church. In no case may they extend into the

Digitized by Google

choir. The breadth of these galleries, whose seats are to rise in rows one above the other, unless the extension of the transepts allows a greater depth, may not exceed one-fifth of the whole width of the church, and their height above the floor of the church should not exceed one-third the height of the walls. Of several galleries one above the other no mention can be made. In planning new buildings in which provision must be made for galleries, it is best to put above the galleries longer windows which will serve to light the church, and smaller windows to light the space beneath, instead of long windows which would be broken by the galleries.

R. For the sake of room galleries cannot be dispensed with in many new edifices, and their advantageousness for acoustics must be considered. But, as the Regulative says, they must not be treated as arbitrary additions, but must be organically connected with the church. The unfavorable impression made by many galleries is due to a wrong execution of this architectural motive. "It may not be overlooked that the use of galleries in the architecture of Protestantism, as Semper emphasized, has been justified by history, and that by giving them up we would deprive ourselves of the most essential means of characterizing the Protestant House of God."

14. The seats for the congregation are; if possible, to be so arranged that from them Altar and Pulpit may be seen throughout the Service. Before the steps leading up to the Altarspace a convenient space should be left free of seats. A broad aisle should run through the middle of the nave, or if it be not needed then two aisles of proper breadth should run along the pillars or the supports of the galleries. (*This often is less necessary than aisles along the walls, where the heating apparatus may be placed.*) The bases of the columns are not to be taken for seats. (*All reversible seats should be avoided.*)

15. The church needs a sacristy, not a room taken from the interior of the building (*i. e., not an inorganic, disturbing*

Digitized by Google

thing) but an adjoining structure (*often more disturbing*), adjacent to the Altarspace, roomy, cheerful, bright, heatable, and that may be arranged and furnished in churchly style.

R. The so-called grouped church buildings, recommended by March, in which all sorts of rooms for various purposes are added, are not to be approved, even if some of the purposes mentioned by March have to be omitted, as parsonage, apothecary, *Krippe*, rooms for sewing and housekeeping classes, little dwellings for the sick and aged, rooms for the Church Council, for social and intellectual entertainment of all sorts, reading rooms, libraries, kitchens, and the like. The church as the place of worship and edification must be separate from the dissipation of everyday life, a place that admonishes to self-recollection.

NOTE B.

THE WIESBADEN PROGRAM.

(*In general accord with the principles of Sulze in Dresden. By Pastor Veesenmeyer in Wiesbaden.*)

1. A church should bear in general the character of the house for the assembling of the worshipping congregation, and not that of a House of God in the Catholic sense.

2. The unity of the room should give expression to the oneness of the congregation and to the principle of the priesthood of all believers. Therfore it should not be separated into several naves, nor should there be a division between nave and choir.

3. The celebration of the Supper should not take place in a room separated from the place of assembly, but in the midst of the congregation. The Altar, provided with a passage around it, therefore should have a place at least symbolically accordant with this rule. All lines of view should converge upon it.

Digitized by Google

4. The Pulpit, as the place where Christ is offered to the congregation as their spiritual food, is to be treated with at least as much respect as the Altar. Its place should be behind the Altar, and it should be organically combined with the organ and the platform for the singers, in full view of the congregation.

NOTE C.

QUOTATION FROM *Der evangelische Gottesdienst* OF JULIUS SMEND.

The former part of this quotation is given in order to show the extreme non-Lutheran position and the grounds on which it rests, and also the manner in which it meets what might be described as an extreme Lutheran position. The latter part shows the reasons Smend gives for still retaining the Choir.

Der evangelische Gottesdienst is a most readable book, and will help a Lutheran to a clear recognition of the essential principles which accord with our faith, over against the Roman Church or modern unchurchliness. In the *Monatschrift fuer Gottesdienst und Kirchliche Kunst*, edited by Smend and Spitta, there has been much debate of these principles and their application.

"Instead of seeking the light on this subject, many wish to reduce the whole difference of views to the contrast between Reformed and Lutheran. Accordingly, a view is presented as the Lutheran, which has for its champion neither Luther nor the Lutheran Confessions, but on the other hand seems to be defended by Reformed theologians, as, for instance, Achelis. The strife has finally been concentrated upon the question concerning a Choir (*Chorraum*, or, as we say, a *Chancel*), especially in the *Monatschrift fuer Gottesdienst und Kirchliche Kunst.* We may take the following (from *Brathe*) as the classical expression of a widespread and still dominant view: 'The church building is intended to be the place of worship of the Christian community.

Digitized by Google

In this there is an actual communion between God and the congregation. Both are active in it. As now it is useful to have a room for the congregation, so is it useful to have one for the action of the Omnipresent God, Who here acts within time and space. By means of a definite second room adjoining that of the congregation, having as its middlepoint the Altar, the practical need is supplied, and the consciousness is awakened that besides the visible congregation the Invisible God is present and deals with His people.' That these thoughts have been derived from thoroughly Catholic ideas, is clear. Only a Tabernacle over the Altar is needed to make of such a church a Mass-church. The visible place of God and the subordination of the people to a ministry operating thence, stand in intelligible connexion. 'The action of the worshipping congregation is receptive, therefore indeed most active, though not spontaneous.' (*Achelis.*) The Means of Grace are offered it as immediate gifts of God, in whose origin, mediation and administration it takes no part. Of course, bridal parties, confirmands, and guests at the Holy Supper may occasionally enter the place of God, but the permanent use of this place by the members of the congregation, would be improper. (*Brathe.*)

"The objection that our people are not in sympathy with this view, has not much weight. On the contrary, the belief in the sanctity of the Altar is deeply rooted in many Evangelical countries. But this does not change the case. What a mixture of thoroughly unevangelical and sub-christian notions are at home in the masses of Protestant people! We do not need to take account of such outgrowths of popular syncretism. That a view of worship, which culminates in a demand for a Holy of Holies, is edifying for many of the people, cannot be denied. But it appears objectionable to build on popular sentimentalism, because it has some worth for edification, theoretical constructions which demand quite a different foundation. Luther's words in the Torgau Consecration Sermon, so often quoted, that in the worship of God nothing else takes place than that 'our dear Lord speaks

Digitized by Google

to us through His Holy Word, and we in reply speak to Him in prayer and praise,' are thoroughly intelligible to the people and have an enduring value. But homiletical figures like these do not afford a basis for a liturgical theory, a doctrine of 'two subjects dealing with each other in the Cultus.' We may show what really may be learned from this for the arrangement of the church. But for the moment we stand on the ground of scientific explanation. The requirement of two spaces, as devotees of the choir-apse mean it, proceeds upon the assumption of a cultus of the fellowship of believers either commanded or imparted, a cultus which founds that fellowship and calls it into being, which was there without its contribution and before it began to be, and remains on the whole independent of its coöperation. Word and Sacrament as 'the constitutive factors in worship' are held to be of purely Divine origin. This shows their value over against that which the Christian Church has created, over prayer, Church-song, and sermon. In these God's people speaks; but in those, God. What is more natural than to give to these historically and actually so unequal utterances spaces in the House of God of different dignity? It is not enough to make a difference of degree; there is a difference of kind. Accordingly, the fourth of the *Eisenach Counsels*, like Sec. 4 of the *Regulative*, requires that 'the Altarspace in every case be massively vaulted;' and the seventh *Counsel* proceeds from the same motive to say: 'The greatest care is to be given to the ornamentation of the Altarspace.' The repeated commandment to raise the floor of the choir, hardly springs from the practical consideration that the minister during the Liturgy must be seen from every part of the church.

"Now it is evident that this estimate of the Word and Sacrament is not historically valid. That the Christian Church, or rather its hierarchical representatives, gave the Scriptures of the New Testament to itself as a Canon, and put the collection which was derived from the Synagogue by its side, is well known. For the contents of these books the name 'God's Word' is, apart

Digitized by Google

from its religious signification, scientifically inadmissible. Our Sacraments were not ordained by Jesus, and in their present form it is doubtful whether they were the creation of the Church.

"If for religious considerations this estimate of the Word and Sacrament is rejected, then we shall be compelled to acknowledge that sermon, hymn and prayer are the work of God, and therefore are to be considered only from a purely religious standpoint. God's Word teaches us to pray, to sing, to bear testimony; the churchly sanction, which is not wanting to these methods of utterance in worship, is of later date, but just as really was it mediated through men as were the words of the Bible and the celebration of the Sacrament.

"We do not assail the judgment of faith according to which the Holy Scriptures and those early Christian observances are held much higher than all Agendas, Hymnbooks and Postils in the world. We merely refuse to acknowledge that a liturgical theory based on that estimate has any claim to scientific validity. Judged from a religious standpoint, everything that goes on in our worship and belongs to it, has been given by God; and the congregation itself is God's counsel and deed. But it is just as certain that, tried by the Canons of scientific investigation the whole content of our Cultus, without any exception whatever, is the ordinance and expression of the life of the Christian congregation.

"And therefore the requirement of a separate space as a place of God, separated from the place of assembly of the congregation, is groundless.

* * * * * * *

"A thoroughly sounder thought lives however in the wish to retain or recover the old *Basilica-apse*. It has been repeated often enough in these pages that congregational worship in order to be inwardly and outwardly living, must have an ordered responsive Service. Such a Service is impossible or at least difficult if the room be not so divided that in the place of the litur-

Digitized by Google

gical action an actual and immediate exchange can go on between the worshippers. The traditional arrangement of our churches provides for this by having the minister stand facing his fellow-worshippers so that most of them can see him and many of them can hear him. But here the exchange in worship is limited to dialogue between the minister and the congregation, or perhaps between the minister and the choir. Even the sermon is not understood everywhere to be an exhortation to activity in worship. If, however, the minister turns his back to all the people, the last remnant of dialogue is taken away, on which the livingness of the action depends.

"How much more Evangelical is the suggestion of *Sulze*, to take the room of the congregation as the extended and true choir, which comprises in itself all that in the old Church was reserved for the priests. Yet it may not be forgotten that this united fraternal fellowship in order to worship must come out of itself, and we cannot agree with the same theologian that a separate room, not visible from the church-room proper, is to be reserved for special actions in a smaller circle, such as Marriage, Baptism and the Holy Supper. It is true that the view that our churches have a double purpose as the house of God and as the house of the congregation, has a justification apart from all practical necessities, if only two points be kept in mind, namely, that here we do actually offer, experience and accept the revelation of God and in response confess it; and on the other hand, that the one as well as the other takes place through the lips of the congregation, and it is perfectly free to choose whom it will entrust with the Word of God, and whom with the word of confession.

"And thence it follows of necessity that that arrangement of the space in the church is most rational, *i. e.*, the best adapted to the case, which offers the best facilities to such responsive interchange. Everything that is done in the form of a dialogue, requires a standing face to face. In other words, what the congregation would have offered to it obviously must be offered in

Digitized by Google

face of it, from before it. And for this purpose the former priestly choir-space, provided it is large enough, is admirably adapted. To unite in it Pulpit, Altar, Organ and Choir of Singers in one group, is the most natural thing in the world, and is well known to be no new thing, though this good Evangelical arrangement has fallen into forgetfulness in many places, or has been rejected in renovations as contrary to a true style. Newer examples furnish the proof that this arrangement not only does not detract from edification but furthers it, and that the æsthetic objections made to it are not valid. Whoever frequently takes part in a church arranged in this way will afterwards have to overcome a great deal before he can feel at home again in a church arranged according to the *Regulative*."

NOTE D.

MOTHES' LIST OF TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS TO BE PROVIDED FOR IN MAKING PLANS FOR A CHURCH-BUILDING.

A. TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS.

1. The building must present and represent an organized and unified group of spaces; (a) for the assembly of the congregation and preaching of the Word, (b) for the reception of the gifts of Grace in the Sacrament, Benediction, etc., and separate spaces (c) for the administration and the life of the congregation.

The space intended for the assembly of the congregation to hear the Word, and for their common prayer, thanksgiving and praise (not a separate room, and improperly often called a *Predigtkirche*) must provide for the number of persons it expects to accommodate so that these may be able to follow the sermons with undivided attention and to take their due part in the liturgical rites. This requires bodily comfort, protection against

Digitized by Google

noise and profane sights, and the satisfaction of all requirements connected with such hearing and participation, especially a good view, good acoustics, maintenance of necessary quiet, and avoidance of all motions that do not belong to the Service and amelioration of those that do.

2. The room must therefore be large enough and must be provided with the necessary number of comfortable and accessible fixed seats, which, with a few standing places, will permit the eye and ear to follow the course of the Service without effort from every one of them. They are to be so arranged that from every one of them a person can easily see the minister at the Altar, in the Pulpit, or wherever he may have to officiate, and hear all that he says, and take part in all the appropriate rites; and therefore should be provided with arrangements for the hymnbooks and for kneeling. No special seats should interfere with the others. In every place, moreover, the print of the hymnbooks and the numbers on the hymnboards should be legible. But the good lighting here required should not blind or distract. The windows also should not present to any seat a distracting view of profane life. Good acoustic arrangement and construction for speech and music require that there should be insurance against outside noise. Doors, passages and steps should be provided in sufficient number, and so arranged, that easily, without disturbance, there may be access to all the seats at the beginning of the assembly, and at the end of it, or if there be danger of a panic there may be an exit convenient to every one. The exclusion of the profane may be secured by vestibules, which also may answer as storm doors.

3. In order to provide pure air for several hours in sufficient volume, dryness, humidity and temperature, there are needed plentiful and well-arranged means for ventilation and heating.

4. In the main room, considered as a place for preaching, are required besides the hymnboards a pulpit and a desk for the Gospels. Both must be comfortable and convenient to the minis-

Digitized by Google

ter, visible to all present, so placed that all may hear him, and constructed on good acoustic principles. They should be elevated; the pulpit on a higher level than the reading-desk, but not so high as to make the preacher dizzy and to compel his hearers to look straight up into his eyes. It should not be overlooked that the pulpit has developed out of the Epistle-ambon, which like its predecessor, the πυργος, stood on the Epistle side, a little farther forward than the Altar, and that the reading-desk is the successor of the Gospel-ambon. We may keep their origin in mind without reference to the use of both; remembering also that the reading-desk, because of the comparatively brief use made of it, does not so often have an *Ueberbau* or *Rueckwand* as the pulpit, and that the former is used for the most part only in early Service, while the latter is used at every part of the day. When the sun is in the South, or in the Southwest, it strikes more upon the Gospel column than upon the Epistle column. Both should cover the lower body and legs of the minister, because this gives to the majority of speakers a feeling of greater security. Both are not pieces of furniture, but fixed organic parts, for the Word is the firm refuge, the immutable basis, of our faith.

5. Since galleries not only are necessary for the accommodation of a greater number and for economical reasons, but also contribute in fairly large congregations to a family-like gathering of the assembly around the speaker, in contrast with other auditoriums, and therefore are almost characteristic of Evangelical architecture, they must be arranged in connection with the pulpit in such a way that the preacher can be seen and heard equally well by those in the galleries and those under them, and so that the unity of the room is presented. Therefore the seats in the gallery must be so arranged that no straining of the neck will be needed to see the Altar, and so that those sitting in them will not have their attention diverted, and that those on the rear seats will not have the heads of those before them between them and the preacher.

Digitized by Google

6. The organ is intended first of all, alone or supported by a choir of singers or by other instruments, to open, accompany and close the Services in a clear, significant but not obtrusive way, and especially to complete and dignify, lead and accompany the unison singing of the congregation. A further employment for concerts, etc., must give place to this liturgical purpose and function. Therefore, according to acoustic principles, its tones ought to go forth in the same direction as the song of the congregation, not come towards it, and the playing of it and the personality of choir and soloists should neither obtrude upon the congregation nor seem to be a part of what is offered to the congregation, but rather a part of what is done by it. The proper place for the organ, therefore, is in the rear of the congregation. The organ-loft should be built at such a height that the tones will quickly and evenly spread through the whole room, even its lowest parts; and the size of the organ and its power must be carefully adapted to the size of the room. Care should be taken not to make it too large. The organ case should be firm enough, should protect the instrument against dust and other disturbing bodies, against sudden and excessive variations of temperature, should provide room enough within for repairs, and accessibility and convenience within and without, and also protection of the keyboard and the performer against injury and crowding. Before the completion of the building-plan all that is necessary concerning size, accessibility, position, protection, temperature, etc., for instrument, case, the mechanism and size of the bellows, bellows-room, manner of blowing, console, the organist's view of the minister, of the congregation, singers and musicians, should be agreed upon between builder, architect, contractor or musical director, organist and organ-builder. The latter often wish to build too large organs, and yet do not provide for large enough and convenient bellows-rooms. This warning is in place even against many modern architects.

b) *The space intended for the administration of the Sacra-*

Digitized by Google

ments and other gifts of grace, to the parts of the Liturgy which refer to the self-offering of Christ and the thank-offering therefor, should provide room enough for those participating and for the necessary furniture.

7. The Altarspace especially is not for us Lutherans a specially sacred spot, not a holy of holies, or hierarchically enclosed *abaton*, *adyton*, *aphauston*, *atheaton*, *anaktoron*, but the place of those distributions and liturgical rites in which not the whole congregation yet a certain group out of it take part, those rites which are to be solemnly celebrated in view of the congregation. Therefore it must be an especial space adjoining that intended for the assembly of the congregation and distinguished from it, yet an integral part of it, not a separate room (Altar-kirche), but rather so arranged that the rites performed in it may be followed by the whole congregation with lively sympathy, may be seen and heard by all, therefore wide open in front and somewhat elevated, yet so that those rites may not be hindered by those who are not taking part in them.

The Supper is, in our conception, not merely a memorial-supper of believers among themselves, nor a memorial of Christ's Offering and a thanksgiving for it; but a Sacrament; a distribution of the gracious gift of the inmost union with the Lord in the new covenant sealed by that Offering; and has its roots not in what we do, but in what the Lord does to us. Therefore the Altar is primarily the Table of the Lord; but not only this, but also the place of this inmost communion, of the thanksgiving, of the unspoken vow involved in such a communion of fidelity to this covenant, and of further rites of initiation, and of vows of confirmandi, bridal pairs, ordinandi, etc., of benedictions, blessings for those who offer, celebrate, and vow; for the whole congregation therefore, not as a place of offering in a heathen sense. Both its form and material should be monumental, if possible of stone; although, because it is a table and is developed from a table, a solid and thorough construction of wood is not excluded. It should be of

Digitized by Google

a table form; should not be formed like a grave in reference to the Risen One; nor like a hearth as the heathen and Jewish altars for burnt offerings were. It should be set with a Crucifix. It should be large enough for the necessary vessels, lights, etc., convenient, broad enough for all who may have to officiate at it, elevated so that it may be seen, and therefore provided with a *Podest* in front, which again should be surrounded by a kneeling-step. Two such, that is, three in all, might be inconvenient to the officiant. No rails around it are needed, but two supports for the arms at the sides of the *Podest*. It does not stand like a Catholic grave-altar or Mass-altar or lay-altar or cross-altar, against the wall, but—like the old Christian table-altar and the high-altar that grew out of this and afterwards was taken from the laity—it should stand free. To put the Altar against the wall is a return to Catholic ways, just as is its position before a windowless wall in a dark Chancel.

8. The Font as the place of the second Sacrament should not be movable, and should not be fashioned like a piece of furniture. It should be so placed and shaped that there will be no hindrance to those taking part in a Baptism, that a fair part of the congregation may take part as witnesses, and that all profanation of it even when not in use will be prevented. Provision should be made for necessary attention to the child, and the protection of its health.

c) *Rooms must be provided for the various offices of the Church.*

9. Here belong the necessary stairways and passages, according to the size of the congregation and other circumstances, one or more sacristies and confessional rooms, a room for confirmandi, toilets, chambers for paraments and furniture, heating apparatus, cloak-chamber, bell-room, bellows-room, wardrobes, etc. All these rooms should be placed, sized and arranged appropriately and conveniently, before all else so as not to interfere with the chief rooms, and so that one of them does not interfere with another, especially with one more important. Whether all

Digitized by Google

of these rooms, or only some of them, how many, and what rooms besides these, may eventually be necessary, what space and arrangement will be needed, all this should be considered in the program. (Local needs should be considered.)

d) *The building belongs to the Congregation as such, therefore to no one mortal, but to an immortal owner, who often comprises a whole district. This must find expression in position and form.*

10. The spot chosen for the building should be easy of access to all parts of the congregation, and generally visible, and should be provided with entrances enough properly distributed. Bell and clock and dial should be audible and visible in every direction.

11. The building should provide for all these things and for their security, not for one generation only, but for the whole life of the congregation. It should therefore be solid, monumental, without being strange in style or expensive. All that can be known of the laws of nature and of the nature of materials and of technical mastery and use of the materials should be devoted to this end.

B. DEMANDS UPON ART, IN REFERENCE TO FORM AND CHARACTER.

a) *The building should also aim at ideal ends. It dare not bear the character of profane places of assembly or auditoriums, but must give expression to its higher purpose. The two spaces already described, without diminution of their fitness for their several purposes must be wrought out to a higher unity, even as Goethe says, "Unity of conception and living organization according to the difference of the parts must characterize every work of art."*

12. Within this unity, the place of the congregation in its arrangement must contribute to devout hearing of purely spiritual addresses, to active participation in song, prayer, praise and adoration, to self-surrender in all the rites of worship; it must even excite thereto, and therefore it should be solemn, dignified,

Digitized by Google

elevated, free from every suggestion of that which is profane, not humble or disturbing, and not strangely uncomfortable, exciting, distracting; but it should raise above the everyday world, clarify and collect, and before all things make one feel at rest. Its form and arrangement should not suggest outside tendencies, nor difference of rank, etc., but rather in recognition that all are alike before God it should make every member of the congregation feel his equal rights, so far as official station in the congregation does not make a difference.

13. The Altarspace, open to every eye, and an integral part of the whole, should serve to increase this feeling of exaltation above all that is earthly. It should appear to be the culmination and goal and completion of the place of the congregation and so announce that it is the place for communion with the Lord. If, as we have said, there should be no Altar-screen, this does not forbid the low rail that was in use before Leo III, with a broad and always open entrance. There may be fixed seats for the representatives of the congregation; never, however, behind the Altar.

14. Every part, even the smallest, should not only be in perfect unity with the whole, but also should show that it serves a nobler and more abiding purpose than like things do in profane buildings—walls, floors, footstools and other parts must be monumental, not in the passing fashion nor of a trivial elegance. They must suggest the super-earthly. They must have a holy-day, not a holiday, character. The perfection of workmanship should not provoke admiration of cunning or skill. There ought to be a quiet feeling rather than a clear consciousness of security against the outer world, without any thought of the means which have produced it. The inside walls should not be carried out with naked bricks for instance, but if hewn stone is too costly, should be colored with something like the style of a tapestry. (Smoothness and convenience for cleaning are the rule for the inside walls; solidity and firmness for the outside.) The use of

Digitized by Google

the forms of plants and figures depends on the confessional character; symbolical representations are to be taken only from the circle of evangelical symbolism. Pictures from the Bible, or of angels, require great premeditation; the representation of God in a human form had better be avoided, at least in active intercourse with men. Besides Biblical figures, like the patriarchs, prophets, Apostles, etc., reformers and persons connected with the locality of the congregation can be represented, but only in historical scenes, or in modest portraits, and the method of representation or the place assigned to the picture should never incite to adoration, or to any transgression beyond a mere memorial or celebration of an example. As to texts and mottoes, it must be borne in mind that they suggest thoughts which may interfere with attention to the sermon.

15. The various vessels must have a more solid character than the same sort of things would have in dwellings and the like. The seats must differ from those of concert halls, schools or theatres, the reading-desk and pulpit from a teacher's desk or a music stand or a platform, galleries and organ-loft from the galleries and orchestra in a dancing-hall or theatre. And especially should the Altar-table not be at all like a dining-table, or the buffet in a palace.

16. There should be an antechamber, and if possible a *Vorplatz*, whether this be a churchyard, a garden, or an elaborate court.

b) *The character of the Evangelical Church should be expressed by the exterior as well as in the interior of the building which serves it. It should be distinguished from buildings for profane purposes, and also from the temples of other religions or other confessions.*

17. The chief form should witness that the building serves no small but the greatest purpose, no passing end but an eternal, no material use but an ideal, no worldly aim but a spiritual, no lowly purpose but the very highest; that it belongs to no person,

Digitized by Google

but to the whole congregation, invites the whole congregation to enter, take part in assembly, prayer, praise, illumination through pure doctrine, in short to the adoration of God and exaltation to Him; but also that the chief principle of the worship celebrated in it in Evangelical freedom is embraced in the notions of congregational assembly, common hearing of the Word, thanksgiving for Christ's work of redemption, reception of the gifts of His grace, and therefore has nothing to do with processions, the sacrifice of the Mass and other mystical ceremonies, the worship of the saints, etc. For such a witness the building needs primarily, earnestness and dignity of appearance, great simple masses, even with modest additions and wide organization of members, an ideal form, aspiring relations, avoidance of forms which are subject to passing fashion, declaration and awakening of assurance of long continuance by means of solidity, external signification of inner sanctity by great windows, and a broad entrance under a tower rising up towards Heaven. In all, in every particular, in every part, mass and form, the exterior should render the inner purpose, that inner organization in antechamber, congregational space and Altarspace, and their unified combination, visible. On the room of the congregation should be impressed the character of rest and quietness; on the Altarspace of motion, of aspiration; without interfering with the artistic unity. But everything that might remind one of a mystery, of the advance of a procession, of a separation of the priesthood from the laity in contradiction of the universal priesthood of the congregation, or of adoration of the saints, is to be strictly avoided.

18. The separate forms are also to bear the stamp of *truth* and clearness. Necessary side rooms, e. g., the sacristy, confessionals, toilets, are not to be masked under forms which do not belong to Evangelical Churches, e. g., chapels for saints, great windows not intended to give light, e. g., behind the organ, are to be avoided, great doors before little rooms, and every other pretense. This rule also forbids the concealment of necessary

Digitized by Google

constructions behind parts thought to be true to the architectural style, and superfluous ornaments.

b) *If then the progress of technique is not to be concealed by a mask taken from antique art, if the talent given to us is not to be hid in the earth, and therefore the adoption of the whole outworn system of construction of an old style is forbidden, this does not forbid the employment of an antique style as if the Evangelical Church had broken with the older Christian tradition.*

Rather, because Papism pushed the traditional development off from its true course, it must leave the false way then taken, resume the old, true, pre-Catholic tradition, and carry it on on the right way.

19. Purist or archaic employment of a style is not desired nor defended, but a conscientious employment of one style only in all parts of the work according to its own rules.

20. Among the universal Christian but not Catholic principles are the choice or the artificial creation of an elevated site for the church-building, which in olden times was advised and even prescribed, and its orientation. By the introduction of the Eastern position of the Altar in 420, no ritual prescription was broken, but only the Jewish and heathen custom of placing the doors to the East. This was for the sake of the place of the Crucifix and the direction in prayer, with which the position of the Priest at the Altar no longer corresponded. Catholicism fought against the logical removal of the seats of bishops and priests from behind the Altar, by elevating these still more; and giving them additional ornamentation; and against the logical admission of the sunlight in the morning directly upon the Altar (which the Arians adopted) by having the apse windowless, on account of transubstantiation and other mysteries; but about the ninth century gave up the fight, and built upon the rear of the Altar a retable or superfrontal. Out of this was developed the Altar *Bildschrein* (altar-screen, *reredos*) (first mentioned 1240). The eastward position of the Altar was retained by Catholicism on account of

Digitized by Google

its symbolism of the coming of Christ, etc. In later times the congregations and masons succeeded in establishing the custom of having East windows, but shortly after the Reformation, in the Counter-reformation, the Jesuits returned to the Western Altar, to the region of darkness. The position in the East and the "*lucida*" therefore is Evangelical and proper, though not directly required. The traditional old Christian way of burying the dead agrees with it, and a change would, as *Meuser* says, disturb. So *Hoelscher* rightly lays stress on the fact, that the orientated churches of old cities gives the picture of a city so great and monumental quietness. And as much is to be said for the traditional West portal entrance of the church, facing towards the Altar.

21. The Tower, as a sign and summons, stands properly over the chief entrance, at the West. In spite of all attempts to find a proper position, as early as the Seventh Century, therefore long before Leo III, that over the West portal became the favorite and almost the rule. The few exceptions were either due to necessity or to the incompleteness of the building, or like the double towers at the Choir, which were derived from Cluny and were of monkish origin. Therefore another position of the chief tower is to be allowed only to local necessities.

22. Where the form of the Communion requires that the Communicants pass around the Altar from the bread side to the cup side, in order to avoid confusion and the distraction of the minds of those standing before the Altar a *reredos* may be erected, which, ornamented with a representation of one of the chief events of our redemption, may offer to the eye an elevating and inspiring point. It must not interfere with other parts, nor with the light from the windows.

23. The Pulpit belongs in the room of the congregation and to the Epistle side. In large churches it cannot be put behind the Altar without injury to the acoustics. This was perceived 1500 years ago. In larger churches it does not often occur, but

Digitized by Google

in churches of a moderate size it often occurs that there is an evil echo if the pulpit be put in the main axis of the church. To place the pulpit in the middle of the square before the Altar, spoils the acoustics for all in its neighborhood and interferes with the view of the Altar. Its construction *with* the Altar or *behind* it detracts from the dignity of the latter, and fuses the instruction and admonition of the congregation too closely with the distribution of the gifts of grace, benediction, etc. The position advised does not mean that the pulpit is shoved to one side. As the weightiest and worthiest part of the room of the congregation, the pulpit should be monumental in form. According to most ancient tradition the preacher should not make his appearance *quam deus ex machina;* therefore the steps leading to the pulpit should be partially visible. The wall behind it and the sounding-board (*schalldeckel*) must not seem to be provisional or transitory or be movable.

24. The Lectern for the Gospels should not only be fixed and firm but should appear so. Under the desk there should be space to have ready books, notices, etc., so arranged that these and the taking up and laying down of them should not be seen by the congregation. Therefore, and that the person of the reader may be covered, it should not be like a music-stand and it should be free at the back. All this leads to such a position and form as is indicated by the development from the Gospel-ambon.

25. Galleries often will reduce the cost and offer the advantages mentioned in Sec. 5, but of course only when the number of seats they furnish stands in proper relation to the cost of their erection and arrangement, which will not be the case if there be but two rows of seats, nor if there be three; and when their form is such that they do not look like a temporary scaffold but are integral monumental members of the building, and present to the congregation a character of oneness and homelikeness. Treated in such a way, they should be acknowledged as characteristic, organic constituents of Evangelical church-architecture. The

Digitized by Google

construction of several galleries one above the other detracts from unity and dignity and therefore should be avoided. At the utmost, in very great churches two such stories might be introduced, but they must not interfere with the clear survey and total impression of the interior and degrade the character of the place of assembly to that of a theatre or an auditorium. Nor may they extend into the Altarspace, to a line with the Altar; and in new buildings they should not be allowed to cut the windows. The introduction of galleries into small churches or an irregular arrangement of them can be excused only by necessity. When sufficiently established rights require that special seats be granted to any in the galleries, this must not disturb the unity of the building, nor may they be made prominent by ornament. For much the same reason boxes in the Altarspace belong only to those whose position in the congregation justifies it, as patrons, officers of the congregation, representatives of the Church government, the pastor's family, etc., and are admissible in front of the line of the Altar, not behind it.

26. The Organ-loft, which is at the same time the Choir-loft, has in general the same character as the galleries, but has more to support. The organ-case, however, should not be shaped as a member of the building dependent on the other constructions, but as an independent instrument. The form of a *building* is to be avoided, and the ethereal character of music is to be suggested by a light ornamental style. The form should not be derived from the forms of constructions in stone, nor should it point to arrangements which indicate limitations caused by the necessities of the building; but it should have a complete space, arranged for it with due deliberation. The bellows-room should be bright and free from draughts, be readily accessible to the player, and should not in any way interfere with the interior of the church. Only in extreme necessity should it be placed over the organ.

27. The Font should not be placed anywhere like a piece of

Digitized by Google

furniture, but should have its own special, chosen and prepared position. The position in the entrance-vestibule, while apparently correct because of the symbolism, takes from its dignity, and sometimes leads to its profanation as a mere clothesrack, makes it difficult to properly heat the room and to provide for the children to be baptized, and obstructs the passage; and the position in the choir just at the ascent to the Altar is also objectionable, because there the Font is in the way of those that come and go, and interferes with the view of the Altar. The position recommended by *Semper*, behind the Altar, in the *apse*, is forbidden, like any position either in the congregational room or the Altar-space, by the fact that the person brought to Baptism is not yet a member of the congregation, and on the other hand by the fact that the place of administration of a Sacrament has a claim to monumental position and form, and ought not seem to be shoved to one side.

d) *In the artistic elaboration of the details of all these parts, the style chosen for the building itself (of course with the exclusion of everything not Christian) is to be carried out with the same consequence as is indicated in Sec. 19, with reference to the material and ideal purpose, and with full use of all the means which advanced technique offers to secure easier mastery and churchly character, especially without concealment and hypocrisy in material and construction, and without pedantic copying, therefore with an inner comprehension of the true style and its laws.*

28. The realms from which such aids may be drawn are, (in accordance with the maxim, "*All things are yours; prove all and hold fast that which is good*), especially the following: plastic work in stone, brass, wood, terracotta, etc., (not plaster of Paris and lime), decorative and figured painting on wall, tablets and glass, molten work and work in metals, tectonic and ceramics, etc., in all their modern perfection, and the now so advanced technique in lighting and heating. All that runs into virtuosity, the employment of substitutes and unmonumental materials, con-

Digitized by Google

cealment and deceit, all artificialities and tricks, unworthy of art and of honest construction, must be forbidden.

29. If for a new building a style is chosen, or if a church which is to be restored is of a style, in whose most flourishing period some of the technical means now at the disposal either were not known or were yet undeveloped, their use is not therefore forbidden; but the shaping of the parts should be in the spirit of the chosen style, therefore in analogy with the technical means that belonged to the style, in the way that masters of that period would have developed them if they had possessed them. This of course requires a deep understanding of the inner substance of the style.

e) *Partly for the sake of better preservation, longer use, greater cleanliness, etc., partly in direct service of the Liturgy, means must be found for proper protection and for enduring and periodically changing ornamentation in other arts than architecture, in the textile arts for instance, and this must accord with the general principles already laid down.*

30. Here belong the vestments for the Altar, Pulpit, Lectern, etc.

A. Altarcloths. These were considered indispensable in old Christian times and must be recognized as such by both Lutherans and Reformed, and are a protection against the dampness of the stone. This protection may be partially secured by covering the stone Altar-top with wood, but better by laying on it a *chrismale*, that is, a linen cloth stiffened by a wax-bath, of the size of the Altar, over which should be laid a cloth of unbleached or stiff bleached linen of the same size, which often is omitted although it contributes very much to the preservation of the other vestments. In the oldest, and therefore pre-Catholic times, a third covering was regarded as liturgically necessary, namely, the actual Altarcloth of pure white linen. This should extend only a little beyond the edge of the Altar and needs no embroidery besides crosses of red or white yarn in the corners and perhaps a

Digitized by Google

narrow border of the same sort at their junction; but it may be provided with a solid linen fringe. Under every vessel there may be a little linen cloth, a *Corporale*, and upon each a *Palla*. The custom of covering all the vessels upon carrying them to the Altar and until the proper beginning of the sacramental action with a Veil (*velum*) is still followed in most Lutheran and Reformed Churches. At the beginning of the celebration proper this is taken away, folded up and laid with the candles, in order to be put over the vessels by the minister at the close of the celebration, and this may be convenient on account of the size of the vessels. It would be well to have uniformity of usage in this matter. Besides, the Altar should be provided with small cloths, *Purificatories*, with which to wipe the cup, especially the rim of it at every filling, and also the *Vorhaltetuecher*, still in use in many regions, which are of a breadth of 30 to 40 cm, and as long as the armrests on each side of the Altar, and are held there by two boys.

B. Not ritually indispensable but yet called for by the Liturgy is the decorative clothing of the Altar. This may have been added to the linen very early and used without special rules. It is only natural that special feasts should be distinguished thus above the ordinary Sundays. Then the Altar and its belongings were covered for fast days and memorials, and decked in white for festivals of joy (such as Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day). With the multiplication of feasts of Martyrs and Saints, the need grew of marking the gradually ordered seasons of the Church Year, and so at a comparatively late period the designation of particular colours to particular seasons arose. Since many Saints' Days fell into disuse at the Reformation, and the Church Year (beginning at Christmas and ending with the preparation of Advent) became more prominent, the Evangelical Church can adopt this significant custom of the liturgical colours, though it grew up in Catholic times, and could hardly put anything better into its place. According to

Digitized by Google

a few gradually recognized alterations the order is the following:

White: Though many deny it to be a colour, yet the positive pole of the scale of colours, the colour of spotlessness, of the candidates for Baptism, etc., by Luther called the colour of the angels and of all saints, for Christmas and its cycle until Epiphany, in Saxony for the Annunciation also, Easter, and the First Sunday after Easter as the White Sunday of the newly baptized, (here and there only) until Ascension, Trinity, and St. John Baptist.

Red, the majestic colour of dominion, of Joy, of light-giving doctrine, of the fire of the Holy Ghost, of blood and of martyrdom, for Whitsunday, its octave, and the feasts of the Reformation and church dedication which are a result of Whitsunday, and where white is wanting to take its place.

Green, the everyday colour of the earth, the restful and refreshing colour of hope, of peace and of victory, for the everyday times of the church, i. e., for Epiphany and Trinity-tide.

Violet, (not purple nor lilac nor blue) the solemn earnest colour of modesty, humility, concentration, penitent concentration in one's self, for the closed times, Advent, Lent, Passion.

Black finally, the negative pole of the scale, the colour of sadness and humiliation, for Good Friday, days of penitence, feasts of the dead, and also where necessary in the place of Violet.

On the other hand the following are excluded:

Blue, although the colour of Heaven, of truth and faithfulness, which often deserves and finds its place in ecclesiastical art, does not appear nor should it appear as the representative of a festival or a particular season, and only in dark shade in a peacock blue may it be used in place of violet.

Yellow, which in Catholic Art sometimes occurs as a substitute for gold, denoting the sun and the goodness of God, is however, rather the colour of envy, avarice and faithlessness. The mantle of Joseph is properly bright brown; of Peter, orange.

Digitized by Google

Yellow is assigned to Judas. To use rose colour or orange instead of red; instead of dark green, Maygreen, applegreen, olive or bronze green; instead of violet, lilac; in general instead of full pure colours, dull colours, so-called fashionable colours, is to be positively advised against, as also to let ornaments, etc., of other shades of the same hue be added to the foundation colours in such measure as to take from the foundation colour or make it uncertain.

Silver or White is to be sparingly used in black, neutral gray only in little, spaces; and in greater spaces as the colours of the mortification of the flesh it is not advisable.

The vestment must not conceal an essential part of the form or decoration of that which it covers, e. g., in the case of the Altar its form as a hearth or a table, of the pulpit its rail, the cupform of the Font; and must never take the form of a coat or fall in long folds.

On the Altar it ought to cover the table and fall over the edge about a handbreadth. Where the Altarcloth is used only at the Holy Communion the form is a matter of course. But in the majority of Lutheran Churches the Altarcloth is always in use, and it would be unnecessary and too costly to put the liturgical colours under it all over the Altar.

An *Antependium* may be used where the Altar itself is not artistically finished. Extending over the whole front of the Altar, it presents a fine opportunity for artistic treatment. If the Altar is artistically treated, then the *Antependium* should be only half its width. The Altarcloth proper should be laid over it. Vestments for Pulpit and Lectern belong to the desk only. The front needs no covering changing with the seasons.

31. On the Altar only fresh flowers should be used, not artificial nor dried. The vases should be of monumental material, of metal or firm ceramic material, not of glass or the like, of correct style, form and colour, of dignified churchly character,

Digitized by Google

and should not always be on the Altar; and still less should they be of one piece with it.

32. Nails, etc., should not be driven for purposes of decoration. Provision should be made for this in building. The same can be said of wardrobes, hatracks and the like.

EDWARD T. HORN.

Reading, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE BIDDING PRAYER, LITANY, AND SUFFRAGES.

THE historical continuity of the Church of the *Augsburg Confession* with the Evangelical Christianity of the ages has long been one of her boasts. Her right to this distinction was obtained through the conservative principle which governed the Lutheran Reformers, i. e., Things which are not forbidden by God's Word and which serve as aids to devotion and life shall not be rejected.* The proof of the justice of our claim to an unbroken stream of Christianity is seen not alone in the doctrines of our Church but as well in her life as expressed in practice, worship and environment.

How the Order of Common Service now recommended to our Churches in America and used so largely by them supports the contentions of the preceding statements has been discussed in some of the papers which form part of the Association's MEMOIRS. We purpose to take up another phase of the subject in the following discussion, viz., "The Responsive Church Prayers." Of these our Liturgy possesses great ancient treasures in the *Litany*, the *General Suffrages*, the *Morning* and *Evening Suffrages*, and the *Bidding Prayer*.†

Here again the Lutheran Church demonstrates her ecumenical Character. *The Litany* in its specific form is an early product of the Western Church; her Canonical Hours furnish the material for the Suffrages; while the Eastern Church, from a still earlier and primitive age, supplies the Diaconal Prayer.

* *Aug. Conf.* Art. VII and XV.

† *Church Book*, pp. 132–149; *Book of Worship*, (G. S.) pp. 165–206; *Book of Worship*, (U. S. S.) pp. 94–107.

Digitized by Google

The question arises whether our pastors know sufficient of the history and sources of these prayers, or have studied their inner harmony, beauty and power closely enough to have a desire or an ability to recommend and encourage their use in the public Services of our Churches. To know and use these Common Prayers wherein pastor and people unite antiphonally in supplication before the Throne of Grace, cannot but impress upon the people the reality of the common Christian life, and infuse the spirit of largehearted Christian consciousness and sympathy. It emphasizes also the evangelical priesthood of all believers in a way that a long, unbroken, personally extemporized string of petitions on the part of the pastor can never do. It helps to keep uppermost in the minds of the members the fact that *they* are praying; and gives a personal touch and sense of participation otherwise unobtainable. As our people take part in the other divisions of the Service by their responses, so also in these prayers.

We take them up in what is, roughly speaking, their chronological order.

I. THE BIDDING, OR DIACONAL PRAYER.

The immediate source of the Bidding Prayer in our own Liturgy is the Schwäbisch-Hall KO (1526). From Horn's *Liturgics*,* we infer that a large number of similar formularies of an admonitory character exist in Lutheran Liturgies. We were, however, unable to procure a copy of Höfling's *Urkundenbuch* for a comparative study of these forms. Löhe† has the heading, "The Bidding or Diaconal Prayers of the Lutheran Church." He also calls it a "Union of Exhortation and Prayer." After treating of the ancient prayers of this character, he continues, "A beautiful, quickening and not altogether dissimilar form has found its way into *many* Lutheran Liturgies." He proceeds to

* p. 77, q. 87-88.

† *Liturgy*, transl. by LONGAKER.

Digitized by Google

give two forms: one especially adapted for use on Good Friday (a form "used for many years in Neuendettelsau") and the other "for the Lord's Day." The former parallels our own Bidding Prayer up to the fifth Collect, the Collect "for all in authority" preceding that "for our catechumens." Löhe's form then contains an Exhortation to pray for schismatics,* the Collect being the one numbered nineteen in our collection.† The next Exhortation deals with the Jews* with the use of Collect twenty-three;† and the following admonition mentions the heathen,* using Collect twenty-four† with some slight variations. The rubric in our book calls attention to these Collects but gives no bidding form for the several estates of men mentioned. Throughout the prayer the bidding sections are delegated to the deacon, then the minister says, "Let us pray;" the deacon, "Let us humbly kneel;" and then the minister offers the prayer, the people responding "Amen." The direction, however, is that no exhortation to kneel be given before the Collect for the Jews.‡ Whether the people stood during the reading of each exhortation and knelt for each Collect we have no means of knowing. Perhaps the "Let us humbly kneel" was more a spiritual than a physical direction. The final exhortation is given by the minister as follows: "Finally let us pray for all those things for which our Lord would have us ask, saying: 'Our Father,' etc." In the second form: "For the Lord's Day" both exhortation and Collect are taken by the minister. There is also an introductory exhortation. The order is as follows: (a) For the whole Church; (b) for governments; (c) for deliverance from error, etc.; (d) for peace; (e) for enemies; (f) for all in perils of child-birth; (g) for the fruits of the earth; (h) the Lord's Prayer.

From this we can see that the form now printed in our Liturgy is a combination of these two, one Collect being omitted.

* *Liturgy*, transl. by LONGAKER.

† *Ch. Bk.* p. 114, p. 115 and p. 116.

‡ This Collect is said standing.

Digitized by Google

But our contention has been that our Church had preserved in its Bidding Prayer an ancient, eastern form of prayer and this must be substantiated.

A study of the ancient Liturgies shows us that the beginnings of this form of prayer are found in the earliest orders of public worship. It was the custom in the Early Church that the deacons should be "monitors and directors to the people in the exercise of their public devotions in the Church."* To accomplish this they had certain set phrases which they used to announce the different parts of the Service, to notify the various orders of worshippers when to take their part in the Service, and to call upon each order to pray, directing the burden of their prayers. This custom it has seemed to me, although I have no authority to quote, must have been necessitated by the lack of printed forms by means of which the people could follow the Service. Successive deliveries of the call to prayer were addressed to a) the catechumens, b) the energumens, c) the baptized, d) the penitents, and e) the faithful, and were styled διά προσφονέσεος (bidding prayers).

After each class had been thus exhorted to prayer and guided in devotion, it was dismissed. The order for the catechumens will serve as an example:†

Deacon. "Pray ye catechumens." "Let all the faithful pray for them saying, 'Lord have mercy upon them.'" The deacon then directs the prayers of the faithful in a series of thirteen or fourteen suggested petitions. To each of these the people, and particularly the children respond as above. The deacon then bids the catechumens arise and bids them to offer several petitions for themselves. To these also the response is "Lord have mercy upon them." Then the deacon bids them bow for the bishop's benediction which is a prayer summing up briefly, though not specifically, the petitions concerning which the above

* BINGHAM, *Antiquities of the Christian Church.*

† *Apos. Const.* Bk. VIII.

Digitized by Google

mentioned exhortations had been given. After this the deacon says, "Catechumens depart in peace." The same order is followed in shorter or longer degree in the case of each class.

When all but "the faithful" had been dismissed the *Missa Fidelium* began with a long Bidding Prayer based upon the analogy of the Apostolical injunction, I Tim. 1: 1, 2.* The rubrics of these early Liturgies are somewhat confusing but it can be safely argued that in this Bidding Prayer for the Faithful, each petition was responded to by a *Kyrie*, or by the response, "Save them, O God, and lift them up by Thy mercy." The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom which is practically that used by the orthodox Greek Church to-day has similar prayers, although they are somewhat shorter. We find similar forms, some longer some shorter, "after the Divine oblation," "after the participation," and in the morning and evening Offices, in all the ancient Eastern Liturgies. A decree of the Council of Laodicea (4th Cent.) directs in the 19th Canon that after the dismissal of the catechumens and penitents, "the three prayers of the faithful be said as follows: the first in silence; but the second and third by the method of prosphonesis."† Thus we see that the "bidding" form was the common type of public prayer in the Eastern Church, and that it has so remained even to this day.

To what extent this particular class of prayer passed over into the Western Church is somewhat hard to determine. That the form was known and used by the Western Churches is proven by the few examples to be found in ancient Western Liturgies‡ and by the still extant perfect specimen in the Roman Catholic Office for Good Friday afternoon. This it will be seen is the source of our own form, and it may also be noted is the most nearly evangelical of all the Romish forms. May not our short "Let

* *Apos. Const.* Bk. VIII.

† MANSI, *Sact. Concl.* Vol. 3.

‡ BINGHAM, *Ant. Christ. Ch.* quotes two: one from *Codex Fulda* and the other from the *Ambrosian Liturgy*. FREEMAN, *Principles of Divine Service* refers to a collection of Bidding Prayers from 1349 downwards, by Parker.

Digitized by Google

us pray" before the Collect *de tempore* in the Common Service, in the Communion Office and before the Collects in the Matin and Vesper Orders be a condensed survival of this ancient practice?

The Lutheran Church seems to have been the only Protestant communion to retain the old Bidding Prayer form in approximate purity in her Liturgies. However, traces of it are to be found in the Episcopalian Liturgy. Freeman calls attention to the "Prayer for the Church Militant" which occurs in the Communion Office of the Book of Common Prayer, after the alms have been offered and before the exhortation. He identifies it both with the prayer "after the oblations" in the ancient Liturgies, and also with the Bidding Prayer "for the faithful" which as we have seen, prefaced the *Missa Fidelium*.* He also asserts its relationship to the Good Friday prayer of the Romish Liturgy. He finds a reason for the use of this "supplication for unity" in the Eucharistic Office, in its analogy to the great high-priestly prayer of Christ† on the "night of institution." The form used in the Episcopalian Office has a single "bid:" "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant." Then having recited the Apostle's injunction (I Tim. 2: 1) the prayer supplicates: a) for the reception of the oblations; b) for the unity of the Church Universal; c) for the preservation of the Church's members; d) for Christian rulers; e) for the local congregation; f) for the sick and distressed; g) a commendation of the "faithful departed." Blunt‡ gives another Bidding Prayer enjoined by the 55th Canon of the Church of England. It is the only approved form to be used in the Communion Service after the Creed and preceding the sermon § He explains that this is a modern-

* FREEMAN, *Principles of Divine Worship*, Vol. II. SMITH AND CHEETHAM, however, *Dict. Chr. Ant*, seem to deny the identity, taking the stand that the Bidding Prayers of the Episcopal Church took their rise in a distinctively mediæval practice.

† St. John 17: 1–26.

‡ *Annotated Book of Common Prayer.*

§ Canon 55, "Before all sermons, lectures and homilies the preachers and min-

Digitized by Google

ized form of the ancient "Bidding of the Bedes."* The subjects of this prayer are: a) Christ's Holy Catholic Church; b) King James; c) Queen Anne, etc.; d) Ministers of God's Holy Word; e) Councils and Magistrates of the realm; f) commons of the realm; g) the departed. This is a pure bidding form, each subject being introduced by "ye shall also pray;" and a petition is suggested in each case. Local Episcopalian clergymen have assured me that nothing similar to this prayer or practice is known or used in their American Churches.

In the Reformed Churches where practically all liturgy was rejected, and where the difference between the subjective-Christian prayer and the common prayer of Christ's unified Body was lost sight of, we naturally find no trace of this ancient and primal form of the "Church Prayer."

It seems unfortunate that while rubrics are attached to the other responsive general prayers, the Bidding Prayer was left without any, to direct where, when and how it may be used. Löhe in his *Agende* has the rubric, "For Sundays when there is no Communion and especially for the Afternoon Service on Good Friday."† This recognizes both the characteristic ancient uses of this form of prayer: 1st, as the general prayer, according to the usage of the Eastern Church; 2nd, as the special embodiment of the "unity" idea in Christ's last intercessory prayer, and hence most suitable for use at the Good Friday memorial Service, according to the long-established custom of the Western Church.‡ When we consider, however, that it is but a modernized form of the prayer *always* used by the Early Church in the *Missa Fidelium* what objection could there be to its use in the full Communion Office? And why should our people remain ignorant of this

isters shall move the people to join with them in prayer in this form, or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may: "Ye shall pray for, etc."

* For a discussion of this subject cf. HOOKER, *Dict. Chr. Ant.*

† U. S. S. alone has the rubric, "By ancient usage this prayer was specially appointed for Good Friday."

‡ MURATORI, *Lit. Rom.* and SALA, *Notes to Bona.*

Digitized by Google

treasure? Says Löhe, "The sweet and refreshing character of this form of prayer can be learned only by use." Variety can be obtained in the way suggested by Löhe's two forms: omitting the prayers for schismatics, Jews, and heathen on ordinary occasions, and using them on Good Friday or other Special Days. This is provided for by the one rubric.*

As to how it may be used, Löhe, who has been our guide in the study of this prayer, has the following to say: "The minister announces the things for which prayer is to be offered, reads the Collect in order, and the people conclude each with *Amen*, and the whole with the Lord's Prayer. *If a deacon would read the recurring exhortations, the minister offer the prayers, and the congregation conclude them with Amen* we would have indeed a *restoration of the ancient form of Bidding Prayer.*"

Upon the vexed question of kneeling for this prayer Löhe throws no light except as has been noted already. The alternate kneeling and rising would prove not only irksome but even would verge upon the ridiculous since some of the Collects and Exhortations are very brief. We have suggested the probability of the figurative sense of the original "Let us kneel." The writer has been in the habit of using this prayer successively with the Litany and General Suffrages in the Chief Service during the Lenten Season. We have the people to kneel and one of the deacons, standing in the Chancel† reads the Exhortations, while the pastor kneeling at the Altar reads the Collect, the people responding *Amen;* and all unite in the Lord's Prayer.

We will not examine into the parallelism between the original form, the Romish, the Episcopalian, and our own but will leave that to our pastors and people. But we do express the hope that, despite the manifest imperfections, this dissertation may be of service to our Church toward the renewed and extend-

* "Here *may* be offered, etc." *Ch. Bk.* p. 148.

† SMITH AND CHEETHAM, *Dict. Christ. Ant.*, "The deacon announced the prayers from the *Ambo*."

Digitized by Google

ed use of this beautiful and powerful form of common intercession.

II. THE LITANY.

If the Bidding Prayer is a survival of the earliest form of the Church prayer known to liturgiologists, and is distinctly a product of the Eastern Church, *the Litany* is also a purified survival of a prayer form, which, if not quite so ancient as the Bidding Prayer, nevertheless is equally as closely allied with the life of the Western Church as the former is with the Eastern.

It seems permissible to claim that while the term *litany* is manifestly of Greek extraction (λιτάνεια from λιτανεύω or from λιτή through λίσσομαι) yet the specific form of prayer to which present usage attaches the word is specifically a product of the Western Church. The use of the word *litany* in the epistles, homilies and decrees of the Church Fathers is such that much confusion results from anything but a thorough study of the various passages. Palmer* and Blunt† both refer to this fact and seek to specify and classify the uses. Drews‡ also has a clear and careful classification. Bingham§ does not seem so clear on this point. The treatment by all the authorities consulted points undoubtedly to the fact that the word has come to have a specific meaning which precludes its identification with many of the former uses.

Drews‡ establishes the fact that in the Eastern Church the word had a general usage analogous to its classic signification, i. e., any supplicatory prayer. When processionals began to be performed by the Church they came through force of circumstances to contain prayers and then the word assumed a double meaning: a) the prayer itself, as used in the processional; b) the procession. He quotes largely from patristic sources in support

* *Origines Liturgicæ.*

† *Annotated Book of Common Prayer.*

‡ Article *Litanei* in HAUCK-HERZOG *Real-Encyclopedie.*

§ *Antiquities of the Christian Church.*

Digitized by Google

of these conclusions.* The processions in the Eastern Church evidently were not organized originally from the same causes which led to their institution in the Western. Neither could they have taken their rise earlier than the Fourth Century after persecutions had ceased. During this Century the Arian heresy troubled the Church and by imperial decree Arians were restrained from holding their services within the city. They seized upon this restriction as an opportunity to propagate their teachings. Organizing their followers into processions they marched through the city to the gates, singing hymns and anthems which set forth their peculiar heresies. Chrysostom was fearful of the proselyting effect this might have upon Christians; and so by the aid of the Empress Eudoxia who supplied silver crosses to be carried in procession, he organized counter-demonstrations of great magnificence. It would seem that the violent earthquake of the year 404 changed the character of these processions; they became more supplicatory and penitential in aspect, the decree going forth that costly clothes, and equipages were manifestly out of place and therefore, forbidden. There appears to be no reference or fragment in any of the extant writings—in as far as we have been able to consult authorities—to give any idea of the exact nature of the organization of these Eastern processionals.

Drews cites four uses of the word in the Western Church: 1st, a term applied to the *Kyrie Eleison*, *Christe Eleison*, etc.; 2nd, as a designation of the Bidding Prayer;† 3rd, as a title of the processions; 4th, in the present sense, applied to "the rogation prayers beginning with the *Kyrie*." He says that the application of the term to the mere repetition of the *Kyrie*, as done by the *Ordo Romanus*, by Strabo and others, has no parallel in

* LAMBING, *The Sacramentals of the Catholic Church*, argues that "the term applies rather to each petition than to the form of prayer as a whole," since "the word is always in the plural in the liturgical language of the Church."

† "Litania bedeutet das im Gottesdienst gebetete prosphonetische Kirchengebet, die griechische Ekteine, die litania diaconalis."

Digitized by Google

the East. This is an aid in tracing the independent development of the *Litany* in the West.

Can we not deduce the probable development of the form of the *Litany* in these different uses? Uudoubtedly the word found its way into the West from the East and naturally would attach itself first of all to the form of prayer which it originally described—the Bidding Prayer. Now one of the features of this prayer was the recurring response, *Kyrie Eleison*, so that gradually and naturally the term designating the whole would come to be applied to a part, the *Kyrie*. When processions took their rise in the West they were the outcome of times of distress and terror and consequently partook of an intensely penitential and supplicatory character. For emphasizing this particular feature of their performance nothing could be better fitted than of recurring *Kyries;* and thus gradually they took a prominent place among the Psalms and hymns chanted during such processions. These prayers or ejaculations would naturally take the name "*litany*" and in course of time the order would be reversed and once more the *whole* would be designated by the term for a part. But by this time the entire character and arrangement of the prayer had undergone a change so that the word took a new meaning entirely unapplicable to the original.

Whether the present form of the Litany is an amplification of the *Kyrie* or whether the *Kyrie* in the Service is a condensed survival of the ancient Church prayer is a mooted question, one upon which we are not qualified to venture a decisive opinion. For it is a fact that originally* the *Kyrie* was repeated three, nine, twelve or an unlimited number of times† and later the *farced* (or amplified) *Kyries* became prevalent, followed closely by the "*Kyrie* hymns"‡ for the different seasons. It should be noted also that the developed form of the Litany gradually found

* *Ordo Romanus*, etc.

† "*Ad arbitrium celebranti.*"

‡ Kirchenbuch: Hymns 407–413. ROBINSON, "Music in the Western Church."

Digitized by Google

its place in the Mass (taking the place of the *Gloria*) and remained there until the Ninth Century.* It still occupies the same position in the Milan Missal on *Quadragesima*.

Just where and when and how the Litany form of prayer took its rise, and grew into its present condition not even Roman Catholic scholars can agree. Löhe† acknowledges the relationship between the Bidding Prayer of the East and the Litany of the West but dismisses the vexed question of their interdependence by saying, "There is, however, some difficulty to show exactly the development of the latter (*Litany*) from the former (*Bidding Prayer.*) Drews divorces them almost entirely and seeks to prove an independent source in the West—an ancient heathen prayer formula.

Another question shrouded in disputed uncertainty is the primary date, place and author of the processionals which later produced the specific Litany formula. Bishop Mamertus of Vienne in the year 467–8 instituted a solemn three-day season of fasting, procession, and prayer, prior to Ascension Day of that year. This was done in an endeavor to gain relief from a series of particularly destructive and demoralizing earthquakes. But the testimony of Sidonius‡ goes to show that a like proceeding on similar occasions had obtained throughout Gaul during the Fifth Century, although with great irregularities and lack of devotion. Sidonius' letters and the writings of Avitus show us that "the office performed in these rogations instituted by Mamertus appears chiefly to have consisted in psalmody and prayers" together with "long lessons of Scripture" but "the services during procession itself consisted of psalmody." Evidently the prayers and lessons were said in the Church. It is not until the close of the Sixth Century, in the time of Gregory the Great that we find direct mention of a similar custom in Rome upon the 25th of April

* MURATORI, *Lit. Rom.*

† *Agende.*

‡ "*Ep. ad Mamertum*," quoted by BLUNT, BINGHAM, AND DREWS.

Digitized by Google

(Feast of St. Mark). Gregory undoubtedly took the idea from the common practice of his time. The particular occasion in Rome was a threatened pestilence and to avert it he appointed a "*letania septiformis*," i. e., processions of seven different classes of people from as many different starting points. The order of the Office seems to have differed somewhat from that observed in Gaul.

We know that when Gregory revised the Roman Sacramentary he introduced the *Kyrie*. He refers to the Roman use as unique.* The fact that he introduced the *Kyrie* into the Services seems to Burbidge† an argument that he was encouraging the use of Litanies in the Service. That the repetition of the *Kyrie* early found a place in the Offices of the processions is evident from an extract from the writings of Gregory of Tours. In describing a Litany in Rome in the time of Gregory the Great he says, "A choir of singers came to the church, crying through the streets of the city *Kyrie Eleison*." That Gaul *adopted* this feature (repetition of *Kyries*) from Rome and did not *originate* it can be seen from a decree of the Council of Vaison (529), which commends "the agreeable and salutary custom" prevalent in Rome and Italy, of using "a frequent repetition of the *Kyrie Eleison* with great earnestness and contrition;" and directs its introduction at Matins and Vespers as well as at Mass. The *Ordo Romanus* "speaks as if the repetition of *Kyries* formed the greater part of the (*processional*) service."‡ It says "Let no one then presume to ride but let all walk with bare feet. Let no women lead the choirs but let all together sing *Kyrie Eleison* and with contrition of heart implore the mercy of God for the pardon of

* "We have not been accustomed, neither do we now say the *Kyrie* as the Greeks do. For among the Greeks all say it together, but with us it is said by the clergy and then answer is made by the people, and *Christe Eleison* is said by us the same number of times, which is not said at all by the Greeks." Epistle to John, Bishop of Smyrna.

† *Liturgies and Offices of the Church.*

‡ PALMER, *Orig. Lit.*

Digitized by Google

their sins, for peace, for deliverance from plague, for preserving the fruits of the earth, and for other necessities." Here we can see a rough outline of the present component parts of the Litany.

During the centuries following Litanies multiplied in great variety and number; and their form and use did not always retain an evangelical character. However the character of the prayer took a great hold upon the esteem of the people and so gradually from the original use outside the liturgical Offices they found their way in greater or less degree into almost every Service. The times, crowded as they were with droughts, famines, pestilences, invasions, and with confused and insecure political institutions, tended to emphasize and multiply the necessities for these "fastings and prayers." The echo of those "days which tried men's souls" is still heard in some of the Supplications, Versicles and Collects of our Liturgy. The impress of those evil times is still more apparent in the older forms, had we time to examine them. Hooker says,* "Rogations or Litanies were then the very strength, stay and comfort of God's Church." "And so," says Blunt,† "it became natural to adopt a form of prayer which took so firm a hold on men's affections, on various occasions where processions were not used. At ordinations or at consecrations, at the conferring of monastic habits, at coronation of Emperors, at dedication of churches, etc., it became common for the school or choir, the subdeacon or the deacon, to begin the Litany starting with *Kyrie Eleison* or *Christe, audi nos*. A Litany never came amiss: it was particularly welcome as an element of offices for the sick and dying:‡ its terseness, energy, pathos seemed to gather up all that was meant by *being instant in prayer*." The Litany began to take a place as a "Church Prayer." The Councils time after time decreed Rogation observances for three days prior to Ascension Day. The Gallican custom spread year by year from

* *Dict. Chr. Ant.*

† *Annotated Book of Common Prayer.*

‡ Cf. our own *Ch. Bk.*, "Min. Acts," pp. 383 and 404.

Digitized by Google

country to country but was not established in Rome until 816 by Leo III. Spain, adhering to the ancient idea that no fasts should occur during the Easter cycle, appointed its Rogation Days in Lent, Whitsunweek, and Autumn. We have the survival of these combined seasons in the "Ember Days" of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches appointed for the Advent, Lent, Easter (Ascension Week), and Trinity Seasons.

Gradually the invocation of saints found its way into the Litanies and became the principal part of them. This is another peculiarity differentiating the Western Litany from the Eastern counterpart. These invocations began to be used about the Eighth Century as is proven not alone by the silence in respect to this class of invocations in the writings of Gregory of Tours, Avitus, Sidonius, and Gregory the Great, but as well by the actual text of many forms of earlier Litanies, still extant. One such is found in the Breviary of a Bavarian monastery, another in the form still used in the Milan Missal on *Quadragesima*, and several shorter ones in the Mozarabic Breviary (6th and 7th Cent). Despite these evidences Roman Catholic writers claim for their present "Litany of the Saints" a great antiquity antedating even the time of Gregory the Great; although conservatives attribute it to him. Lambing* says, "It is not strange, however, that this Litany should be attributed to St. Gregory, inasmuch as he had a great devotion to the saints, and had their Litany chanted with special solemnity in the processions which he caused to be made through the streets of Rome on the occasion of the plague that raged there during his pontificate." To what ludicrous extent these invocations were multiplied appears from the notice in Blunt's "*Annotated Book of Common Prayer*" of an old Tours form for the visitation of the sick wherein the list of saints is more than four columns in length. Others mention local Litanies with as high as two and three hundred saints' names, all to be responded to in dreary monotony by "*ora pro nobis.*" When we

* "*The Sacramentals of the Catholic Church.*"

Digitized by Google

learn further that in time they came to have "*letania septana*," "*quina*," or "*terna*," in which seven, five or three subdeacons, as the case might be, each repeated every supplication and response in order, multiplying the original manifoldly, we gain another view of the religious extravagances of the Middle Ages.

Gradually, despite their multiplicity, and diversity of purpose, a uniform outline began to assert itself so that Blunt,—who in his *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* must examine no less than thirty separate specimens—says, "The general divisions of Mediæval Litanies were: 1. *Kyrie* and "Christ, hear us," etc. 2. Entreaties to each of the Divine Persons and to the whole Trinity. 3. Invocation of Saints. 4. Deprecations. 5. Obsecrations. 6. Petitions. 7. *Agnus Dei*, *Kyrie*, Lord's Prayer. 8. Collects. This will be seen to correspond in part with the arrangement of our own which is a purified form of the Roman Catholic "Litany of the Saints."

By the Fifteenth Century this "Great Litany" had become fixed in its form. It was approved in 1601 according to Drews.* It is now known as above, having sixty-three invocations of saints. It is the especial "liturgical Litany" and is used at the bestowal of holy orders, at the blessing of the font on Holy Saturday and the Eve of Pentecost (in a shortened form), on April 25th, and on the Rogation Days. On these occasions it is always used in Latin. "It is known in liturgical language as the Greater, and Lesser Litany. The former is chanted in the solemn processions on the feast of St. Mark, and the latter on the Rogation Days."†

The former obligation to recite this Litany on all Fridays during Lent was removed by Pius V; but aside from the above public recitals those who are bound to the recitation of the Divine Office are also bound to recite the Litany of the Saints on St. Mark's Day and on the three Rogation Days. There is no indulgence attached to the recitation of this Litany. The "Litany

* HAUCK-HERZOG, *Real-Encyclopedie.*

† LAMBING.

Digitized by Google

of the Blessed Virgin" or of "Our Lady of Loretto" was approved in 1587.* Lambing claims for this an antiquity greater than the "Litany of the Saints." He quotes Quarti's opinion that it was "composed by the Apostles after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin into Heaven." Drews says, "However, it first appears at the close of the Sixteenth Century; the oldest imprint hitherto known is heard of in 1576." The recitation of this Litany once a day gains an indulgence of two hundred days by the grant of Sixtus V (1585) and Benedict XIII (1784). For every recital, by the clemency of Pius VII (1800), the faithful gain three hundred days indulgence; while for a daily recital on the five feasts of obligation (Immaculate Conception, Nativity, Annunciation, Purification, and Assumption), a plenary indulgence, "on condition of confession, communion, visiting a church, and praying according to the intention of the Holy Father."† The third approved Litany: that of "The Holy Name of Jesus" was approved partially in 1862 and fully in 1886. It is not so old as the other two.‡ There is an indulgence of 300 days to be gained through its recital once a day "by all the faithful of the Christian world." Other Litanies such as that of the "Sacred Heart," or the "Blessed Sacrament," or "For the Faithful Departed" are not universally approved but their use occurs in some dioceses by clemency of the Bishop.

In the Protestant Church, the Lutheran, Anglican, and Moravian divisions have retained the use of the Litany in purified forms. We will glance briefly at the differences in form and usage before closing our discussion.

A. *In the Anglican Church.* It seems to be the endeavor of the Anglican writers to prove an almost independent development for the English Litany as now used by the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of

* DREWS.

† LAMBING.

‡ "Of Jesuitical Origin." HORN, *Liturgics.*

Digitized by Google

America. The British Church undoubtedly was one of the first to adopt the custom instituted by Mamertus, for when St. Augustine went to the island on his mission from Rome in 596 A. D., he entered Canterbury chanting an anthem which was part of the Rogation Tuesday Service in the Lyons Office. Copies of the early Litanies used in English Churches are numerous. The most noted are the so-called "Anglo-Saxon Litany," and those in the Sarum, York and Hereford rites; these are in Latin. English Litanies dating back to the beginning of the Fifteenth Century are noted by Maskell;* but they did not affect the final form in the Prayer Book to any extent. In its present form the Litany is practically the English Litany translated and arranged by Cramner in 1544, with slight revisions, mainly in rubrics, introduced in the several editions of the Prayer Book (1548, 1552, 1559, 1662).

The issuance of a Litany in an approved English form was the greatest step toward liturgical reform which Henry VIII could be prevailed upon to take. Bishop Cranmer, according to a letter upon this subject addressed to the King, says he "was constrained to use more than the liberty of a translator;" he "altered divers words," "added parts," took away parts, dropped others, and in some cases added whole divisions. He most likely had before him the old English Litany of the "Prymers," the Sarum Breviary and that of York, the Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Quignonez, the Reformed Liturgy of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, and very likely Luther's Latin or German Liturgy of 1529. Upon Cranmer's own statement, quoted above in part, we see that all these contributed to the form which he compiled and doubtless the two German arrangements (both practically Luther's) did so more largely than the rest since they were the most evangelical in tone. Yet Blunt says, "But these foreign Reformers had scarcely any influence beyond a few clauses in the Litany, and it is somewhat doubtful whether in the case of the Litany

* *Monumenta Ritualia.*

Digitized by Google

our English form was not in reality the original of that in Herman's book."* Jacobs in his "*Lutheran Movement in England*" has shown by a parallelling of Luther's Latin Litany (1529) and the English of Marshall's Primer (1535), and by a careful comparative study of the component parts and separate expressions, how largely the German Reformer's liturgical conservatism influenced the reformation Litany and Liturgy in England. Aside from Blunt the other Anglican authorities which we have examined seem to know nothing of the Lutheran Litany. The Roman form appears to have exerted but little influence upon the English Church.

Although the old Latin Litanies began with the *Kyrie* and were followed in that respect by the Litanies of the Primers, Cramner rejected it and opens with the expanded form, "O God, the Father, etc.," which follows the *Kyrie* in the old forms and in those at present used in the Roman and Lutheran Churches. The transposition of the intercessions for temporal rulers to a place preceding that for the spiritual shows the influence of Henry VIII's pretentions as head of the Church. Even in America where the claim is of course invalid the inversion stands unchanged. The invocation of saints was rejected most naturally as being one of the "abuses" which the Reformation was to do away. Palmer† gives four arguments in justification of this act: "First, because the Litanies of all Churches were devoid of them for seven centuries; secondly, because they were unnecessary; thirdly, because they were imprudent; and, fourthly, because they originated and promoted the danger of heresy and blasphemy."

Processionals were very popular in England but the abuses connected with them became so notorious that they were forbidden by the injunctions of Edward VI (1547), which ordered that "the priests with other of the choir" were to kneel in the midst

* *Annotated Book of Common Prayer.*

† *Origines Liturgicæ.*

Digitized by Google

of the church immediately before High Mass "to sing or say the Litany." In the Prayer Book of 1549 the Litany, printed after the Communion, was ordered to be said or sung on Wednesdays and Fridays. In the edition of 1552 it was printed after the office of Evening Prayer, "to be used on *Sundays*, Wednesdays, Fridays and at other times." The present Anglican Book of Common Prayer has the rubric, "to be sung or said after Morning Prayer upon Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and at other times when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary.* The rubric in the American Prayer Book reads, "To be *used* after Morning Service on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays. There are a few slight changes in the text of the American Book. There is no provision for the use of the Litany as a Church Prayer in the Chief Service. In fact the Anglican arrangement of the liturgical offices is such as to preclude the use of a "general prayer" in the sense known to the Ancient Church and to us. The Litany is always used as a special or extra Service.†

There is no rubric in direct connection with the Litany for the place from which it is to be used, but in the Anglican "Order of Commination" the rubric before the Fifty-first Psalm says. "Then shall they all kneel upon their knees, and the priests and clerks kneeling (in the place where they are accustomed to say the Litany) shall say this Psalm." This seems to recognize a particular place for the use of the Litany, distinct from the station for the performance of the ordinary offices. The early offices prescribe a choir of seven boys to chant the Litany in "the midst of the Church" and this custom appears to have prevailed until the present. At other times the priest or deacon leads the Litany kneeling in the nave upon a prayer desk, known as a faldstool. This practice is based upon Joel 2: 17. The Litany is generally

* In accord with the use observed in the mediæval Churches, the Anglican Orders retain the Litany in the Offices for the ordering of deacons, of priests, and consecration of bishops, immediately after the candidates have been presented.

† FREEMAN, however, "*Principles of Divine Service*," seems to appreciate the character of the Litany. Cf. pp. 321–329 and 441.

Digitized by Google

sung in the English Church, especially in the Cathedrals. The American Prayer Book has no rubric on place and the invariable custom is to *say* the Litany.

There is a great wealth of musical settings to the Litany in the Anglican Church but they nearly all retain Plain Song characteristics. The settings are provided only for the "former part of the Litany," i. e., as far as the *Kyrie*. The second section beginning with the Lord's Prayer is known to Anglican usage as "The Suffrages." The popularity of the Litanies, and their early passage into the vernacular—even before the Liturgy itself was reformed—and the disposition to sing them on all occasions accounts for the preservation of the Litany chant "in a more entire and unmutilated state in our cathedrals than any other part of Plain Song."* Jebb says in the introduction to his edition of various settings,† "For three hundred years, i. e., ever since the Reformation (at least), it has been the established and uninterrupted custom of our Church, at least in her principal choirs, to sing all the Preces, Responses, and the former part of the Litany to *harmonies, accompanied by the organ*, on the great Festivals and on solemn occasions." He gives the notation of Tallis, in five different harmonies, together with one notation each by Bird, Day, King, Wanliss, and Loosemore (penitential). Archer and Reed‡ refer to the antiquity of the "traditional Litany melody of the Anglican Church."

This is of necessity a brief and imperfect study of the Anglican usage of the Litany but it will suffice, let it be hoped, for comparison.

B. *In the Moravian Church.* The history of the Litany in the Church of the *Unitas Fratrum*, known to us as the Moravian, is interesting. The history of this body of evangelical Christians begins in reality before the Reformation, belonging to the results

* RIMBAULT.

† *Choral Responses and Litany of the United Churches of Engl. and Ir.*

‡ Preface to *The Choral Service Book.*

Digitized by Google

of the work of Huss. The principles of reformation upon which this community was founded were purely evangelical and were characterized by extreme Biblical simplicity. Hence they were led to discard Church forms and their cultus for a long time was extremely plain. The use of the Holy Scriptures as a guide in everything, the prominence given to congregational singing, and the use of the vernacular in all services prevented the establishment of a Liturgy for the first hundred years. They could not help, however, but be influenced by the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, nor are they averse to acknowledging their indebtedness to the Reformers for certain things. The confession of the "Ancient Church of the Brethren" was revised many times and two editions* had an introduction by Luther. The "Renewed Church" has no officially recognized document as its Confession of Truth but from the "Results of the General Synod of 1899" we learn that it adheres to the doctrines of the Apostles, and that it recognizes "that in the twenty-one doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession, as being the first and most general confession of the *Evangelical* (Protestant) *Church*, the chief doctrines of the Christian faith are clearly and simply set forth." Although they were the first body of evangelical Christians to publish a hymn-book in the vernacular for congregational singing,† it was not until about 1566 that a Liturgy began to develop. In a large hymnal published in that year Luther's German Litany of 1529 was incorporated. This Litany, practically unaltered, appeared again in the first hymnal of the "Renewed Church" in 1735. From that time may be dated the independent development of their Litany until in its accepted form to-day it partakes more of the character of an Office of Worship than that of a mere prayer. The first Moravian Litany was compiled in 1742. It reached its completed and fixed form in 1790,‡ although

* German, 1533; Latin, 1538.

† 1501.

‡ Die grosse Kirchenlitanie.

Digitized by Google

the hymnal of the German branch published in 1869 incorporated an abridged form* which is now used generally through Germany. The need for an abridgment was necessitated by the gradual combination of the Litany with the "Predigt Gottesdienst." Formerly it had been a separate Service held at nine o'clock.

When the English branch of the Church was founded in 1742 the Herrnhut Litany was translated for its use. This translation has undergone equally as many emendations as the German. Some of the changes and editions embodied were suggested by the Anglican Bishop of London. A comparison of the forms of the two Churches should serve to show what these were. The English form has "a kind of Introit before the *Kyrie*." The Moravian Church in America adopted the English form but in 1870 revised it in comparison with the original. The American Church introduced the introductory form of confession and absolution and inserted the *Apostles' Creed* and the *Gloria Patri* before the invocations. The independent features of the Moravian Litany are a) the forms just mentioned, b) the multiplication of the deprecations, obsecrations, and intercessions, c) the use of the petitions of the *Lord's Prayer* as the response to the first of the invocations,† d) the introduction of a praise Versicle between two groups of intercession, e) the absence of any concluding Versicles and Collects, and f) the introduction of hymn singing between the different parts. After the Absolution and before the Creed the last four verses of a metrical *Te Deum* are sung; between the invocations and the deprecations the last three verses of the second stanza of "All glory to God on high;" after the obsecrations, the first stanza of a Litany hymn to the Saviour; be-

* Die kleine Kirchenlitanie.

† Lord God, our Father, which art in Heaven, *Hallowed be Thy Name, etc., Amen.*

Lord God, Son, Thou Saviour of the world, *Be gracious unto us.*

Lord God, Holy Ghost, *Abide with us forever.*

Digitized by Google

fore the *Agnus*, a stanza by Gregor, "Lord for Thy coming us prepare."*

The analysis or explanation of the Litany as given in the Moravian Manual will show us how the elements of the opening part of our *Chief Service* are embodied in this Litany.

"The *Kyrie Eleison*, an invocation and an invitation to confession are followed by a confession of sins, all kneeling. The Absolution leads to the Creed, a Hymn intervening. Then follows the *Gloria Patri* and the Lord's Prayer, joined with brief intercessions to the Son, and the Holy Spirit. After another verse is sung general intercessions are made with reference to Providential surroundings and spiritual needs; prayers for the Church universal, the denomination itself and its congregations, and all classes therein follow another Hymn. Intercessions on behalf of temporal requirements and the discharge of social duties, prayers for missions among the heathen, the Hebrews and Islam, petitions in behalf of the constituted authorities of the land and for its peace and prosperity, for travelers, the persecuted, the sick, the aged and the dying—for all men and for the coming of Christ's Kingdom, finally, after another Hymn, lead to responsive intercessions, wherein faith in the atonement and a benediction of peace is besought with this as its sure foundation."

This Litany is prescribed as the opening order for the rite of "Consecration of a Bishop." That it was the basis upon which all their forms of Service were built is a conclusion deduced from the presence of parts of it in almost every form given in their *Liturgy*. The phrase "We poor sinners pray, hear us gracious Lord and God," common to all other Litanies, is not found in the body of their "Church Litany" but it occurs in the "Easter Morning Litany" and in the "Office for the Burial of the Dead." It is not in the form of Versicle and Response but is used entire, as a Response. The invocations are used in an "Office of Worship for Sunday Evening," in one for the Epiphany Season, and also in that for Trinity Sunday. The *Kyrie* is used in nearly all the Offices, while parts of the obsecrations and the *Agnus* occur in many of them. The "Easter Litany" referred to is in reality

* Cf. *Liturgy and Hymns of the American Province of the Unitas Fratrum*, Bethlehem, 1903. Morv. Publ. House.

Digitized by Google

a form of Service for Easter Morning since it contains scarcely any of the Litany elements. It is composed of the Easter greeting, paraphrases of the several articles of the Creed* to each of which the congregation responds, successively, *This I verily believe*, *This I most certainly believe*, *This I assuredly believe*. The Lord's Prayer and Scripture passages are also used, all the parts being interspersed with stanzas from Easter hymns. This Service was compiled about the same time as the *Church Litany*.

The *Office for the Season of Lent* is an American compilation based upon the second Litany of the German Church† used there both in Advent and Lent. It opens with one section of the *Agnus*, uses passages from the Epistles and Prophets referring to Christ and His mediatorial work, stanzas of hymns, a group of eight deprecations, one of seven obsecrations and another of four, and two obsecrations with separate responses.

The last edition of the Moravian "*Offices of Worship and Hymns*‡ gives "chants for the Litany."

There are intonations for the "Minister and Choir," and response chants for "All." These, however, cover only the opening *Kyrie*, the *Gloria* after the Creed, the invocations (only for the Doxology of the Lord's Prayer), the praise Versicle and Response, the *Agnus*, and the final *Kyrie*. Evidently the remaining portions of the Litany are *said*. It may be remarked that in all the chants for the Services, musical provision for the minister's part is always made. There is no indication of the identity of the composer of the Chants but there is a uniformity of progression, tempo and harmonization which would point to a common composer for all the office music.

C. *In the Lutheran Church*. The Litany as the Lutheran Church has it to-day is practically of Luther's composition. Litanies in their various mediæval forms and uses were equally as

* Based upon Luther's exposition.

† *Litanei vom Leben, Leiden und Sterben Jesu.*

‡ Bethlehem, 1902, Morv. Publ. House.

Digitized by Google

popular in Germany as in other countries, judging from the rapidity and universality with which Luther's forms, both Latin and German, were adopted. Jacobs* refers to a curious *Litany for the Germans* used on Ash Wednesday, "adapted at Wittenburg into a prayer for Luther's cause." The responses were, "Have mercy on the Germans," "Help the Germans," "Protect the Germans," etc. Even the Psalm began, "Make haste, O God, to help the Germans." In the early days of the Reformation processions remained in vogue and the old Litanies were still in use, but by 1525 they had been rejected. Early in 1529† Luther published a purified form and introduced the use of it in the Church at Wittenburg. It was received with great delight and Luther himself considered it "a precious spoil" and according to Gerber spoke of it as second only to the Lord's Prayer. Drews‡ says that the spread of Luther's Litany was accomplished 1st, by a special edition of the text issued in 1529§; 2nd, by its being appended to the third edition of the *Small Catechism;* and 3rd, by its incorporation into the hymnbooks. Edition after edition of the various "Gesangbücher," so popular throughout Germany, were printed. Some have only the Latin text which was used mostly in the schools, others, the German text, and many have both forms. Its introduction into the KOO, followed quickly, which is not surprising. South and Southwest Germany took the lead in this. Brenz and Bucer by sermon and letter recommended its adoption. It was found in all the important KOO of every section of the Fatherland by the close of the Sixteenth Century.

When we examine the form in which Luther gave to the Church this great prayer in its purification, we find that he incorporated many changes from the Roman form, and made many

* *Luth. Mov. in Engl.*

† March 13.

‡ HAUCK-HERZOG, *Real-Encyclopedie.*

§ Wittenburg, "Er kostete 7 Pfge."

Digitized by Google

additions. Naturally the invocation of saints dropped out. The invocation, "*Holy Trinity, one God*" was dropped and a few changes made in the responses. A significant deprecation, "From all error" was adopted; "From Thy wrath" disappeared. Further changes in the deprecations reduced their number from eleven to ten. Another characteristic omission is that of the obsecration, "By the mystery of Thy Holy Sacrament." The order of the obsecrations underwent some change. "Temptations," "Agony and Bloody Sweat" were added. The petitions for help in tribulation, prosperity and the hour of death were new. Three intercessions ("That Thou spare us," "pardon us," and "vouchsafe to grant us true penance") no longer were used. The rest of the intercessions underwent great changes because they were infused largely with errors (for the Pope, the dead, etc.) Many intercessions were added, increasing the number to twenty-one. The responses to the *Agnus* were altered and an *Amen* added to the *Kyrie*. The Lord's Prayer was said aloud by all the people instead of having the final petition as a response. The Roman Litany used a part of the Sixty-ninth Psalm. This Luther dropped. Instead of the eleven Versicles and Responses he provided two, and in place of the ten Collects, selected five from other sources. There seems to be some disagreement as to the number of Collects and Versicles. Drews credits him with five Versicles and three Collects. Having had access alone to the Latin copy, we are unable to say whether the German differed in this respect. One of the two Versicles given* in the Latin is not found in our English version, neither in the German of the *Kirchenbuch*. The five Collects now in the English are in the Latin; but the "Collect for Peace" which is the only Collect now surviving from the Roman original is not included.

As we had no access to the archives we are unable to account for the difference between the Latin of Luther and our present

* *Peccavimus, Domine, cum Patribus nostris: Injuste egimus iniquitatem fecimus.*

Digitized by Google

form. The petition for travelers was inserted by the Joint Committee on Liturgy.* There seems to be a considerable change in the petitions relating to civil affairs for which we cannot account. The "O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, *We beseech Thee to hear us*" does not appear in the Latin text. We have found nothing on the sources of the Versicles to Collects two, four and five.

When the arrangement into groups followed by a single response arose is not known to us. It cannot be the result of the translation into the English, and the consequent influence of the Anglican Litany, since Löhe knows the practice and condemns it. "The arrangement of the petitions into groups, which never found much favor ought not to be countenanced at all. The power of this prayer, internal as well as external, lies in the refrains which follow the intonations of each part as stroke upon stroke; for it is sung or said either by minister and congregation or by choir and congregation."† ‡ This grouping of the parts may have been the natural result of the orderly arrangement which Luther gave to the petitions in their several classes, and as well of the desire on the part of the people to shorten its rendition during the time when it gradually passed into almost total disuse, in the Eighteenth Century.

An analysis of this prayer will show us great harmony, beauty, comprehensiveness and strength. No better appreciation of the prayer can be given than that of Löhe.‡

"The Litany in its Lutheran form is like the magnificent cathedrals of the Middle Ages, which become the more dear and precious to the heart the more the beauty of symmetrical form and plan is recognized. With humble confession of sin, and knowing no way of deliverance except by grace and mercy, it lifts the soul in this way, all the more powerfully to the reverent worship of the Triune God. Its *Kyrie* and its *Eleison* point—the one to the loftiest heights, the other to the lowest depths. Between these heights and

* Cf. Standard MS of Common Service.

† Our rubrics give the choice of methods, placing the ancient first, however.

‡ *Agende*, translated by LONGAKER.

Digitized by Google

depths mediates our Lord Jesus Christ, Who, as the prayer advances appears more clearly and refreshingly with His merit and satisfaction. The Litany begins with an act of humble worship, continues with confession of Christ and concludes in the sweet *Agnus*. The deeper the heart sinks itself into this prayer, the stronger its cry, and the more will its worship become the song of Moses and the Lamb—the song of the New Covenant. What a beginning, continuation and ending are here, how thoroughly evangelical; how absolutely in accord with the doctrines of our Church. Between the three high towers of beginning, continuation and end are two courses of well-arranged petitions.—First in order are the *deprecationes mali*, supplications for deliverance from evil; then follow the *apprecationes boni*, petitions for all manner of good, which gradually pass over into *interpellationes* or intercessions; and finally a thankful prostration of the heart at the feet of Jesus, the Lamb of God. Here then, are prayers, supplications, intercessions and thanksgivings unto Him Whose will it is to be a Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe. Everything for which we ought to pray is included in one or the other of the petitions.

In the use of such a form there is no room for weak sentimentality or idle talk; nevertheless it allows before all other forms the pressing of specific petitions, for its spirit is as elastic as its form is rigid. Here is room for every sigh of the heart and the clear classification of the petitions will itself show the earnest worshipper where to introduce special petitions, supplications or intercessions. Likewise it is easy to determine where to say: *Good Lord, deliver us*, or *We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.*

To the indifferent the Litany is indeed a lengthy and formal affair. Sung or said by Christless souls it is certainly only a shell, a lifeless form. But when used by the earnest Christian, it contains power, spirit and life. No one who has never used it should pass judgment on it, for if there is a spirit to pray, prayer is certainly possible by means of the Litany. But where there is no spirit of prayer there can also be no prayer, no matter whether the words are after a form as rigid as that of the Litany or as formless as the words of those who reject all forms of worship.

The *use* to which this prayer was put in the Reformation Church shows certain innovations. Of course its use on the ancient *dies stationum*, Wednesday and Friday, was continued. Luther appointed it for Matins on Wednesdays and for Vespers on Fridays. Not many followed this order. Many KOO leave a choice between the two days; some ordain its use on both days

Digitized by Google

and others only on Friday.* A number have no set days but leave the choice of days to the best convenience of the people. Very soon the Litany became appointed for Vespers on Sundays and Feastdays, and even on Sundays after the sermon—if there were no communicants.† Lossius fixed the singing of the Litany at the place of the Church Prayer, Mechlenburg has the unique provision for its use either "before or during the Communion," possibly in the latter case as a private devotion. Some orders give it a place after the Epistle. It was especially appointed for use on *Reminiscere*, the 12th Sunday after Trinity, in the four Ember-weeks, when sermons upon the catechism were preached, and at ordinations‡ by various orders. The Pfalz–Neuburg, (1543) directs its use on St. Mark's Day and on the Rogation Days with processions "from one church to another." Some of the Southern Orders have set days of humiliation on which the Litany is to be said after (nach) the sermon, and confession. Löhe differs from this somewhat; "In many of the KOO the Service of Public Confession and Absolution is *preceded* by the Litany."

Our own rubrics permit of its use at "Matins on Sundays when there is no Communion and at Vespers on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays and on Days of Humiliation and Prayer.§ According to our rubric for the *General Prayer* the character of the Litany as a *Church Prayer* is recognized and its use permitted. Why no reference to that use is made in the rubric on page 132 is not clear. We have two other Litanies in our *Church Book:* in the *Visitation of the Sick*, and in the *Commenda-*

* NAUMBERG, 1538, "Alle Freitag nachmittag um zwoelf hora singet man das Tenebrae und haelt die Litanei darauf."

† Koenigsberg, and Saxon Visitation Articles.

‡ BRAUNSCHWEIGER, 1543, HILDESHEIMER, 1544, and MECHLENBURGER, 1532 appoint its use at ordination.

§ U. S. S. and G. S.: *at morning Service when there is no Communion.* Kirchenbuch: *Wenn beim Morgengottes dienst am Sonntag das Heilige Abendmahl nicht gefiert wird, ist est passend, statt des Allgemeinen Kirchengebet zuhalten.*

Digitized by Google

tion of the Dying.* The latter is almost an exact translation of the brief Litany in the Roman Catholic *Ordo Commendationes Animæ*, the saints's names being omitted. The former opens with the invocations; has seven deprecations with the response, *Defend* (*him*), *Good Lord;* four obsecrations and seventeen intercessions, closing with the *Agnus*. The character of the intercessions is worthy of study. The source of this Litany is not known to us. In the way of devotional Litanies there is Löhe's "*Litany to the Holy Ghost*" in his *Agende* and in Dr. Seiss' *Golden Altar*, there are the *Litany to the Saviour* and the *Litany to the Holy Ghost*, presumably from his own pen.

On the manner of reading the Litany there is not much to offer historically. In the original customs, according to the practice noted in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the children were used in the praying of the Litany. The school-boys, or some of the catechumens† "kneeling before the great altar" sang the Litany, the congregation rendering the responses. Another plan was to have the choir sing the intonations and the congregation the responses; or where there were two choirs the second led the congregational responses. In the absence of such choirs the pastor intoned the Litany standing or kneeling before the Altar. For a long time the Litany was sung at all its renditions but with 1598 the Strasburg KO began the practice of saying it. Very soon the custom arose to have the pastor say the entire prayer himself without any response at all. This marked the beginning of the decline of its popularity, which was only arrested by Schöberlein and Kliefoth. Naturally when the people no longer took part they lost interest, and then knowledge of the prayer disappeared until finally they failed longer to seek the blessing to be gained by its fervent and intelligent use. Once more we refer to Löhe. "The very essence, the majesty and power of the Litany are to

* *Ch. Bk.*, pp. 383–4 and p. 405.

† Luther's directions were for from two to five "Knaben mit guten, reinen Stimmlein oder der Liturg im altar."

Digitized by Google

be found in the recurring responses of the congregation. No one with any liturgical instinct, therefore, will say that the minister alone ought to read it. To sing it or say it antiphonally is the proper way to use it. If sung, it is usually, though not always, without organ accompaniment.* . . . On Sundays it is more appropriate to sing it on account of the festival character of the day; Wednesday and Friday it should be said."

Luther's arrangement of the Choral music for the Intonations and Responses was such that when the first choir sang "*Kyrie*," the second responded "*Eleison;*" when the first sang "*Christi*," the others, "*Erhoere uns.*" He used the Plain Song melody, and this, according to Archer and Reed,† has remained almost the universal use in Germany since the Reformation period. Other melodies, which appeared in great abundance according to Kuemmerle, had but a brief local vogue. Spangenburg's arrangement of the choral melody for the Responses was given to the American Church in Mrs. Harriet Krauth Spaeth's *Church Book with Music.* The full Intonations and Responses in pure Plain Song for the entire Litany are to be found in the *Choral Service Book* by Archer and Reed. There is an independent setting in Dr. Seiss' *Church Song* but the name of the composer is not given. It does not possess the simple majesty nor breathe the inner spirit of the prayer as does the impressive and appealing melody of the Plain Song chant.

D. *Litany Hymns.* The full development of the subject of the metrical Litanies or Litany Hymns is prevented by lack of time and space. It is a most interesting study. Julian‡ says that the metrical Litany is of comparative modern date. The references in the authorities consulted in the preparation of other sections of this paper would lead one to question that statement. There were metrical Litanies in the different countries—especial-

* Cf. JEBB on Anglican custom as quoted above.

† Preface to *The Choral Service Book.*

‡ *Dict. Hymnology.*

Digitized by Google

ly in England—before the Reformation, and they were sometimes alternated with the other forms during the more elaborate celebrations of the Rogations. Soon after the appearance of Luther's Litany it was published in "liederform" in North Germany. Johann Feder is looked upon as its author but not with any certainty. Nicolaus Pueltz in Hesse published some "Litaneilieder" which gradually took the place of the regular version during the decline. The *Kyrie Lieder* in the *Kirchenbuch** are most interesting as being the metrical versions of the "farced *Kyries*." The *Kirchenbuch* contains quite a number of Litany Hymns. We cannot quote them exactly. Our own *Church Book* contains eight hymns of this character.† Our *Sunday School Book* has five.‡ The Episcopal *Hymnal* contains about nineteen hymns with a *Kyrie* refrain to each stanza. Seven of these are especially designated "Litany Hymns." They are entitled: "Litany of the Holy Ghost," Litany of the Church," "Litany for the Children," two, "Litany of the Incarnate Life," Litany of Penitence," "Litany of the Words on the Cross." The English Litany Hymns all date from the Nineteenth Century and in that far Julian's claim is supported. There are a number of beautiful hymns of this type in the Moravian *Hymnal*.

III. THE SUFFRAGES.

Our Common Liturgy includes among the "General Prayers," the *General Suffrages* and as well the *Morning* and *Evening Suffrages*. The forms as we have them come from the Roman Breviary which contains the Services of the Canonical Hours. Originally these consisted of but the Matins and Vespers instead of the eight "hours" which developed afterwards. The Matins and Vespers of the Eastern Church always had prayers of the bidding variety at the close of the Service. In contents these

* Nos. 407-413.

† Nos. 25, 172, 232, 263, 439, 490, 603, 649.

‡ Nos. 112, 164, 181, 218, 219.

Digitized by Google

were almost identical with those in the *Missa* but after the dismissal of all but "the faithful," there was a special prayer and blessing.* The history of the development of the Canonical Hour Offices in the West is a complicated but interesting subject. As in all Liturgies the tendency of the development was toward extremes. Many revisions and condensations occurred and reoccurred ere the Roman Breviary reached its present form. The Reformation Church felt the need of the educational and devotional aid of the *auxiliary* services† but she wanted them for the people and not for monks and nuns. So she returned to the simple and more practical observance of but two hours of daily prayer: Matins and Vespers. In this also the Reformation returned to primitive usages, and added one more link to the chain uniting her with all the Early Church.

The mere outline of these two Services: Psalmody, Lessons, Hymns, Prayer, made but "little provision by supplications and intercession except when the Litany was used."‡ Hence the *preces* of certain hours of the Breviary were transferred for the devotional enrichment of our Offices. The more elaborate *preces* used at *Lands* (2nd "hour") and *Vespers* (7th "hour") supplied the *General Suffrages*, with but few changes.§ The shorter *preces* at prime (3rd "hour") furnished the *Morning Suffrages*. Here the introductory supplications, "O Christ, Thou Son of the living God, have mercy upon us, etc.," are omitted as is also "Confession and Absolution" between the sixth and seventh set of Versicles and Responses. In the Sunday *preces* at this hour, following the part with which our Suffrages close, there is a commemoration of the dead, another set of *Kyrie*, Lord's Prayer,

* *Apos. Const.* Bk. VIII.

† *Nebengottesdienst.*

‡ LOEHE.

§ Change in the Versicle and Response, "Lord save the King, etc." and rejecting of the Versicle and Response, "Let us pray for the faithful departed, etc." We were unable to locate the last two of our Versicles and Responses, "give peace, etc.," in the Roman Breviary.

Digitized by Google

Versicles, and Collect. The ferial office of *Prime* contains another set of *preces* leading up to the Confession and Absolution. Löhe gives both these forms in his *Agende*. The *Evening Suffrages* are the *preces* at *Compline* (8th "hour") without any changes. The closing Collects in both our forms are from other sources than the Breviary. The direct Lutheran source from which these prayers were transferred to our Liturgy was the appendix to Luther's Catechism.

It is to be noted that in the Roman Offices from earliest times both the *Pater Noster* and *Credo* are said *in secreto* as far as the sixth and seventh petitions in the prayer, and the two final clauses in the Third Article. These parts are used as Versicle and Response. In the *General Suffrages* the original use in the prayer was followed except that it is not said silently. The adherence to ancient usage is seen in the omission of the doxology of the prayer. By resolution of the Joint Committee the doxology was allowed; but none of the three Bodies inserted it. In the shorter Suffrages the prayer and Creed are said by all. Löhe preserves the ancient use.

The Anglican and American Episcopal Offices of *Morning*, and *Evening Prayer* have a mutilated remnant of the Suffrages in the *preces* there included as in invariable part of the Office. The American Order is the shorter, containing no *Kyrie* and having less Versicles and Responses. In both Orders the Creed precedes the beginning of the *preces*. While the English *preces* consists of six Versicles and Responses, and six Collects in each Office, the American has only two Versicles and Responses in the morning *preces*, no Lord's Prayer, and seven Collects; and in the evening, six Versicles and Responses, and seven Collects. The Collects vary for the two Offices. There is no *Benedicamus* in either form. Freeman, Blunt and others endeavor to show a parallelism between the consecutive sets of Versicles and Responses and the Collects which follow.

The rubrics of our own books are worthy of consideration.

Digitized by Google

The *General Suffrages* have the rubric, "*May be used at Matins or Vespers in the same manner as the Litany.*" The question arises whether it would be proper to use this prayer in place of the *General Prayer* as is done with the Bidding Prayer and Litany. The rubric in the Chief Service says, "*or a selection from the Collects and Prayers, or any other suitable prayer,* (See pp. 132–154)."* This would seem to include the use of the *General Suffrage* at least. The other form, it can be seen readily, does not contain sufficient of the elements of the General Prayer. The special rubrics for the shorter forms contain a fruitful suggestion: "*At the Morning Prayers of the household*" and "*At the Evening Prayers of the household.*" The original Matins and Vespers were held in private houses—especially after the persecutions ceased,—and in the history of our own Church these Offices have been used principally in the schools, until the adoption of the Vesper Order for the Sunday Evening Service by the American Church. Might not our pastors find in these prepared forms an aid to their efforts to re-establish the salutary but waning custom of family worship?

The Suffrages may be sung or said; and the Lutheran musical authorities quoted in connection with the Litany will be found to have provided also for the Suffrages. The observation of Löhe as to singing the Litany on Sundays and saying it during the week is equally applicable to the *Suffrages.*

It will be noticed that nearly all the Versicles and Responses are taken from the Psalms. How they came to be selected and how they gradually took form we are unable to explain but they seem to be a remnant of the more abundant Psalmody of the early arrangements of the Offices.

The etymology of the word is interesting. It comes from the Latin *suffragor*, "to support with one's vote or interest;" hence a *suffrage* is "a vote in support of some measure." Thus it comes to mean *assent.* In the liturgical sense of the word we

* The G. S. and U. S. S. have the rubric but do not specify the pages.

Digitized by Google

give a suffrage whenever we assent by the *Amen* to the Collects, Prayers, Confessions and Hymns of our Services. In this particular form of prayer we give assent to the statement of each Versicle by the Response. It is not hard to understand why these should be called "General Prayers" nor to realize how their use tends to emphasize not only the universal priesthood of all believers but also their essential unity in thought and aim and life.

We can now appreciate slightly the helpful treasure which our Church offers her people in these three forms of responsive prayer. A little study, a little interest, a little thought, a little explanation, a little use will soon reward us as pastors and people with large and numerous blessings. Dare any one charge the Lutheran Church with rigid formalism and deadening similarity of Service when these variables in prayer joined with the other variables of our Orders offer us the opportunity of an almost countless variety in our Sunday and Weekday Services?

CHARLES KRAUTH FEGLEY.

Allegheny, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE USE OF STAINED GLASS IN ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

WINDOWS are the eyes of a building. As the eyes determine the character of a face for beauty or ugliness, so the windows are dominating factors in the impression which the structure makes upon the intelligent onlooker. There is nothing more aggressive in the inanimate world than light and light modified by passing through glass. On entering the House of God, the light by which it is pervaded, by its impression upon our senses, speaks to us the first word, whether we are conscious of it or not. While we are within the sacred walls, its influence is continually with us; and, on leaving the gates of beauty, it sends after us the last message we carry away. It is well worth the while, then, of those who are interested in the beautifying of the sanctuary and in the embellishment of its Services, to give earnest heed and sincere attention to the use of glass in ecclesiastical architecture.

This subject may be viewed from a number of standpoints. The study of its history is intensely interesting and profitable. Many valuable books have been devoted to this branch of the subject. An exhaustive study of glass in the decoration of churches would naturally open with a treatment of the history of the subject. After this there would logically follow a discussion of the technical processes involved in the making of the glass and its composition into the decorated window. It is not the design of this paper to enter upon a consideration of either the historical or the technical phase of the subject, but simply to define the more important principles which must be ob-

Digitized by Google

served in the use of decorative glass in ecclesiastical architecture.

The first principle is a structural one. The substance of which the window is composed, like every other material substance, is subject to the pull of gravity, and must be securely supported. Consequently, in all good work the sheets of glass are adequately supported on bars which cross the window and render it firm and solid, and secure the glass in place. This is a structural necessity of which no true artist is ashamed. To try to hide or minimize these bars is foolish and unworthy of the truthfulness and honesty of all pure art. The sheets of glass suspended on these bars are mosaics of stained glass. These must be held together by means of what are technically called "leads." These, too, are a structural necessity and must be duly honored by the artist. Properly to lead a window takes time and study, and is expensive. Such windows are not picked up at the bargain-counter; and, as a consequence, the makers of decorated windows in modern times have manifested a tendency to diminish the width and the weight of the leads and to do away entirely with the cross-bars by the use of steel frames as a substitute. As a result of such wretched work, unworthy of the name art, we are told on good authority that "one-half of the churches of New York City are double glazed with outside sash of plain glass to protect the poor leaded work of the windows proper from leaking or being blown to fragments by the winds." To show that this is entirely unnecessary it is but necessary to continue to quote from the same author:—"We have the living evidence that well-constructed leaded glass will last seven hundred years and more, and that under the most trying conditions of war and neglect: as witness the Eleventh Century windows. But they are all made with large, expensive leads and are properly barred; in many cases bars having been added from time to time; which fact accounts not a little for much of the richness of tone of the old glass, the contrast of their blacks giving much of the jeweled brilliance of the glass showing between them." We are told

Digitized by Google

furthermore:—"The old makers well understood the worth and added beauty which were derived from their sustaining bars. They often made them heavier than structural necessity demanded, or ran them in large geometric patterns over the openings; the spaces between being filled with leaded glass and the black value of the iron being frankly used in the play of values." All first-class makers of decorative glass, of which there are but few, are beginning to realize the necessity of observing this principle of structural honesty in their work, and they make as deep a study of the leads as they do of the glass itself. To quote from another:—"It is not an expedient, an unfortunate necessity, to be reduced to the smallest size and quality; it is of equal honor, of equal importance, with the glass. To the glowing colors of the quarries it gives the strength and vigor they would otherwise lack. The treating of the leads as a misfortune to be minimized and concealed is one of the worst offences of the modern makers of picture-windows, and vitiates their work permanently." The lead-line, as already stated, is a structural necessity and dare not be ignored. Art always rewards him who honors her by yielding obedience to her principles. Thus we see that by honoring the structural necessity of the lead-line and the bars, our best modern makers of decorated windows have found that these have a distinct decorative value. As the rest and the discord have their value in music, so the black line of the iron and the wood emphasize the gem-like colors of the window and by contrast heighten its glory of light. Just as we are told that the pearl-oyster on finding it impossible to dislodge the grain of sand which has found entrance into its shell, covers it with beauty and transforms it into a pearl for the bosom of a princess, so the bars and leads in a decorated window, ugly in themselves but absolutely necessary, when properly employed, become elements of strength and beauty. This is the foundation principle which must be observed in the production of the decorated window. Just as he in Scripture is designated the foolish man who attempted to build his

Digitized by Google

house on the sands, so he is worthy of contempt that would fly in the face of the laws of gravity by endeavoring to give the impression that he is suspending the substance of a decorated window on air.

The second principle is determined by the medium employed in the making of the decorated window. This is what is technically called "pot-metal" or "painted" glass. In making painted glass the color is put upon the glass and burned into it. In "pot-metal" the color is mixed in with the "batch" in the "pot." In "pot-metal" the color is *in* the glass, in painted glass it is *on* it. Paint on glass more or less interferes with its transparency and does not yield itself so readily to the production of genuinely artistic effects. Fortunately the best American makers of decorated windows use no paint in their work except light touches on hands and faces. Even this is no longer necessary since the glass in the hands and faces can now be joined by means of fusing, without the use of the leads. The American glass-makers have their faults, but the use of painted glass is not one of them. Mr. Ralph Adams Cram in his excellent work on Church Building says:—"If sensationalism in the use of modelled and opalescent glass is the killing vice of American work, painted glass is very surely an equally deadly sin in English work. Both violate every law of good glass-making, both are widely popular, and both are quite unendurable."

Translucent glass, then, which holds its color in suspension is our medium with which we have to work. Every substance legitimately employed in the service of art has its excellencies and its limitations. In the use of his materials the artist aims to produce the best results which can be secured by the use of the medium in which he is working. When in the use of a substance he strains after effects which can better be reached by the employment of another, or endeavors by servile imitation to simulate such effects, he may make an impression of smartness and may excite the wonder of the gaping crowd, but he really wastes his

Digitized by Google

labor, is guilty of attempted deception, and fails to make a contribution to genuine art. A very creditable bust of Abraham Lincoln, a copy of the Venus de Milo, or an exact miniature reproduction of the Capitol at Washington may be wrought out in butter. A castle of architectural beauty may be fashioned in blocks of ice, but every one knows that such performances are not art. They excite in the onlooker, who has a sense of the eternal fitness of things, pity and contempt in view of the waste of good material and the prostitution of skilled labor in the production of such freaks.

The characteristic qualities of glass with which we have to deal in the decorated window, are richness, purity, subtlety of color and translucence. "Colored glass is the ideal of materialized color." By means of it we can secure a glassy glory and a jewelled brilliance which can be secured through no other mediums. Properly to use these qualities and not to abuse them in the attempt to do what they were never intended to accomplish, must be the aim of the honest worker in decorated glass. A creditable imitation of the Apollo Belvidere might possibly be perpetrated in stained glass and doubtless many newspapers and the unthinking multitude would give such a performance unstinted praise, but it would never pass for genuine art. It would be on a par with the making of the Capitol in butter. The proper material for a statue is marble or bronze and never glass.

Some of our good people in the innocent simplicity of their hearts seem to think it the proper thing to turn their churches into the suggestion of picture-galleries by making the windows do duty as canvas upon which to depict Luther and other Reformation worthies. We have seen very creditable likenesses in this line, but they always suggest the butter-maker's skill and the smartness of ice-architecture referred to above. Canvas and other opaque surfaces and not glass are the proper materials upon which to represent realistic scenes and likenesses. If you employ glass to do the work of canvas, you lose its effect as glass. The

Digitized by Google

dark colors required in the representation of clothing make your window too dark for its proper uses as a window. If, in your attempts at making a realistic likeness in glass, you have some regard for the peculiar qualities of glass, you give your picture an unreal and unearthly glory which dare be associated with no mere man. In our admiration of the Great Reformer we accord him the place next to the Apostle Paul as the greatest man after our adorable Saviour. Nevertheless, whenever we see a picture of the rugged Reformer in glass, a number of conflicting emotions are aroused. We are indignant if the qualities which properly belong to glass have been given their true expression, since then he shines with a permanent glory that is blasphemous in its suggestion. We read of Only One Whose face on only one occasion "did shine as the sun, and His raiment was bright as the light." We are filled with pity and contempt if more emphasis has been laid in the perpetration of this attempt at portraiture upon the realistic production of a speaking likeness, since a good window has been spoiled at the expense of several hundred hard-earned dollars, where five or ten dollars invested in a picture of the Great Reformer on canvas would have given far better satisfaction. A picture-window is properly speaking neither a picture nor a window. By virtue of the limitations existing in glass it cannot be both at the same time. Let it be understood that it is not the pictorial character to which objection is made, but the unsuccessful attempt to secure results in glass which can be adequately accomplished only by the painter on canvas or some other opaque surface. Let us honestly employ glass in the production of results for which its character and qualities manifestly adapt it. Yet the sorry work of abusing this decorative feature in our churches is steadily going on, and there are reputable firms to be found in all our large cities that will undertake to represent in glass anything under the sun. We quote again from the work cited above:—"Certain manufacturers—a great majority in fact—have taken to copy in glass the works of the old masters; and the

Digitized by Google

dull wonder that these triumphs of trickery and bad art have created has given them a singular vogue. The whole idea is so wrong-headed, so perverse, so without a possibility of justification, that it is a waste of time to condemn it in detail. . . . . It is bad, thoroughly and hopelessly bad, and that is all one can say. . . . To show the false position the art of glass-staining occupies nowadays let me speak of an incredible occurrence I know of. Certain people who were proposing to give a memorial window, and who had a liking for the painter Millet, asked a certain firm of glass-painters to make a window representing "The Sower," and, instead of refusing the commission, it was accepted with alacrity. Now no one subject could be chosen which was less adaptable in stained glass than this particular picture; and yet the work was cheerfully undertaken, without the least regard to the absurdity of the idea. Not only this, but, at the instigation of the donors, the glass-maker copied the well-known picture; and because the man in whose memory the window was to be erected wore a beard, they showed this beard in Millet's picture. Could anything be more preposterous and disheartening? Yet this is an example of what is asked for and gotten at this time; and it shows how totally false is the attitude of the public and the makers of glass toward this most noble and exalted form of religious art."

Let us, then, in closing this section emphasize strongly this important principle drawn from the material employed in the making of the decorated window, that stained glass must not be unnaturally forced to represent that for which it is not adapted. Just as some men have a Divine call to preach and others are clearly marked out as scientists, painters and sculptors, and are of but little use in the world unless they exercise themselves in these callings; in like manner glass has certain qualities and adaptabilities which manifestly fit it for positive effects. Study these carefully and use them to secure legitimate results and the reward will be a thing of beauty and a joy forever; abuse them

Digitized by Google

by endeavoring to make them render a service for which they were never adapted, and the result will be disappointment and chagrin.

The true function of a stained glass window is emphatically not pictorial representation, as shown above, but *decoration*. This principle remains true in spite of the fact that "to every person who will regard a window as the decoration of a wall-space, superb above all other forms of mural decoration by reason of its translucence, there is an indefinite number who view it only as a picture." Art principles are not fixed by the counting of noses in estimating majorities. This decorative character of the stained glass window we must strongly emphasize in a consideration like this, especially so on account of the perversity and the persistence with which the majority regards a stained glass window as simply a picture in glass. To accord the window its proper artistic treatment, we must understand its true function. The decorated window is simply and purely the decoration of a wall-space made translucent by means of colored glass. It is simply a mural decoration. The first object in the insertion of windows is to keep out the weather; the second is to admit light. They continue the wall-surface, and are consequently simply a part of the wall made translucent. The art of the decorator applied to this part of the wall-space gives us the decorated window.

Since the function of the stained glass window is simply decorative, it must extend the flat surface of the wall without any attempt at perspective or modelling. Any device or art by which the impression of perspective is given is to be condemned in a window. To endeavor to produce the impression that it is a hole in the wall, which it is not, is deception, and cannot be tolerated by the true artist. Yet who has not seen windows which give representations of landscapes with mountains and clouds in the back-ground, and with lambs skipping on green meadows intervening between the foreground and the mountains in the rear?

Digitized by Google

This is not decoration, but an attempt at realistic representation to which glass does not artistically yield itself and which must be studiously avoided by the artist when working in this medium.

Since glass may be used legitimately only for decorative purposes, the designs and the figures on decorated windows must be conventional and not naturalistic. "Now the law of ecclesiastical decoration is that everything should be both decorative and symbolic. Every angel and archangel, every saint, be he martyr or confessor, every prophet, every king, has his proper symbolical vestment and his special attributes. Our Lord Himself, when He is portrayed in glory is clothed in the splendor of both the royal and the priestly vestments that show forth His twofold glory of Priest and King. The impulse that leads to rebellion against these vestments, these attributes, because of some fancied association is not one that needs to be considered; for even the Christian style of architecture—nay, even all art itself—falls under the same condemnation."

The window-spaces are necessarily broken up by the mullions and the tracery. The decorative scheme must not be extended over and beyond these natural barriers. These are essential limitations beyond which a representation dare not pass. Who has not already seen a window, divided by a sash-bar in the middle, yet wholly covered by the figure of an angel, or saint, or other worthy?

This principle of limiting the figure or design to the open spaces determined by the mullions and the tracery, however, is not violated by the representation in a double or triple window of a scene which demands the introduction of several prominent figures, if the different ones are confined to their proper limiting spaces. The whole may be appropriately unified by a homogeneous treatment of the canopy-work in such a way as to bind the whole window into unity.

Owing to the fact that the peculiar characteristics of stained glass are especially aggressive, the principle of subordination and

Digitized by Google

restraint is often neglected in using this form of decoration. It dare not assert itself in such a way as to distract the attention from everything else. It must naturally hold its place without insolence or insistence. It is simply a means to an end, a small part of a great whole. The otherwise charming effect of a beautiful church may be spoiled by the wrong treatment of its windows. This subordinate part of the architecture may insolently thrust itself forward in such a way as to take the chief place in our consciousness somewhat after the manner of a strong voice with a peculiar timbre in an untrained choir. There is an architectural harmony in every properly constructed church. When this harmony is impaired by a wrong treatment of the windows, a fundamental principle has been violated.

In conclusion let us remember that we are dealing with art when we contemplate the principles which govern the use of stained glass. Art ought to make the impression of beauty, and the contemplation of art-forms should give us pleasurable impressions. Much that wrongly passes for art has been imposed upon the Church. It is to be hoped that the day is not far distant when the true principles of art in decoration may be understood by the many, so that there may be an end of the reign of what is cheap, tawdry and positively ugly; and that our sanctuaries, with the growth of our appreciation of the beautiful and the true in art, may grow into a closer correspondence with the heavenly beauties of the spiritual blessings which are mediated in them through the Means of Grace.

ELMER F. KRAUSS.

Chicago, Ill.

Digitized by Google

SACRED MONOGRAMS—THE CHRISMA AND THE HOLY NAME.

The Chrisma.

From the glyptic art we learn, according to Chabouillet,* that the earliest forms under which the Christians allowed themselves to represent the Saviour were purely emblematical—the Good Shepherd, the Dove, and the Fish. In the Second Century Clement of Alexandria gives Christians some advice†: "Let the engraving upon your ring be a dove, a fish, or a ship running before the wind; or a ship's anchor, which Seleucus had cut upon his signet. If the device represents a man fishing, the wearer will be put in mind of the Apostles, and of the little children drawn up out of the water. For we must not engrave upon it idols, which we are forbidden even to look upon; nor a sword or bow, for we are followers of peace; nor a drinking cup, for we are sober men."

The earliest manifestations of Christian painting ‡ frequently exhibit pagan models in the attempt to typify the Saviour. Thus he is represented as the Orpheus§ of the new faith, charming and taming ferocious animals by the sound of his lute. When Christian art first dared to court the light of day under Constantine,

* *Antique Gems and Rings*, by C. W. King.

† *Pedagogus*, iii, 11.

‡ Note in *History of Miniature Art*, by J. L. Propest.

§ A Greek mythical poet, who with his lyre enchanted everything that had life. Even in Hades the charm of his music caused the torments to cease.

Digitized by Google

it felt an instinctive repugnance to draw its inspiration from classical works, produced under the influence of what in a Christian sense was a debased and immoral creed. In the place of "form" was established a school of "idea" and "symbol", and allegory became the dominant feature of the early Byzantines. But the Council of Constantinople, 692 A. D. commanded symbolism to cease,* and ordained that the central object of the Christian faith should be depicted as in the flesh, free from the veil hitherto employed. Unfortunately the interference of the Church produced an inflexible code of rules which for centuries prescribed the exact forms, attributes, etc., to be observed in the rendering of the human form. Art became a poor form of tradition, continued without enthusiasm or progress. So thinks Propest.

The two sacred monograms universally employed in Christian art are the ☧ and the IHS, the former standing for the name Christ and the latter for the name Jesus. The former is a combination of the Greek Χ(English, CH) and Ρ (English, R), the first two letters in the Greek name ΧΡΙCΤΟC (CHRIST). The latter is a Latinized variation of the first three letters of the Greek name ΙΗCΟΥC (JESUS). Each of these monograms has a history, and if all were told, a long story it would be.

GREEK FORMS.

The Chi Rho, also called the *Chrisma*, is perhaps the most ancient symbolical representation of Christ. In popular usage it long antedates the IHS which was seldom seen before the Ninth Century, but from the Twelfth Century on replaced the ΧΡ altogether. Just why the monogram of the name *Christ* should come into vogue before that developed from *Jesus* is not easily explained. It may have been because the Divine name of the Saviour was early emphasized; He was known distinctively as "The Christ." Or it may have been due to the influence of

* For example, Canon 80 expressly forbids representing our Lord under the figure of a lamb.

Digitized by Google

Constantine. If so, whence did Constantine derive it? He certainly did not invent it. Or Christians may have adopted it from another source and adapted it to their own needs, and this perhaps because it resembled the cross.

The origin of the Chrisma is commonly ascribed to the emperor Constantine, the story running thus: In the year 312 Constantine marched toward Rome for the purpose of meeting in battle his rival Maxentius. On the way he saw in the sky a luminous cross surrounded by the inscription **TOUTO NIKA*** "BY THIS CONQUER." On the eve of the battle, according to Lactantius, † preceptor to the emperor's son Crispus, 'he was directed in a dream to inscribe on his soldiers' shields the letter **X**, with a perpendicular line drawn through it, and turned round at the top ☧ being the cipher of Christ. Having this sign his troops draw the sword.' The next day after entering Rome, he summons the artists and commands them to make the Labarum, which Eusebius describes thus: ‡ "It was a long spear, covered with gold, and having a transverse bar like a cross. At the top of the spear was a wreath of gold and gems. In this they designed the *sign of the saving name*, that is to say the first two letters of the name of Christ, the **P** crossing in the midst. These letters the emperor was accustomed to wear on his helmet . . . The Emperor always used this saving sign as a standard against his enemies, and caused ensigns to be made after the same pattern for all his armies."

While this story may explain how the Chi Rho came to be commonly used as a Christian symbol, yet it hardly points out

* The popular Latin version adopted by the Knights Templar is IN HOC SIGNO VINCES. But a medal of Constantius II (353-361) shows this prince as holding a standard on which is inscribed with the Chrisma, HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS. It seems probable that the Latin is the original version, Constantine being a Dalmatian. Eusebius, who reports the vision in his *Life of Constantine*, wrote in Greek

† *De Mort. Persec.* ch. 44.

‡ *Life of Constantine*, lib. I, c. 31.

Digitized by Google

the origin of such use. The sign is found long before the time of Constantine. King says* that ☧ like ✳ was not invented by the Christians. In fact coins of the Ptolemies are known to bear the monogram ☧. Also those of Herod the Great, struck forty years B. C. have this ☧. Similarly the monogram formed of I and X is figured on the denarius of L. Lentulus, flamen or priest of Mars, with the portrait of Julius Cæsar, in which it represents the star of Venus, *Julium Sidus* ✳. Another of the same kind is figured on some medals of the kings of the Bosphorus, for instance on those of Sauromates Rescuporis etc., although the star is commonly figured like the Sigla (monogram on a seal) ✳ which among the Romans served to indicate the denarius. The letter X traversed by a vertical bar terminated at the upper end by a circle ✳ or by a small dot ✳ may be compared with the sigla ✳, which denotes, it is supposed, the commander of a thousand men— ΧΙΛΙΑΡΚΟΣ ; and which, crossed by a horizontal bar ✳, makes its appearance on some coins of the Ptolemies.

But from the unvarying arrangement of the lines in the monogram on the medals of the period of Constantine, the bar crossing the X being vertical, we may reasonably conclude that the lines are so disposed *intentionally*, and not for the purpose of representing stars which are also to be seen on coins of the same epoch. And yet as soon as we admit that these signs are tokens of Christianity, it follows that we must equally recognize as crosses and monograms of Christ the same symbols when they accompany the figures of *Mars Conservator* and *Sol Invictus*. This would imply that Constantine permitted himself to be styled the Sun and Light of the world, somewhat like the Chinese emperor. Another writer suggests that ☧ in the earlier coins may have stood for ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ, good, genuine. A medallion of Trajan Decius (249–251) struck at Metonia in Lydia has an inscription in which occurs the word ΆΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ in which the ΡΧ form a monogram exactly like the Chrisma.

* *Early Christian Numismatics*, by C. W. KING.

Digitized by Google

That the Chrisma was used as a Christian symbol before the time of Constantine, may be regarded as certain if Bishop Kip's work * is to be believed. He cites among other inscriptions in those subterranean tombs the two following which record their own date: "In the time of the Emperor Adrian, Marius a young military officer, who had lived long enough when with his blood he gave up his life for $\overline{\text{CHO}}$ (pro CHRISTO)." Beside this inscription, rudely drawn is ☧. Hadrian reigned 117 to 138 A. D. That this monogram in the catacombs stands for Christ is assured by this inscription: "*Victorina in pace et in* ☧." Another in Latin runs thus: "Lannus the martyr of $\overline{\text{XPI}}$ rests here. He suffered under Diocletian." That is between 303 and 305 A. D. On a gem dating, as is supposed, † about the year 300 A. D. on either side of a young man bearing a sheep on his shoulders, illustrating the Good Shepherd, is inscribed ☧-☧. And yet some writers hold that the earliest examples to be found in the catacombs date no farther back than 331 ‡. Martigny § claims the earliest (323 A. D.) under a pavement in the Basilica of St. Lawrence in agro Verano. For the love of the curious we mention that Justin Martyr (110–165) quotes ‖ Plato as saying in the Timæus that God placed his Son in the universe in the form of the letter X (Chiasma). But Justin refers in this passage to the cross.

It is barely possible that the earliest representation of the name of Christ is found in the abbreviations and contractions used in writing that name. By abbreviation is meant the shortening of a word by dropping one or more letters from the end; by contraction, the shortening of a word by omitting some of the

---

* *The Catacombs of Rome as Illustrating the Church of the First Three Centuries*, by the RIGHT REV. WM. INGRAHAM KIP.

† *Symbolism in Christian Art*, by F. EDWARD HULME F. S. A.

‡ NORTHCOTE'S *Epitaphs of the Catacombs*.

§ *Dict. des Ant. Chret.*

‖ *Apology*, ch. LX.

Digitized by Google

letters within the word. Thus *Penna.* is an abbreviation and *Pa.* a contraction of the word Pennsylvania. From very ancient times down to the common use of the art of printing, and even long after, it was the universal practice to abbreviate and contract words. The object was, no doubt, to save time and labor, as all writing was by hand. In the ancient manuscripts the name of Jesus Christ is invariably abbreviated or contracted. According to Grenfell and Hunt * this usage extends far back into the Second Century. In what is probably the oldest Christian fragment† yet published—a papyrus of late Second or early Third Century—are found the contractions $\overline{\Theta C}$ (ΘΕΟC, GOD), $\overline{IHC}$, and $\overline{XC}$. The line above is the sign of contraction. Also part of a leaf from a papyrus book, written at the end of the Fourth or beginning of the Fifth Century containing a passage from I John 4 ch. shows the same thing. The form $\overline{IC}\ \overline{XC}$ is found in all Greek uncial manuscripts of the New Testament from the Fourth Century down. It is on a medal found at Urfa, Syria, of the Fourth or Fifth Century; on the Stone of Cana, ‡ late Sixth Century; on paintings of the Ninth Century; on a coin of John Zimisces of the Tenth Century; on a painting in the Convent church, Isle of Salamis, Eighteenth Century; on the silver seal of the government of Mt. Athos; and on the sacramental bread of the Greek Church today. It is of course to be expected that the Greek church would retain the Greek form of the name of Christ. We also find other forms of contraction. Thus $\overline{XPC}$ in Codex Bezæ of the Fifth Century; in the Golden Gospels at Stockholm, Seventh or Eighth Century; and in a book of the Gospels in the library at Munich, Ninth Century.

LATIN FORMS.

So much for the Greeks. How did the Latins contract the sacred name? Here, as might be expected, the Greek influence

* *Publications of Egyptian Exploration Fund, Græco-Roman Branch.*

† Recently discovered by Grenfell and Hunt near Oxyrhynchus in Egypt.

‡ HILPRECHT, *Recent Research in Bible Lands.*

Digitized by Google

remains. Indeed the Latins frequently wrote the purely Greek form $\overline{\text{XPC}}$. Thus the Sermons of St. Augustine, written in Latin uncials, Sixth Century; in a Latin Psalter of Eleventh Century; and in the manuscript sermons of the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Century, in my possession. More frequently however, did the Latins render $\overline{\text{XPC}}$ into $\overline{\text{XPS}}$, substituting the Latin S for the Greek Sigma. This is well seen in the Codex Bezæ in which the Greek and Latin versions stand in parallel columns. The latter form finds examples on the medal of Urfa, Fifth Century; in an "Evangeliar" made for Charlemagne, Ninth Century; and in Missals and other writings of Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. In mediæval manuscripts of all kinds the form $\overline{\text{rpus}}$ is also used In an old Reliquary of the Tenth Century is seen the plain form $\overline{\text{X}}$.

There are instances in which individuals have had the temerity to use the sacred contraction in writing their own names. One is that of a Dutchman. He produced a picture and wrote under it "*Magister Petrus* $\overline{\text{rpi}}$ *me fecit anno* 1449." That is, "Master Peter Christi made me in the year 1449.

Let us now return to the time of Constantine. Through the influence of that Christian emperor the use of the Chrisma became popular throughout the Roman empire. The common form then employed was ☧ being a mere combination of the X and P. This is found on the coins of Constantine's successors down to Honorius (395–423) and on those of most of the Eastern emperors to Heraclius. It is also seen on a Roman pavement in Britain of the Fourth Century, on monuments in France of the same period, on sarcophagi, mosaics, lamps, glass vessels, coins, in fact throughout the whole range of sacred art.

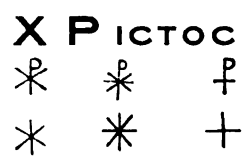
The form ☩ is also very ancient, being found in the Catacombs and on coins of Constantine. It was no doubt regarded as more suggestive of the cross and became very common. According to J. R. Allen,* this suggestiveness explains the changes

* *Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland.*

Digitized by Google

which took place in the shape of the Chrisma. An interesting correspondence shows how widespread was the use of this style. In the British Museum is a manuscript written in England in the Eighth Century, containing passages from the Gospels, the Lord's Prayer and others, letter of Christ to Abgar etc. On many of the pages at the upper left corner is ☧. Recently at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt were unearthed some old Coptic ostraca (pottery and stone chips) belong to Sixth to Eighth Centuries. On these ostraca are inscribed, in Greek and Coptic, episcopal edicts, letters to bishops, Biblical and liturgical passages, letter of Christ to Abgar, etc. With few exceptions the writing begins or ends with the same sacred symbol ☧. Even secular documents were prefaced with the Chrisma, as in a deed of Edgar, 961 A. D.*

Besides those depicted above, the Chrisma developed a great variety of forms as may be seen from the examples given below. Allen † thinks that all the variations can be traced to two causes: (1) the addition of a horizontal bar to the original form, thus ✳ as written on one of the Coptic ostraca, (2) the gradual alteration in the shape of the loop of the P which becomes more like an R, and falls away altogether. Thus if from the last shape you drop X the result will be ☧. The cruciform shapes, consisting either of | and X combined, or of + and X, result from the omission of the loop of the P. Hence according to Allen the development of the Chrisma runs thus:



(Read from top downward, and from left to right.)

* It should not be forgotten, in this connection, that copies of the Bible were made in Alexandria for sale in Western Europe, and that all our oldest manuscripts show their origin by the Egyptian form of spelling in some of the words. *History of Egypt*, by RAPPOPORT.

† *Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland* by J. ROMILLY ALLEN F. S. A., Scotland.

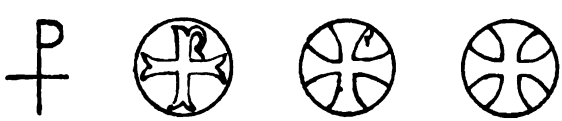
Digitized by Google

While this is a very attractive theory, I doubt whether he can prove it from historic facts. He recognizes that two or three variations often occur together on the same coin, or sarcophagus, but says this only shows that there was a great deal of caprice in the choice of forms, and that no special one was adhered to rigidly. The above formula also supports the theory that the plain cross as a sign was evolved from the Chrisma.

The addition of the letters Alpha and Omega took place as early as A. D. 347.* Thus † ☧ Α Ω. They occur on coins of Constantius and are seen in the Catacombs. Notice particularly that the Omega is drawn in the ancient uncial style Ω. I have not seen one instance of Ω, as modern workers in ecclesiastical art depict it. There is a unique example of the Α and Ω the $\overline{\text{IH}}$ and $\overline{\text{XPS}}$ all occurring together on a tombstone in 'Bresal', now preserved in St. Kevin's Kitchen at Glendalough County Wicklow, Ireland.

The origin of the *circle*, in which the Chrisma is often written, is either ornamental or may be taken from the wreath or crown of glory which also frequently surrounds it. The idea of eternity is also associated with the circle, as is seen in a Latin inscription found in Scotland: "This circle contains the name of the Supreme King whom you see to be without beginning and without end." The circle of the monogram survives in the ring which joins the arms of the Celtic crosses.

In another interesting study Mr. Allen tries to show how the Maltese cross was developed from the Chrisma. He finds his examples on stones in Scotland and Ireland. There are four steps:



* NORTHCOTE gives 362 A. D.

† PAUL LACROIX *Military and Religious Life of the Middle Ages.*

Digitized by Google

The process of development here is two-fold. (1) The extremities gradually widen. (2) The loop of the P disappears. The last is a common shape of the ancient Celtic cross. The third is on the face of a stone slab near Whitehorn, Scotland, and is regarded as one of the oldest monuments of Christianity in that section. The other forms are well known. Concerning that peculiar loop of the P, Quaritch * has this to say: "In early Roman writing the Greek P had a little stroke added to it (Ρ) to distinguish it from Γ (Π)." Perhaps a study of Paleography might throw some light on this subject. The following most interesting form occurs with a Latin inscription on a grave stone found along the Rhine. It belongs to the end of the Sixth Century.

* *Paleography*, by BERNARD QUARITCH.

Digitized by Google

The Holy Name.

IHS

Who has not sat in the Sanctuary and allowed his attention to wander from the devotions to the decorations of the chancel? While thus engaged has not his curiosity been aroused to know the meaning of those mysterious letters IHS carved on the face of the Altar or worked on its *antependium?*

The Monogram of the Holy Name—for so have these letters been termed, probably because they stand for a name Divinely given (Luke 1: 31)—came into common use much later than the Chrisma (☧) although it probably originated at the same time. Today it holds the chief place as a design for church decoration. The letters IHS have been variously explained, as our readers must know. The writer has seen the following interpretations. There may be others.

I Have Sinned.

I Have Suffered.

Inspiration (*of the*) Holy Spirit.

In Hoc Signo—referring to the sign ☧ in Constantine's vision.

In Hac (*cruce*) Salus—"In this (cross is) salvation."

Jesus Humanitatis Consolator—"Jesus of men the Consoler," referring to the Greek IHC.

Jesus Hominum Salvator—"Jesus of men the Saviour." This Latin inscription, Halliwell says,* is found in some European churches. It is the interpretation of the Jesuits who use it, in its fully developed historical form IH̄S, as their badge and motto. On the election of the first general of their order, in 1541, which resulted in the choice of Ignatius, the latter had headed his vote with IHS, and the sign ihs was engraved on his seal, the

*A Few Hints to Novices in Manuscript Literature.

Digitized by Google

same with which the election of the generals since Jacob Laynez has always been sealed. *

The last opinion, † to which the writer of this paper inclines, is that these letters are a contraction or abbreviation of the Greek name IHCOYC, IESOUS, Jesus—pronouncing the I as *y* in *yet*, the E as in *fete*, the S as in *soul*.

GREEK FORMS.

The earliest example of the monogram of the Holy Name is found on a fragment of papyrus recently discovered at Oxyrhyncus in Egypt. Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt ‡ who discovered these fragments state that they contain some theological writing embodying a quotation from the New Testament, Matthew, and that the ordinary contractions such as $\overline{\Theta C}$ for ΘEOC GOD, $\overline{XC}$ for XPICTOC, CHRIST, and $\overline{IHC}$ for IHCOYC, JESUS, occur in these writings. These fragments they date not later than 250 A. D. and possibly as early as the latter part of the Second Century. Another fragment, which they place late in the Fourth Century or early in the Fifth Century, contains part of I John 4: 11–17. Here the same contractions are seen. While it may seem like towering presumption to differ with such masters in archæology, yet upon examining the fac-simile of the Matthew fragments, it appears that only three dots and the contraction sign remain of what they restore as $\overline{IHN}$, the contraction of the accusative IHCOYN, the body of the letters being erased. Now comparing the style of writing on the papyrus with the most ancient New Testament manuscripts, we find that both are

---

* *J. A. Proeschel* in McCLINTOCK AND STRONG. Also *Handbuch der Kirlichen Kunst-Archæologie des Deutschen Mittelalters* by HEINRICH OTTO.

† This opinion is espoused by the Cambridge Camden Society in a work which they published on the subject: *Argument for the Greek Origin of the Monogram IHS.* London 1841. The writer of this paper has not yet been able to consult the work.

‡ *The Oxyrhyncus Papyri* in Publications of the Egyptian Exploration Fund.

Digitized by Google

in the same uncial or large hand.* We also note that aside from the Saviour's name, other contractions, such as $\overline{\Theta C}$ ΘΕΟC GOD, are the same in both. From this we may reasonably conclude that the contraction for the word JESUS, if restored in the papyrus, would be $\overline{IN}$ and not $\overline{IHN}$ as Grenfell and Hunt suggest, $\overline{IN}$ being the accusative of $\overline{IC}$. This granted, we may say that from the remains so far discovered the oldest sign which stands for the name *Jesus* is the contraction $\overline{IC}$, that for the full name being $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$. We find it thus written uniformly in the *Logia* or *Sayings of Jesus* (Third Century) also discovered at Oxyrhyncus, in the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts of the New Testament (Fourth Century), in the Alexandrian Codex (Fifth Century) and in other Greek uncial writings, as late if not later than the Tenth Century. In the same manuscripts the genitive case of the Sacred Name is written $\overline{IY}$ $\overline{XY}$ (Y being a form of U). But in the passage Rev. 22: 20 the Sinaitic and Alexandrian manuscripts differ, the latter having the vocative $\overline{KE}$ $\overline{IY}$ (for KYRIE IHCOY (Lord Jesus), while the former has $\overline{KE}$ $\overline{IHY}$. In the three most ancient codices I have not seen the nominative written $\overline{IHC}$. The form $\overline{IC}$ is also found in the Sa'idic version of the so-called *Letter of Christ to Abgar* of the Sixth Century, on a gem presumably of the Sixth Century, on a Coptic altar of the Sixth Century, over the head of Christ in a fresco of the Fifth Century (perhaps!), in an uncial *Commentary on Isaiah* of the Ninth Century, † on an Evangelistary or Book of Gospel Lessons of the Tenth Century, and on the medal

* Ancient manuscripts were written in what are known as *majuscule* and *minuscule* letters. Majuscules might be either uncials or capitals. In Greek manuscripts pure capital letter writing was never employed except in ornamental titles. Uncial letters were large and well rounded. Greek manuscripts in the uncial hand were written from the Second Century B. C. to the Ninth Century A. D. Minuscule writing was a kind of reduced alphabet, combining both uncial and old cursive forms. It originated in the Seventh Century A. D. and continued in use up to the time of printing. From about the Ninth Century minuscles were gradually substituted for the old uncial writing.

† SILVESTRE *Paleography*.

Digitized by Google

of Urfa, previously mentioned. This medal a certain missionary places in the Fourth or Fifth Century, but it seems to be almost identical with a coin which numismatists ascribe to John Zimisces in the Tenth Century. The coin has on the one side, in addition to IC XC, IhS XPS REX REGNANTIVM; and on the other side, IhSUS XRISTUS BASILEU BASILE.

The tri-literal Greek form in majuscules is IHC. It is probable that in ancient times it was regarded as a contraction, since the last letter varied with the case. For example recall the passage Rev. 22: 20 in the Codex Siniaticus where IHY is written for the vocative. The same thing occurs in an inscription of pope Gregory III (731–741 A. D.) in the Basilica of St. Paul, but here it stands for the gentiive. The nominative IHC is inscribed on a gem found in the Roman catacombs, doubtless very ancient, and over the head of Christ in a miniature on the Codex Egberti (Tenth Century). In the Harleian Psalter, in the British Museum, is this inscription (probably close of Tenth Century) on a picture of the crucifixion: HIC EST NAZAREN' IHC REX IUDEOR. Notice the absence of the contraction line over the letters. This is frequent. A Coptic Gospel of Mark (Eleventh Century) shows the same letters. Inscribed on a rock at the grave of the first abbot of St. Bavon, in Ghent, (middle of Seventh Century) are the letters in monogrammatic form, the earliest of the kind which I have seen; thus $\frac{|I|}{|C|}$. Romilly reports that a Würzburg manuscript has IHΣ XΠΣ i. e. in Greek capitals. The Π is evidently intended for R, the early form of both letters being nearly alike.

LATIN FORMS.

As was observed above, the Greek bi-literal IC and tri-literal IHC are frequent in Latin remains. The Latin form of the monogram in capital letters is the same as the Greek, ex-

Digitized by Google

cept the last letter, the C giving place to the S. This varies with the case, as in the Greek. Of Latin bi-literals de Fleury* gives two instances, one IS on the bowl of a chalice of probably the Eighth Century, and the other on the clasp of a lock, in a Marseilles collection. In the latter either perpendicular of the H may be expected to stand for the I, or perhaps the Holy Name began with an H. Proeschel says† that IH is the first representation of the name of Jesus of which we have any knowledge, referring to the Epistle of Barnabas (probably Second Century) which has this passage:‡ "Learn then my children that Abraham the first who enjoined circumcision, looking forward in spirit to Jesus, practiced that right, having received the doctrine of the three letters. For [the Scripture] saith, "And Abraham circumcised ten, and eight, and three hundred men of his household." What then was the knowledge given to him in this? The ten and the eight are thus denoted—Ten by I (iota), and eight by H (eta). You have [the initials of the name] Jesus. And because the cross was to express the grace by the letter T, he says also "three hundred." He signifies therefore Jesus by two letters, and the cross by one." But it can hardly be argued from this passage that IH was at that time commonly recognized as a symbol of the Holy Name. It rather looks as though the writer of Barnabas, after some effort, concocted an allegory.

For the popularization of the Latin tri-literal IHS the West was indebted to Bernard of Sienna who, as he preached from place to place, was wont to exhibit a tablet on which the monogram was painted in golden letters, surrounded by a halo of golden rays. To this he directed his hearers' devotions. He

---

* *La Messe E'tudes Archeologiques sur Les Monuments.*

† *McClintock and Strong's Cyclopedia*, Vol. VI, p 507.

‡ *Ante Nicene Fathers*, Vol. I, p 142.

Digitized by Google

was accused of innovation, but succeeded at length in satisfying pope Martin.

When we study the Latin tri-literals which seem to be most commonly employed by modern church decorators, we are brought face to face with some very difficult problems. Observing that the Latin turned IHC into IHS or ihc, it is not difficult to explain that the first letter I is the same in both Latin and Greek, and that the Latin S is substituted for the Greek C both standing for the same sound. But how about the middle letter? Is this the Latin H or the Greek *Eta* retained? Analogy would seem to indicate that it is the Greek *Eta*. That is, when we see that in an Evangelistary of the Ninth Century, over the head of Christ is IHS XPS, we may reason that since the first two letters of the second part are Greek, the first two of the first part must also be Greek. But how with this—ihc xps on a coin of Basil I, A. D. 867? Also this on a miniature of Codex Egberti, over Christ's head, rudely written, IHS XRC? Here analogy seems to fail.

Reverting now from the contraction to the Holy Name written in full, and observing how variously it was spelled, we find ourselves involved in still greater perplexity.

IHESUS—Title of Latin manuscript in Gothic minuscles, written 1462. Also on a cross, Tenth Century, in St. Mauritius at Münster.

IESVS—On reliquary cross, Twelfth Century, in Museum of Freising.

ihesu cristi—genitive case, in colophon of Schœfer's Bible, 1462.

ihesus in Book of Hours of queen Anne of Britanny, about 1490.

iesu xpi in a prayer in the same book.

iesu in "Devote Meditatione", Venice, 1508.

hiesus on cross in refectory of convent of Santa Cruce, Florence.

Digitized by Google

Whether these various modes of spelling had anything to do with writing IHS is doubtful. They would rather indicate that the word Jesus was pronounced by some as though it began with an aspirate. The last example would seem to prove this. Perhaps many people were as reckless in their use of the letter h as some of our English cousins; or perhaps many believed that the Greek *Eta* (H) was to be sounded as an aspirate. The last supposition may not be far from right, for in Greek the sign H before it represented long E was used for the rough breathing, and may have thus passed over to the Latin. Philology alone can decide this question. In the old Latin bibles Jerome is spelled Hieronymus, and Jerusalem, Hierusalem. Some have Iheronimus and Iherusalem.

The same difficulties seemed to puzzle the ancients. Amalarius of Metz, author of *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis* asks in a letter to Jeremiah, archbishop of Sens, in the year 827, why the name of Jesus is written with an aspirate, an H, and expresses the opinion that according to the Greek it should be written IHC.* To this Jeremiah answers that it is not an aspirate but the Greek *Eta*. He also asks bishop Jonas whether it were more correct to write IHS or IHC, and was answered that the latter form was preferable, the first two letters being taken from the Greek and the last from the Latin, as had been done in XPS.

An explanation is offered by James O. Halliwell,† who holds that the Latin scribes, not knowing Greek, confused the Latin H with the Greek *Eta* when they transcribed IHS as ihs in minuscule texts. This would seem to be the correct explanation in the case of ih'c which is found in some manuscript sermons in my possession, of probably the Fifteenth Century. Here ih'c was doubtless derived from $\overline{\text{IHC}}$. In this manuscript Jesus is uniformly written ih'c, dative ih'u, accusative ih'm. Christ is written $\overline{\text{xpc}}$, also xps, genative $\overline{\text{xpi}}$ or $\overline{\text{xi}}$, dative $\overline{\text{xpo}}$,

* *D'Achery, Spicilegium*, iii, 330, quoted in McClintock and Strong.

† *A Few Hints to Novices in Manuscript Literature.*

Digitized by Google

accusative rpm. Antichrist is written antirpc. Holy Spirit is written in the genitive ſpc ſci for Spiritus Sancti. Notice the Greek c for the Latin s. Thompson * cites epc for *episcopus*, tpc for *tempus*. While it may be true that the mediæval monks who copied manuscripts knew little Latin and less Greek, and doubtless made many errors, yet we must also remember that language like other human phenomena does not always develop along logical and conventional lines. When we study the early use of IHS or ihs we are hardly justified in declaring that it was due to ignorance. Take for example the Greco-Latin codices of the New Testament—manuscripts in which the Greek and Latin texts are written in parallel columns. In the Codex Bezae, written probably in the Fifth Century, we find uniformly in the Greek column IHC and in the corresponding Latin passages ihs, both in the uncial hand. The accusative is written, Greek IHN; Latin ihm. Other bi-lingual uncials most likely have the same thing.

We might also refer to the Gothic forms of this monogram, but this paper would become too lengthy. One other feature deserves mention and that is the cross which often surmounts the monogram. This was obtained in the Greek uncial and Latin capital forms by a single verticle stroke drawn through the contraction mark. Thus IH̄C and IH̄S. Or in the Latin minuscule form by crossing the verticle line of the h with the contraction line. Thus ih̄s.

That the Holy Name was often used in conjurings and incantations is not surprising, and when written for such purposes usually took the form of the monogram. Mr. C. W. King informs us that IHS NAZARENVS was an inscription very good against epilepsy and therefore is frequently found on silver rings of mediæval make. Also the phrase "IHS autem tran-

* *Handbook of Greek and Latin Paleography by* EDWARD M. THOMPSON.

Digitized by Google

siens per medium illorum ibat" i. e. "Jesus going through the midst of them passed by" (John 8: 59) was a safeguard against all dangers in traveling by sea and land. Says an old writer, "And therefore seyen some men when thei dreded them of theses on any way, or of enemyes, 'IHS autem etc' in tokene and mynde that our Lord passed through oute of the Jewes' crueltie and scapte safely fro hem." Edward III had these words inscribed on his gold noble * in memory of his miraculous escape at the naval battle off Sluys.

The Roman church has instituted a festival in honor of the Holy Name (Aug. 7) on which special services are held. An old Sequence of this festival has the following verse preserved in the Sarum Missal and with this we close.

Hail! Name so precious to the ear!
Sweet Jesus! Name which all revere:
May naught on earth prevail to tear
This title from our heart.
By this let sin be done away,
To this let each one homage pay,
Through this in heavenly bliss, we pray,
May we obtain a part."

EDWIN F. KEEVER.

Catasauqua, Pa.

* See *Century Dictionary*.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Index.

A

ABSOLUTION — Difference between sermon and, VI: 65, 71; Lutheran conception of, VI: 74; what is, VI: 65.

ACCURACY, LITURGICAL — Demands proper music, V: 96; demands strict fidelity to the very words of the service, V: 95; meaning of, V: 92; reasons for, V: 90-91; vital questions affecting, V: 93-94; why insist on, V: 90.

Adiaphora—Sacramental, in the Lutheran Church, V: 75.

ADVENT—Duration of, IV: 18; earliest mention of, IV: 18; position since 6th century, IV: 19; purpose of, IV: 18.

Agenda—Earlier than or contemporaneous with Luther's *Formula Missae*, VI: 17.

Agende — Incongruities of the American of 1818, IV: 90.

Agnus Dei — Development of I: 58; origin of, I: 57; use of in the Lutheran Church differentiated from that in the Roman, I: 58.

Agape—What it was, III: 2; separated from regular Sunday service, VII: 65.

ALTAR—Change in form of, VI: 92; comparison between Lutheran, Roman Catholic, and Reformed, II: 11-12; decoration of, VI: 94; distinction between Jewish and Christian, II: 8-9; earliest Christian, what it was, VI: 92; effect of the Renaissance on the, VI: 90; facing the, V: 16, 93; flowers on the, VII: 119; form of, VI: 94; now sacrificial in its significance, II: 10; Loehe's views of the, VI: 93; meaning to Episcopalians, II: 12; to Lutherans, II: 10; to Romanists, II: 11-12; to other Reformed bodies, II: 12; object of, II: 9; position of, II: 5; VII: 80, 82, 89, 90, 91; purpose for which erected, II: 7; sacrificial character under Old Testament dispensation, II: 8; significance of, VI: 93; size and elevation of, II: 5; the place of prayer, VI: 93; vestments for, VII: 116; where built in early times, II: 7.

Ambo—Use of in early times, II: 4.

ANGLICAN, HIGH CHURCH—The peculiar problem presented by the, III: 33.

Antependium—A fitting place for embroidery, VI: 97; pur-

Digitized by Google

pose of, VI: 94; VII: 119; symbolism on, VI: 97; what it is, V: 94.

Antiphon — By whom introduced into Christian worship, II: 45; origin of antiphonal singing, II: 45; present form ascribed to Gregory the Great, II: 46; retention of in XVI century KOO, II: 46.

APOSTLES' CREED—See Creeds.

ARCHITECTURE, CHURCH—Altar space in, VII: 88; chancel-rail in, VII: 82; decoration in, VII: 83; difference between Lutheran and Roman Catholic, II: 79; doctrine in. IV: 79-80; effect of Reformation on, VII: 76; Eisenach Regulative on, VII: 84; form and character of art in, VII: 107; galleries in, VII: 83, 93; Gothic style of, I: 22; VII: 79; handbook needed on and what such book must contain, VII: 77-78; latitude allowed in style, VII: 85-87; liturgical canons governing, VI: 92; material in, VII: 87; orientation in, VII: 84; place for organ and choir, VII: 81; propositions for discussion on, VII: 79-83; provision for Sunday School in, VII: 80; Smend on, VII: 95-101; styles of Christian, II: 89; the laity and, V: 28; the tower in, VII: 88, 112; the sacristy in, VII: 94; technical requirements in making plans, VII: 101; the Wiesbaden program, VII: 95-96; what it should express, VI: 90.

ART—A handmaid to religion, VI: 98; beginning of Christian, III: 110; characteristics of, II: 96-97; difference between heathen and Christian, II: 87; domain of plastic and pictorial, III: 110; form and character of in Church architecture, VII: 107; Goethe's views on, VI: 99; meaning of in worship, II: 83-84; pre-Raphaelite school of, I: 22; relation of to worship, II: 83; stained glass and, VII: 168; teachings of Christ and Apostles not hostile to, VI: 86; use of in Lutheran Church, II: 97-99; use of in Tabernacle and Temple, II: 85; value of decorative, VI: 98.

ASCENSION—Origin and purpose of, IV: 25.

ASH WEDNESDAY—Origin, custom and purpose of, IV: 23.

ATHANASIAN CREED—See Creeds.

AUGUSTINE, ST.—Opposition of to the Donatists, VI: 68; the germs of the Collects in, I: 19; the sacrificial according to, III: 96-97.

B

BAGGER, BISHOP HANS—Strange pastoral advice in his "Book of Service, VII: 38.

BAPTISM—According to Gallican, Gelasian and Gregorian Liturgies, III: 118; account of by Cyril of Jerusalem, III: 117; Agenda on, III: 121; chiefly by immersion in early Church, III: 113, 114, 115; Church membership by, V: 81; compared with Confirmation, V: 80; direc-

Digitized by Google

tions for in *Didache,* III: 114; distinction between the Romish conception and the Lutheran, III: 120-121; earthly element in, V: 76; earthly element, where applied, V: 77; in Ethiopic Church, III: 117; instruction in the catechumenate for, III: 116; instruction necessary, V: 78; intention of the catechumenate concerning, III: 120; liturgy used by the Apostles, III: 115-116; mode of, III: 114; V: 76; modes sanctioned by the Council of Ravenna, III: 115; often long delayed, III: 116; place for administering, V: 77; Sacrament of Regeneration, III: 113; same for infants as for adults, III: 119; "Solemn," III: 115; the Word in, V: 77; validity of, V: 76; validity of and benefits distinguished, V: 77.

Adult—Distinguished from infant, V: 80; how applied, III: 119; in primitive church, III: 113; in Church of Denmark, II: 66-68.

Emergency—Consciousness necessary to validity, V: 82; lay Baptism, V: 81; necessity determines externals, V: 81; Roman Catholic Baptism of blood, of desire, V: 82.

Infant—As a regulation, V: 77; never to be repeated, V: 80; relation of the infant to Church, to God, to parents, V: 78; in Church of Denmark, II: 66-68.

BENEDICTION—By whom pronounced, I: 62; character of, I: 63; form of, I: 62; large number of, I: 62; Luther's practices regarding, I: 62; in Matins and Vespers, II: 56.

Benedictus — By whom introduced into Latin Church, II: 50; use in Eastern and Western Churches, II: 50; why a Matin *Canticle,* II: 50.

BIDDING PRAYER—See Prayer.

BISHOPS — Appointment of in Danish Church, II: 59.

BOARDMAN, DR.—On the use of a Liturgy, I: 10.

BRENZ, JOHN—Life of, IV: 12; liturgical labors of, IV: 13; the part he took in the preparation of the Brandenburg-Nurnberg KO, IV: 13.

BUGENHAGEN, JOHN—Aids organization of Church in Denmark, II: 59; life of, IV: 10; liturgical position and directions of, IV: 12; most lasting monument of, IV: 11; work as a Church organizer, IV: 11; Luther, Melanchthon and contrasted, IV: 3.

BUNSEN, BARON—Influence of on Anglican Service, I: 24.

BURSE—How made, II: 34; material and size, II: 34; what it is, II: 33-34.

C

CALENDAR, THE ECCLESIASTICAL —Great events that form the foundation of, IV: 18; two types of, IV: 18; what it is, IV: 17.

Digitized by Google

CANTICLES — See *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, *Te Deum*.

CEREMONIALS—Custom versus, V: 74; Luther's ideas regarding, IV: 31, 35; Lutheran reglation of, V: 74; Roman conception of, V: 71.

CHANCEL — Derivation of the word, II: 1; furniture of, II: 3; organic center of the Church, II: 6; position in the Church, II: 2; size of, II: 2-3; symbolism of, II: 6.

CHANT—Ambrosian and Gregorian in Church Music, II: 94.

CHARISMA—In the Apostolic Church, VI: 51, 58, 59, 63.

CHARLEMAGNE—Efforts of in behalf of the Pericopes, IV: 50; efforts of to make the Liturgy more than an *opus operatum*, I: 26; Homiliarius of, IV: 51.

CHOIR—Composition of, II: 95; spirit of, II: 95.

CHRISMA, THE, or CHI RHO—Addition of Alpha and Omega to, VII: 177; antiquity of, VII: 170; coins and the, VII: symbol; VII: 173; form of, VII: 170; Greek forms of, VII: 170; Greek influence in Latin forms, VII: 175; Latin forms of, VII: 174; origin commonly though incorrectly ascribed to Constantine, VII: 171; popularized by Constantine, VII: 175; the *Circle* and the, VII: 177; the *Maltese Cross* and the, VII: 177; used frequently on books, pottery and secular documents, VII: 176; variety of forms of, VII: 176.

CHRIST—The center of our worship, I: 15.

CHRISTIAN III, KING OF DENMARK—Labors of in behalf of the Church, IV: 97; "Ordinance" of in Church of Denmark, II: 58; "Ordinance" of introduced into Icelandic Church, IV: 98; influence of on Norwegian Liturgy, VII: 36-37.

CHRISTMAS—Date of, IV: 19; purpose of, IV: 20.

CHURCH—Calvinistic doctrines on the, III: 28; Roman Catholic doctrine of the Church, II: 22, 26; Luther's distinction of the, III: 26; marks of the, III: 27; parallelism between the history of the and the Liturgy, III: 19; what is the, VI: 77; worship in the Pentecostal, III: 90.

CHURCH, MEDIAEVAL—Distinction between the sacramental and the sacrificial lost sight of in the, VI: 79; causes leading to this loss, VI: 79; importance attached to the sacrificial in the, VI: 79.

CHURCH, POST-APOSTOLIC — Character of Second Century, VII: 50; conception of Sacrament in, VII: 61; *Didache* on Christian worship in, VII: 56; observance of Easter, Lent and Station Days in, VII: 53-45; observance of "Saints'

Digitized by Google

Days" in, VII: 55; observance of Sunday in, VII: 51; prayer in, VII: 59; prophetic character of Sacrament in, VII: 61; temptations lying in the pathway of the student of Christian worship in, VI: 49; variations of prayers in the, VII: 69-71.

CHURCHES — Distinctive differences between, I: 10.

CHURCH YEAR—Basis of, V: 24; development of the, IV: 18; VI: 25; effect of on the expression of worship, VI: 26; the liturgical colors and the, VII: 13.

CIRCUMCISION—Origin of festival of, IV: 20.

CLOTH, ALTAR—How placed, II: 31; material, II: 31; ornamentation of, II: 31; VII: 116; when used, II: 31; width and length of, II: 31.

COLLECTS, THE—As congregational prayers, V: 45; contents due to specific causes, V: 47-48; examples illustrating the marks of, V: 46; Gelasian, V: 48-50; Gregorian, V: 51; Leonine, V: 47; intended for public use, V: 44; Luther's ideas on the use of, III: 45; marks of, V: 45; meaning of the word, V: 44; origin of, III: 45; V: 47; other than those *de tempore*, V: 51; sources of, I: 48; their beauty, I: 48-49; their fitness, III: 46; what they are, III: 45; where found, I: 47.

COLLECT (Matins)—Form in I and II. Edward the Sixth, II: 54; in Common Service, II: 54; in Gregorian Sacramentary, II: 54; germ in Gelasian Sacramentary, II: 53; Roman version of, II: 54; version in Sarum Breviary, II: 54.

COLLECT FOR PEACE—Common Service form, II: 56; different forms of, II: 56; first found in Gelasian Sacramentary, II: 56.

COLORS, LITURGICAL—Adiaphora, VII: 17; application of in Old Testament Church, VII: 3; appointments of in our Church, VII: 14-15, 118; Christ's life and work and the, VII: 16; defense of the, VII: 13; divine authorization of in Old Testament Church, VII: 4; dogma and the, VII: 8; Durandus on the and their symbolism, VII: 10-12; helpful to the worshipper, VII: 17; origin of use of, VII: 1; purple and its symbolism, VII: 7; the Church Year and the, VII: 13; those in use, VI: 1; VII: 1; tradition and the, VII: 8; two-fold sense of, VII; 1; scarlet and its symbolism, VII: 7; significance of the, VI: 95; symbolism in the, VII: 1; symbolism as seen by Josephus, VII: 5; symbolism as seen by Meurer, VII: 14; symbolism and Roman use of, VII: 13; use of in Old Testament Church, VII: 12; white and its symbolism, VII: 6.

Comes Hieronymi — Reference to I: 51; IV: 49.

Digitized by Google

COMMON PRAYER, BOOK OF—Attitude of Westminster Assembly towards, III: 61; First and Second Prayer Books of Edward the Sixth, III: 64; English and American compared, III: 66; comparative tables, III: 72-73; non-unity of in Holy Communion; III: 69; our indebtedness to the, III: 71; rubrics of the and their elasticity, III: 63; similarity between First Edward VI and the Lutheran Orders, III: 65; strange juxtaposition of various parts of, III: 64-65; theology of, III: 62; uniqueness of, III: 61; wherein lies its power, III: 60; wide devotional use of the, III: 60.

COMMON SERVICE—Analysis of and application of fundamental principles in the, V: 61-67; American Lutheran Church influences in, VI: 14; ancient Church influences in, VI: 6; Church of England influences in, VI: 10; Gentile-Christian influences in, VI: 6; Greek influences in, VI: 4; influences of the 16th Century Church in, VI: 11; Jewish influences in, VI: 2; Luther's influences in, VI: 11; New Testament influences in, VI: 5; old Catholic influences in, VI: 7; Reformation influences in, VI: 11; Reformed influences in, VI: 12-13; Roman influence in, VI: 9-10; Influence of Pietism, VI: 14; present day influence, VI: 15; the sacramental and the sacrificial in the, V: 85.

CONFESSION—A form of used in the 10th to 12th Centuries, VI: 74; form of prayer offered by priest about to hear, VI: 69; two parts in, VI: 65.

CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION—By whom instituted, VI: 66; Bugenhagen's form of, VI: 72; Donatistic view of, VI: 68; declaration of Brandenburg-Nurnberg Order of 1533 concerning, VI: 72; effect of Thirty Years' War on, VI: 74; five periods in history of, VI: 66; form of in Lutheran Church, VI: 65; idea underlying Lutheran, VI: 72; institution of private, VI: 68; in the Lutheran Church, VI: 68; Luther's declaration bearing on, VI: 70-71; Montanists' teaching concerning, VI: 67; New Testament teaching concerning, VI: 66; parts of the Lippish Order of 1538, VI: 71; Pietism and, VI: 75; practice of excommunication and redemption in, VI: 69; present day progress in, VI: 75; present usage of, VI: 65; rationalism and, VI: 75; Reformed views concerning, VI: 73; retention in, VI: 73; Shepherd of Hermes' declaration concerning, VI: 67; Spener's views concerning, VI: 74; St. Augustine's opposition to Donastic view concerning VI: 68; teachings of Calenberg and Luneberg Orders concerning, VI: 72; Tertullian and Cyprian on, VI: 67.

CONFIRMATION — Beginning of custom, III: 9; catechumenate in ancient Church, III: 9; in Middle Ages, III: 12; Chem-

Digitized by Google

nitz on, III: 14; compared with baptism, V: 80; effect of Pietism on, III: 13; effect of Rationalism on, III: 17; in Church of Denmark, II: 68-69; Luther's views on, III: 13; opposition to in Reformation era, III: 13; reference to Dr. B. M. Schmucker's views on, III: 16; revival of in 19th Century, III: 18; Spener's efforts in behalf of, III: 17; teaching of Augsburg Confession on, III: 14; views of in 16th Century, III: 15.

Confiteor—Origin of, I: 44; sources of various parts, I: 45; usage in Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches, I: 44.

CONSECRATION—Abraham Lincoln's idea of the term, VII: 25; Apostolic Succession and, VII: 22; degeneration of, VII: 22; difference between Romish and Lutheran idea on of Churches, VII: 23; differentiated from Dedication and Benediction, in DuFresne's *Glossary*, VII: 20; etymology of term, VII: 20; Gerber's description of a Church, VII: 24-25; in Eastern and Western Churches, VII: 21; information furnished by Church History and History of Doctrines, VII: 21; Luther's address at a Church, VII: 24; necessity of in the Romish Mass, VII: 21; of bells, pulpits, organs, altars, fonts, cemeteries, etc., VII: 25; of Churches, VII: 23; Ordination and, VII: 22; principle underlying, VII: 26.

CORPORAL—Definition of, II: 31; how laundered, II: 32; ornamentation of, II: 32; size of, II: 31; symbolism of, II: 32.

CREEDS—A witness to the universality of our faith, VII: 32; an expression of our personal convictions, VII: 33; order of relative value, VII: 27; purpose of, VII: 30; sacrificial character of, VII: 30; subjective benefits of, VII: 31; use of in the Anglican Liturgy, VII: 29.

Nicene—Brief history of pre-Reformation and Reformation usage, VII: 27-28; first usage of, I: 52; VII: 27, origin and development of, I: 51; position of in the Service, VII: 29-30. ment, VII: 28; early employ-

Apostles'—Basis of and development, VII: 28; early employment of, VII: 28; limited use of, 1:52; proper sphere of, VII: 28; uncertainty when introduced into office, VII: 28; uncertain when completed, VII: 27.

Athanasian — Canon Liddon's defense of, VII: 29; date and origin of, VII: 27; names by which known, VII: 29; limited use of, I: 52; use in Anglican Church, III: 65; in Lutheran Church, VII: 28.

CULTUS—The Lutheran Church and, VI: 23; always harmonious in expression, VI: 24.

CYPRIAN — Views concerning Confession and Absolution, VI: 67; views on the Doctrine of the Church, III: 21, 26.

Digitized by Google

CYCLE—The Christmas, IV: 19; the Victorian, IV: 22.

D

DECORATION—Altar, VI: 94; lectern, VI: 95; pulpit, VI: 95; tendencies in Church, VI: 91.

DENMARK — Early introduction of the Reformation into Denmark, II: 57.

DETERIORATION—Range of liturgical, IV: 67.

Didache—Directions for baptism in, III: 114; on Christian worship in Post-Apostolic Church, VII: 56.

Distribution, Formula of—Different forms of, I: 61; origin of, I: 61; source of that in Common Service, I: 61.

DONATISTS—Views on the bestowal of Absolution, VI: 68.

E

EASTER—Derivation of name, IV: 24; origin of, IV: 20; present mode of determining date settled at Council of Nice, IV: 21; rule for determining date, IV: 21; why a movable festival, IV: 21.

EDIFICATION—Service for, VI: 50; idea underlying, VI: 51-52; the four elements of, VI: 52.

EDUCATION, LITURGICAL — Advantages of, III: 84; effect of early, III: 86; necessity of, III: 81; our part in, III: 83; pastor's and teacher's part in, III: 87; responsibility of Sunday School in, III: 82, 83.

EMBROIDERY—Beauty and fitness of, VI: 96; effect of Crusades on, VI: 97; history of, VI: 96.

ENGLAND—German influence in, I: 24.

Epiclesis—Meaning of, I: 33; restoration in some Service Books, I: 33-34.

EPIPHANY—Date of, IV: 19; origin of, IV: 19; purpose of, IV: 20.

EPISTLE—Designation in ancient Liturgies, I: 49; early and later custom of reading the, I: 49.

EXHORTATION — Origin of, I: 56; purpose underlying, I: 56.

F

FESTIVALS—Greek Church, IV: 26-27; Luther's views on, IV: 36.

FIRST APOLOGY OF JUSTIN MARTYR—Description of Eucharistic Service in, VII: 64; description of regular Sunday worship, VII: 65; elements of the Service in, VII: 66-68; kiss of peace in, VII: 67; prayer in, VII: 67.

FONT—Location of, II: 3; VI: 95; VII: 83, 90, 114.

FORM — Necessity for some, III: 75.

Formula Missae—A liturgical classic, VI: 17.

Digitized by Google

FURNITURE, CHURCH—Articles of and their significance, VI: 92; doctrine in, IV: 80; symbolism of, II: 91.

G

GALLERIES—Their fitness in a Church, VII: 83, 93.

GLASS, STAINED—Characteristic qualities of, VII: 163; designs on, VII: 167; function of, VII: 166; medium to be employed in, VII: 162; need of attention on the subject of, VII: 159; perspective and, VII: 166; "pot-metal" or "painted," which? VIII: 162; pictures and, VII: 163; structural necessities in, VII: 160; true art to be sought in, VII: 168.

Gloria in Excelsis—Age and original form of, I: 47; author of, I: 47; use in Roman and Lutheran Churches, I: 47.

Gloria Patri—Early forms of, I: 46; how distinguished in Matins and Vespers from its use in Chief Service, II: 40; origin of, I: 45-46; reasons for present form of, I: 46.

GOSPEL—Arrangement in Roman Church and present usage in the Common Service, I: 50-51; by whom read, I: 50; reverence accorded it, I: 50.

GNOSTICISM—Effect of on the doctrine of the Church, III: 21.

GRACE, MEANS OF—Doctrine of, exalted, I: 17.

GREGORY THE GREAT—Antiphonary of, V: 2; author of Plain Song or Gregorian Chant, V: 3; doctrine of Purgatory, V: 5; effect of his principles of worship, V: 6; Homilies of, V: 2; labors in behalf of Church Music, V: 3; Litanies in his age, V: 6; Order of the Mass, V: 3; Sacramentary of, V: 1; transubstantiation clearly taught by him, V: 5; unique position of, V: 1.

H

HALLELUJAH AND SENTENCE—Early use in Jewish, Eastern and Western Churches, I: 49; origin of sentences, I: 49-50; when omitted, I: 49.

HOMILIARIUS — Charlemagne's, VI: 35; IV: 51, 57, 59; basis of Luther's *Kirchen Postille*, VI: 35.

HOURS, CANONICAL—Addition and development by Cyprian, II: 36; effect of the Reformation upon the, II: 37-38; eighth hour added by Benedict of Nursia, II: 37; Luther's combination of the, II: 38; names of and services performed at these, II: 37; reference to in Apostolic Constitutions, II: 36; Scripture reference to, II: 35; why a seventh hour was added, II: 37.

HYMNOLOGY—Christian, II: 93; work of Olavus Petri in behalf of, II: 21; labors of Laurentius Petri in behalf of, II: 22.

Digitized by Google

HYMNS—Apostolic Church, II: 92; VI: 55; essentials of true, II: 93; Litany, VII: 152.

I

I. H. S.—See The Holy Name.

Introit—Change of, I: 45; illustrations of thematic harmony, II: 77-82; Luther's opinion as to use of the, II: 45; omitted in Book of Common Prayer, III: 65; origin of, I: 45; purpose of, II: 76; use of, VI: 33.

Invitatory—Eastern origin and form of, II: 40-41; use in Eastern, Western and Lutheran Churches, II: 41.

ICELAND—Introduction of Christianity into, IV: 95; of the Reformation, IV: 96.

J

JONAS, JUSTUS—Life of, IV: 15; liturgical labors of, IV: 15.

K

KOO—Types of, IV: 2-3.

Kyrie—Early use of, I: 46; how used in Greek Church, I: 46; Luther's views on the, I: 47; repetition of, VII: 131; use in Matins and Vespers, II: 52; use in Roman Church, I: 46.

L

LAITY—Need for a liturgically well-informed, V: 21; purpose of enlightening our, V: 22; the defense and upbuilding of our Church depends upon a liturgically well-informed, V: 22; the pastor's part in instructing the, V: 26; two methods of instructing our, V: 21.

Lectio Continua—See Pericopes.

LECTIONS—Common Service assignment of the, II: 48; different Lectionaries, I: 51; early assignment of different books of the Bible to different seasons, II: 46-49; how closed, II: 48; idea of, VI: 38; later changes shortening the, II: 48; Luther's advice and retention of the II: 47; VI: 35; origin of, I: 51; effect of the Reformation on the, II: 48.

LECTERN—Arrangement of the, VII: 113; defense of the, VI: 95; form and decoration of the, VI: 95; origin of the, II: 4; position of the, II: 4; VII: 80.

LENT—Origin and fixity of, IV: 23-24.

LETTER, DOMINICAL—How determined, II: 24.

LINEN, ALTAR—See Altar Cloth, Burse, Corporal, Pall, Purificators, Veil.

LITANY—A product of the Western Church, VII: 129; Anglican form of the, VII: 137; appointment of Rogation or Litany Days, II: 51; changes made by Luther in the, III: 43; contents of Roman, III: 43; different forms of and their origin, III: 42; early usage of, III: 42; four-fold use of in Western Church, VII: 130; general divisions of Me-

Digitized by Google

diæval Litanies, VII: 36; Hymns growing out of the, VII: 152; its introduction into the Mass, VII: 148; Loehe's tribute to the, VII: 148; Lutheran form of the, VII: 145; manner of rendering the, VII: 151; Moravian form of, VII: 141; origin of the, II: 51; origin of *Litania Septiformis*, II: 52; III: 42; VII: 132; origin of the term, III: 42; origin of the specific formula uncertain, VII: 132; rapid multiplication of the, II: 52; VII: 134; reduction to three, II: 52; Reformation usage of the, VII: 149; rejected by the Reformed Churches, III: 44; responses in the, III: 43; rise of litanical form of prayer uncertain, VII: 132; Roman Catholic use of the "Great," VII: 136; that of the Common Service, II: 52; the invocation of Saints and the, VII: 135; use of in connection with processionals, II: 51; use of in Common Service, VII: 150; when used, III: 43.

LITERATURE—Romantic movement in, I: 22.

LITURGICS—Bound up with Dogma and Doctrine, III: 106; development of, III: 104; historical character of, III: 106; individualism and, III: 105; proper department for, III: 105.

LITURGIST—Sphere of the practical, I: 36-37.

LITURGY (*General Subject*)—A legacy of history, III: 105; a preserver of doctrine, IV: 70; Apostolic Church and, III: 102; architecture and the, III: 110; beauty and glory of our, V: 41-42; charges of opponents against a, V: 88; development of Roman in Reformation era, IV: 64; devotion and the, III: 109; divisions of the in early times, VI: 27; doctrines affecting the, III: 20; doctrine in, IV: 81; doctrines taught in our, IV: 81-82; Ethics in relation to the, III: 108; groundlessness of charges against a, V: 89; Homiletics in relation to the, III: 108; limit set to the, III: 34; music of the, III: 110; position of Christ with reference to a, III: 101-102; proper balance of a, III: 101; reasons assigned for a, V: 86-88; reformation of the, III: 29; relation between doctrine and the, IV: 79; specific doctrines taught in, IV: 81-82; starting points of Luther and Calvin in the reformation of the, III: 29; three doctrines that serve to explain the, III: 107; universal priesthood of believers exemplified in our, IV: 82; why we have a, V: 85.

Specific—Bunsen's Capitoline, I: 22; first types of Lutheran, I: 24; for Garrison Church at Berlin, I: 22; for Prussian Church, I: 23; Knox's, I: 14; proposed for use in Presbyterian Church, I: 14; Reformed Church in the United States, I: 15; St. James', I: 14; the Greek, I: 11, 12; the Roman, I: 12; Zwingli's I: 14.

Digitized by Google

American Lutheran of 1748—Basis and preparation of, IV: 86; how long in use, IV: 88; publication and material changes of, IV: 88; revisions and deteriorations noted, IV: 88-89; rubrics of, IV: 87; translation of, IV: 87; views of Dr. B. M. Schmucker on, IV: 88.

Of 1817 — Rationalistic and un-Lutheran, IV: 89.
Of 1818 — Its incongruities, IV: 90.
Of 1833—Based on that of 1786, IV: 91.
Of 1847—History and estimate of, IV: 91-93.
Of 1855—History, parts and estimate of, IV: 93.
Of 1860 (English)—Estimate of, IV: 94.

Danish—Chief Service of the, II: 61-65; Lord's Supper in, II: 70-73; Matins and Vespers in, II: 65; order of Service in cities and rural places, II: 57; use of the vernacular in, II: 58; work of Palladius in behalf of, II: 59-61.

Icelandic—First Liturgy, IV: 95; first Service officially adopted, IV: 101; post-Reformation Liturgy, IV: 103; present Service, IV: 104; future Service, IV: 107.

Norwegian—Influence of Luther's "German Mass" on, VII: 35; influence of the "Ordinance" of King Christian III on, VII: 36-37; optional use of, VII: 37; order of "Ordinance," VII: 38-39; comparison of "Ordinance" and "Ritual," VII: 38-39; later changes in, VII: 40; the "New Order of Service" and basis of, VII: 43; estimate of New Order, VII: 46-47; effect of Pietism and Rationalism on, VII: 40.

Swedish—Order of that of 1531, II: 17-20; similarity between it and Luther's *Formula Missae*, II: 20-21; later changes in, II: 21; changes in those of 1541, 1641, 1811, 1874, 1894, II: 21, 24, 25, 26, 27.

LUTHER—Address at the consecration of a Church, VII: 24; attack of the "Sacrifice of the Mass," VI: 80; Bugenhagen, Melanchthon, and contrasted, IV: 13; declaration bearing on Repentance, VI: 70-71; doctrine of the Church, III: 26; doctrine of the Ministry, III: 27; doctrines of the Church and Ministry affecting the Liturgy, III: 30; his *Deutsche Messe*, IV: 41-42; his *Formula Missae*, IV: 39-40; his *Ordnung des Gottesdienst in der Gemeine*, IV: 37-38; his *Taufbuechlein*, of 1523 and 1526, III: 121; IV: 45; his idea of a Service, III: 29; ideas regarding Divine Service, IV: 30; influences of in Common Service, VI: 11; reasons for changing old Order of Service, IV: 32-33; reply to Carlstadt concerning the use of pictures, VI: 44; the first outline of a purified Service, IV: 37; the *Formula Missae*

Digitized by Google

and Deutsche Messe paralleled, IV: 44; views on Ceremonies, IV: 31, 35; Collects, III: 45; Confirmation, III: 13; external observances, IV: 34; festivals, IV: 36; *Introit*, I: 45; *Kyrie*, I: 47; Lections, II: 48; Paraments, VI: 90; *Pax*, I: 60; Pericopes, IV: 51-52; pictures, II: 88; the sacramental, VI: 80; the *Salutation and Benedicamus*, I: 62.

M

Magnificat—Early use of, II: 150; Greek and Latin Church assignment, II: 50; later and present use, II: 50; restoration to Evensong in American Episcopal Church, III: 65.

MALMO BOOK—Changes made by the Danish Reformers in, IV: 101; order of service of, IV: 99; strength and weakness of, IV: 100.

MARTYR, JUSTIN—Description of worship at his time, III: 36; his conception of the Lord's Supper, VII: 71-74. See also First Apology of.

MASS—Center of the Roman, I: 15; Protestant opposition to the, IV: 64; in Swedish, II: 22; the Roman, I: 10-11.

MASSES—Questionable features in Strassburg, VI: 21.

MELANCHTHON, PHILIP—Life, place and work of, IV: 4; liturgical position of, IV: 6; his outline of a Church Service, IV: 9; on the relation between the sacramental and the sacrificial, VI: 81; Luther, Bugenhagen, and contrasted, IV: 3.

MEURER—On the symbolism of the Liturgical Colors, VII: 14; views on the position of the pulpit, II: 4.

MINISTER—Agent in mediating the Word, V: 10; extempore prayers and the, V: 18; his arbitrary conduct in changing formulas, V: 19; his attitude in prayer, V: 16; his bearing and deportment, V: 12; his bearing in the Chancel, V: 13; his bodily movements in general, V: 14-15; his personal appearance, V: 13; his preparation for the service, V: 12; his reading of the Word, V: 15; his self-control, V: 14; the representative of the congregation, V: 11.

MINISTERS—Two classes of in early Church, III: 20; later distinction of, III: 21.

MINISTRY—Catholic conception of the, III: 25; Luther on the Doctrine of the, III: 27.

Missa Catechumenorum—What it was, III: 24.

Missa Fidelium—What it was, III: 24.

MISSALS—Differences noted in, II: 15; pre-Reformation Missals of the Church of Sweden, II: 15.

MONOGRAMS, SACRED—See Chrisma and The Holy Name.

MONTANISTS—Heresy of the, VI: 67.

Digitized by Google

MUHLENBERG, DR. H. M.—His work on the liturgy of 1748, IV: 86.

MUSIC—Doctrine in, IV: 80; must be in accord with the Liturgy, II: 92, 94; proper kind of, V: 26; proper use of, II: 94-95; the Sunday School the place for the introduction of good, V: 26 28.

N

NAME, THE HOLY (I H S)—Festival in honor of, VI: 187; Greek forms of, VII: 180; interpretations of the symbol I H S, VII: 179; Latin forms of, VII: 182; meaning assigned it by the Jesuits, VII: 179; MSS. in which various forms of are found, VII: 180-181; origin of the Cross in connection with, VII: 186; popularized in the West by Bernard of Sienna, VII: 183; probably a contraction of the Greek for Jesus, VII: 180; problems confronting us in the study of, VII: 184; Sequence in Sarum Missal on, VII: 187; tri-literal Greek form of, VII: 182; use of in conjurings and incantations, VII: 186; various spellings of in full, VII: 184.

NAPOLEON—Effect of conquests of on the Service, I: 22.

NICENE CREED—See Creeds.

NUMBER, GOLDEN—How determined, IV: 22.

Nunc Dimittis—Authority for its use, I: 61; mentioned in Apostolic Constitutions, II: 50; restoration to Evensong in American Episcopal Church, III: 65; use in Eastern and Western Churches, II: 50; why a Vesper Canticle, II: 50.

O

Offertory—Lutheran idea of the, I: 52; origin of, I: 52; usage in Roman Catholic Church, I: 52.

Opus Operatum—The Roman Liturgy an, I: 22; Charlemagne's efforts to make the Liturgy something else than an, I: 26.

ORDER—The question of liturgical, I: 35.

"ORDINANCE"—Order and parts of, II: 58; influence on Icelandic Liturgy, IV: 97; influence on Norwegian Liturgy, VII: 36-37.

ORDINATION—Consecration and, VII: 22; distinction created by, III: 23.

ORGAN—Location of, VI: 81, 92, 104; proper use of in worship, II: 95.

ORGANIST—Importance of the Church, III: 47; power and dignity of his position, III: 56; why he should study the Liturgy, III: 48.

OSIANDER, ANDREW—Life of, IV: 14; prepared first draft of Brandenburg - Nurnberg KO, IV: 14; strong evangelical position of, IV: 14.

OXFORD MOVEMENT — Influence of on liturgical reform, I: 23.

Digitized by Google

P

PAINTING—Early Christian, II: 87.

PALL—Definition of, II: 32; necessity of, II: 32; ornamentation of, II: 32; size of, II: 33; usage of, II: 32.

PALLADIUS, PEDER—Work of in behalf of the Danish Liturgy, II: 59, 61.

PARAMENTS—Definition of, VI: 89; Luther's attitude towards, VI: 90.

PARAMENTICS—Beauty and fitness of embroidery, VI: 96; importance of the subject, VI: 89; in America, VI: 89; in Germany and England, VI: 89; limitation of, VI: 98; Loehe's views on, VI: 90; perils of, VI: 98.

Pax—Luther's views of, I: 60; origin and development of the, I: 58-59; place in standard Ms. of the Common Service, I: 60; rejection and retention of in 16th Century Orders, I: 60.

PEACE, KISS OF—Abolition of the, I: 60; doubtful whether it had any part in the worship of the Apostolic Church, VI: 63; origin of, I: 58; place in the Service, I: 59; traces remaining in Russian and Roman Churches, I: 60.

PENTECOST—Origin and purpose of, IV: 25.

PERICOPES, THE—Criticized by Luther, IV: 51; difference between those of the Lutheran Orders and the *Missale Romanum*, IV: 56; differences in detail, IV: 56-58; first introduction in Rome, IV: 49; gradual development of, IV: 49; Homiliarius of Charlemagne, IV: 50; introduced into France through efforts of Charlemagne, IV: 50; in Norwegian Church, VII: 42; lists of Epistles and Gospels in Luther's German New Testament, IV: 53; Lutheran *Agenda* favoring retention of, IV: 52-53; *Agenda* recommending the *Lectio Continua*, IV: 53; Old and New Testament custom of reading the Word, IV: 47; some difficult questions engaging attention, IV: 55; the *Lectio Continua* an early custom, IV: 49; the *Lectio Continua* retained in Matins and Vespers, IV: 49.

PETRI, LAURENTIUS—His work on Swedish Service Book of 1541, II: 21; effects in behalf of Hymnology, II: 22.

PETRI, OLAVUS—His independence in Service Reform, II: 16; his Manuals for the Church, II: 16-17; his Service Book for the Swedish Church, II: 17; his work in behalf of Hymnology, II: 21; his work for the Swedish Church, II: 16.

PICTURES — Luther's reply to Carlstadt concerning the use of, VI: 98.

PIETISM—Influence of on Confession and Absolution, VI: 75; influences of in Common Service, VI: 14; influence of

Digitized by Google

on the Liturgy in Germany, IV: 69-70; influence on the Norwegian Liturgy, VII: 40.

POETRY—As a vocal art in worship, II: 92, 94.

PRAYER—By whom offered, VI: 53; distinction between public and private, III: 39; extempore, V: 18; grounds for public, III: 35; in the assembly of the first Christians, VI: 48; included in Psalm, VI: 52; minister's attitude in, V: 16; necessary for the Church, III: 40; proper place for the, III: 41.

PRAYER, THE BIDDING—Eastern Church use of, VII: 124-125; Loehe's rubric as to use of, VII: 127; Lutheran retention of, VII: 126; source of our, VII: 122; the question of kneeling during the, VII: 128; traces of in Anglican Liturgy, VII: 126; two forms of given by Loehe and their analysis, VII: 123; Western Church use of, VII: 125.

PRAYER, THE GENERAL—Different usages for, I: 53; distinctive nature lost in Roman Catholic Church, I: 53; form and contents of, I: 52-53; history and development of, III: 35-39; VI: 53; origin of, I: 52; parallel between that of Church Book and early traces in Apostolic Constitutions, I: 53-54; place in early times, I: 52; position in later ages, I: 52; restored again in Reformation era, I: 53; sources of that in the Church Book, I: 55.

PRAYER, THE LORD'S—Character of, I: 57; earliest testimony to its use, I: 59; integral part of the Liturgy, I:57; pre-Reformation usage, I: 57; not used in worship of the Apostolic Church, VI: 54; use in Matins and Vespers, II: 53.

Preces—See Suffrages.

PREFACE—Age of, I: 55; constancy of the, I: 55; origin and development of the *Proper*, I: 56; the *Common*, where found, I: 56; the Common Service, I: 56.

PRIESTHOOD — Development of the, III: 22; the universal of all believers, I: 10; III: 93.

PROPHECY—Meaning of in Apostolic Church, VI: 58.

PSALMS, THE—Changes of the the I: 62.
Psalter necessitated by the Reformation, II: 45; Monasticism and the, II: 42; number of in the Church Book, and Books of Worship, II: 45; the Greek Church and the Psalter, II: 42; use of in Apostolic times, II: 42; usage in later eras, II: 42; weekly arrangement of Benedictine and Gregorian Psalters, II: 43-44.

PULPIT—Decoration of the, VI: 95; Meurer on the location of the, II: 4; most approved location, II: 4; VI: 95; VII: 80, 82, 89, 90, 91, 95, 96, 112, 113; various positions in different ages, II: 3-4.

PURGATORY—Beginning of the doctrine of a, VI: 68; origin

Digitized by Google

of praying souls out of, VI: 69.

PURIFICATORS — Number, size and ornamentation of, II: 32; how folded, II: 32; why necessary, II: 33.

R

RAIL, CHANCEL—Un-Lutheran, VI: 94; VII: 82-88.

RATIONALISM—Illustrations from rationalistic *Agendas* affecting (a) Baptism, (b) Confession and Absolution, (c) Lord's Supper (d) Lord's Prayer, (e) Benediction, IV: 73-77; influence of on Confession and Absolution, VI: 75; influences of in Common Service, VI: 14; influence of on the Liturgy in Germany, IV: 71-72; influence of on the Norwegian Liturgy, VII: 40.

RED BOOK — The Romanizing Swedish Liturgy of John III, II: 22.

REFORM, LITURGICAL—Direction of, III: 76; education in, III: 76; element of *taste* in, I: 28; eras of, I: 25; expected results from, I: 37-39; how effected, III: 76; in Germany, I: 23; necessity of, I: 21; origin of, I: 20; pastor's part in, III: 77; problems of, I: 28; questions of texts in, I: 31; reasons for, I: 20; two-fold tendency of, III: 75; within the Church of Rome, I: 26; IV: 63.

REFORMATION, THE—What it was and emphasized, III: 26; VI: 80; Tercentenary of, I: 22.

REREDOS—Origin of the, VII: 111; remnant of reliquaries, II: 5; taste in its construction and enrichment, II: 5.

RESPONSORY — Not known by whom introduced, II: 49; place of, II: 49; what it was originally, II: 49.

REVOLUTION, FRENCH—Effect of the, I: 22.

RITUAL—Questions in development of, I: 32.

ROCK, DR.—On the celebration of the Roman Mass, I: 10.

S

SACRAMENTS, THE—Number of, V: 69; practice and doctrine in relation to, V: 69; the Friends and the, V: 69; the Reformed Church in general and, V: 70.

SACRAMENTAL — Luther's views concerning the, VI: 80; Melanchthon on the relation between the sacramental and the sacrificial, VI: 81; position of the Lutheran Church concerning the, VI: 85; the sacramental element in the Apostolic Church, VI: 78-79; this element lost sight of in the Mediæval Church, VI: 79; the sacramental elements in the Reformation Service, VI: 83; this element not limited to the minister, VI: 84; the sacramental elements in the Common Service, VI: 85; Zwingli's depreciation of the, VI: 86.

Digitized by Google

SACRIFICE — Development and meaning of, III: 23; Luther's attack of the "Sacrifice of the Mass," VI: 80.

SACRIFICIAL — Augustine's idea of the, III: 96-97; Augustine contrasted with Cyprian on the, III: 95; deterioration of the, III: 91; development of the at the time of Innocent I, Leo I, and Gregory the Great, III: 97; era of normal application of the, III: 89; importance attached to the in the Mediæval Church, VI: 79; Luther's *German Mass* in relation to the, III: 98; Melanchthon on the relation between the sacrificial and the sacramental, VI:81; not limited to the congregation, VI: 84; position of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian and Cyprian, III: 91, 95; position of the Greek Church, III: 95; Reformed tendencies toward the and their general effect, VI: 86-88; restoration of the in the Reformation era, III: 98; the sacrificial in worship, III: 89; the sacrificial element in the Apostolic Church, VI: 78-79; this element lost sight of in the Mediæval Church, VI: 79; the sacrificial in the Reformation era, VI: 83; the sacrificial elements in the Common Service, III: 99; VI: 85.

Salutation and *Benedicamus*—Luther's directions concerning the, I: 62; origin and use of the I: 62.

Salutation and Response—Usage in early Greek Liturgies, I: 47; in Mediæval Church, I: 47; in KOO of 16th Century, I: 47.

Sanctus—Addition of *Benedictus* and *Hosanna* to the, I: 56; differentiated from *Trisagion*, I: 56; origin of the, I: 56; use in Eastern and Western Churches, I: 56.

SCULPTURE — Use in early Church, II: 88; position accorded by the Protestant Church, II: 88.

Semester Domini and Ecclesiae Meaning of, IV: 25.

SERMON—Part of and place in the Service, VI: 39.

SERVICE—Doctrine of the Church and Ministry affecting the III: 30; elements of the in Apostolic Christianity, VI: 47; intoning the, V: 17; Luther's idea of a, III: 29; the sacramental and the sacrificial elements in the, VI: 83; vicariousness not an element of our, I: 10.

SERVICE, DIVINE—Definition of, V: 53; origin of, V: 53; object of, V: 57; liturgical forms in, V: 59; necessity for an Order of, V: 58.

SHEPHERD OF HERMES—Declaration of concerning Confession and Absolution, VI: 67.

SOURCES — Liturgical, of the Chief Service, of the Common Service, I: 44-63; Scriptural, I: 41-44; liturgical, of the Minor Services, II: 40-56; Scriptural, II: 38-39.

Digitized by Google

SPONSORS — Discontinuance of, V: 79; regulations concerning, V: 79.

SUFFRAGES—Etymology of the word, VII: 156; manner of rendering the, VII: 156; name by which anciently known, II: 51; origin of obscure, II: 51; VII: 154; origin of Morning and Evening in Church Book, VII: 154-155; pre-Reformation use of, II: 51; remnant of in Anglican and American Episcopal Churches, VII: 155; rubrics on, VII: 156.

SUNDAY—Observance of in post-Apostolic Age, VII: 51.

SUNDAY, TRINITY—Origin and fixity of, IV: 25.

SUPPER, THE LORD'S—Administration of in the first Christian congregation, III: 1; in third and fourth centuries, III: 3; in the Apostolic Church, VI: 45-47; in Danish Church, II: 70-73; by whom to be administered, V: 83; customs in different Churches, III: 4-5; essentials to a proper administration, III: 6-8; frequency of, III: 4; influence of doctrine in, III: 6; institution of, III: 1; Methodist admission to, V: 84; object of Confessional Service before, V: 84; question of essentials and non-essentials in, V: 82; rejection of abuses in, V: 82; self-examination before, V: 83; the doctrine of transubstantiation and, V: 71; the act of Consecration in, V: 84; the culmination of Christian worship, VI: 78; Westminster Confession rubric on, V: 83; what constitutes validity of, V: 84; who are to partake of, V: 84; withdrawal of the cup in, III: 6.

SUPPER, THE LORD'S, in Apostolic Church — Consecration and reception of in, VI: 62; special service for, VI: 60; purpose of this service, VI: 60; St. Paul's view, VI: 61.

Sursum Corda—General use of the, I: 55; minor differences in, I: 55.

SYMBOLISM—Argument in behalf of, V: 32; as science and art, V: 31; Christianity and, V: 32; Judaism and, V: 32; material for, V: 36; origin of, V: 37; in early Church, II: 87; in every religion, V: 34; in Liturgical Colors, VII: 1; in nature, V: 33; in Revelation, V: 35; in Sacraments, V: 33; symbolic passages of the Old Testament, V: 35; symbolization of Chief Christian doctrines and of the Evangelists, V: 32, 33, 34; the *Antependium* and, VI: 97; use of, V: 36.

SYMBOLS—Defense of, VI: 97; lists and signification of various, V: 37-40; VI: 97.

T

TAUSEN, HANS—Author of Malmo Book, IV: 99.

Taufbuechlein—Luther's of 1523 and 1526, III; 121, IV; 45.

TEACHING, APOSTOLIC CHURCH —Of what it consisted, VI: 56, 57.

Digitized by Google

Te Deum—Origin obscure, II: 49; use in Mediaeval Church, II: 50; why accepted by and its use in the Lutheran Church, II: 50.

TENNESSEE SYNOD—Sponsor for Liturgy of 1833, based on that of 1786, IV: 91.

TERTULLIAN—Idea of the relation of the Sermon to Absolution, VI: 67.

THANKSGIVING, THE—Great diversity of noted in old Orders, I: 62; origin of, I: 62.

THORLAKSSON, BISHOP—Labors of in behalf of Icelandic Church, IV: 98.

THURSDAY, MAUNDAY—Origin of, IV: 24.

TONGUES—Meaning of in Apostolic Church, VI: 50.

TOWER—Necessity of a, VII: 88; position of, VII: 112.

V

VEIL, THE—Color and material, II: 33; ornamentation, II: 33; use in Roman, Anglican and Lutheran Churches, II: 33.

Venite, The—Difference between Eastern and Western Church in the use of, II: 41; its introduction into and use in Matins, II: 41-42.

Vernacular—Use of in Reformation era, IV: 65.

Versicles, The—Antiquity and origin of those used at opening of Matins and Vespers, II: 40; use made of them by the KOO of the 16th Century, II: 40; time of introduction of that preceding Vespers Canticles a question, II: 49; pre-Reformation and present form, II: 49; that at the close of Vespers has no pre-Reformation usage, II: 55; the *Da Pacem* of the 16th Century KOO, II: 55.

W

WAR, THIRTY YEARS'—Effect of on the Liturgy, IV: 67.

Whit-Sunday—See Pentecost.

WILLIAM, FREDERICK III, OF PRUSSIA — Unionistic efforts of, I: 22.

WILLIAM, FREDERICK IV—Attempt to unite the German and Anglican Churches, I: 24.

WORD—Efficacy of the Divine, V: 11.

WORDS OF INSTITUTION—Essentiality and use of the, I: 57.

WORSHIP—Art a handmaid to, I: 6-7; center of Christian, I: 5, 15; danger attending, I: 5-6; divine element in, I: 4, 11, 12; divine purpose in, I: 2-3; divine and human elements contrasted, I: 4-5; doctrine reflected in, I: 9, 16, 17; earliest form of, III: 24; four distinct types of Christian, III: 31-32; human element in, I: 3, 11, 12; idea underlying, I: 1; Lutheran Order of explained, I: 13-15; meaning of the term, I: 2; Reformed idea of, I: 14; relation of Principle and Form in, I: 9; Roman, Greek,

Digitized by Google

Reformed and Lutheran contrasted, I: 10-12; sacramental character of, I: 5; sacrificial character of, I: 5; three factors in, V :10; three ways of arriving at the expression of congregational, V: 23; time and place of, I: 6; uniqueness of Christian, III: 89; vicarious character of in non-liturgical Churches, I: 10-11; what it is, I: 3, 11; Word and Sacrament in, I: 12.

WORSHIP, APOSTOLIC CHURCH—Development of in the Gentile-Christian Churches, VI: 49; difficult to obtain a clear idea of, VI: 41; elements of the Service in, VI: 47; worship in the Church at Jerusalem, VI: 43; in private houses, VI: 44; number of services, VI: 50; prayer in the assembly of the first Christians, VI: 48; sources of our knowledge of, VI: 42, 49; time of assembly for, VI: 49; the Lord's Supper in, VI: 45-47; use of the Temple in, VI: 44.

Y

YEAR—See Church Year.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE LUTHERAN LITURGICAL ASSOC[illegible]

1900—1901.

A

Rev. C. Abbetmeyer,
Baltimore, Md.

Rev. Carl Ackermann,
Lima,
Lima College, Ohio.

Mr. A. C. Albrecht,
1207 Allegheny Ave.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Harry G. Archer,
Sixth Ave.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

B

Rev. W. Penn Barr,
Mount Joy, Pa.

Rev. C. L. Boecele,
1407 8th Ave.,
Altoona, Pa.

Rev. W. F. Bond,
Tower City, Pa.

Mr. Chas. G. Beck,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Mr. Wm. Benbo[illegible]
530 Elm [illegible]
R[illegible]

Mr. H. W. Bikle,
3219 Elsino[illegible]
[illegible]
Oakland.

Rev. D. R. P. B[illegible]
1526 Cli[illegible]
Pit[illegible]

Rev. G. A. Benze[illegible]
118 W. 2[illegible]
[illegible]

Rev. C. Theo. B[illegible]
[illegible] E. 2[illegible]
[illegible]

Mr. [illegible] Beck,
Philad[illegible]

Mt. Airy, Luth. [illegible]

Mr. [illegible]
Philade[illegible]

Mt. Airy, Luth. [illegible]

Mr. [illegible] Black,
[illegible] We[illegible]
[illegible]

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE LUTHERAN LITURGICAL ASSOCIATION.

1900—1901.

A

Rev. C. Abbetmeyer,
Baltimore, Md.

Rev. Carl Ackermann,
Lima,
Lima College, Ohio.

Mr. A. C. Albrecht,
1207 Allegheny Ave.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Harry G. Archer,
Sixth Ave.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

B

Rev. W. Penn Barr,
Mount Joy, Pa.

Rev. C. L. Boecele,
1407 8th Ave.,
Altoona, Pa.

Rev. W. F. Bond,
Tower City, Pa.

Mr. Chas. G. Beck,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Mr. Wm. Benbow,
530 Elm St.,
Reading, Pa.

Mr. H. W. Bikle,
3219 Elsinore Square,
Pittsburgh,
Oakland. Pa.

Rev. D. R. P. Barry,
1526 Cliff St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rev. G. A. Benze,
118 W. 23rd St.,
Erie, Pa.

Rev. C. Theo. Benze,
943 E. 21st St.,
Erie, Pa.

Mr. Willis Beck,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Mr. F. N. D. Buchman,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Mr. W. H. Black,
1131 Western Ave.,
Allegheny,

Digitized by Google

Prof. Otto F. H. Bert,
Greensburg,
Greensburg Sem. Pa.

Rev. K. Boldt,
5 College St.,
Charleston, S. C.

Rev. M. J. Bieber,
Binghamton,
Lutheran Place. N. Y.

Rev. E. Belfour, D. D.,
328 Craig St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rev. F. S. Beistel,
Jeannette, Pa.

Rev. L. Beisecker,
Church, Pa.

Rev. W. E. Bauer,
Saltsburg, Pa.

Rev. Oliver D. Baltzly,
611 High St.,
Springfield, Ohio.

Mr. F. L. Brown,
1045 De Kalb St.,
Norristown, Pa.

Rev. J. J. Brubeck,
203 Spring Garden Ave.,
Allegheny, Pa.

Miss Maggie Bergmann,
Economy, Pa.

Rev. James F. Beates,
Conewago,
Lancaster Co., Pa.

Rev. Wm. Bacher,
Roundout, N. Y.

Rev. G. A. Bruegel,
Phillipsburg, N. J.

Rev. A. H. Bartholomew,
Edgewood Park, Pa.

Rev. C. F. Bergner,
1311 Summer St.,
Nashville, Tenn.

Rev. T. S. Brown,
Perrysville Ave.,
Allegheny, Pa.

Rev. C. A. Boory,
716 Washington St.,
Allegheny, Pa.

Mr. John Bender,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Mr. W. A. Billheimer,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

C

Mr. Geo. L. Conrad,
344 W. North St.,
Springfield, Ohio.

Rev. F. E. Cooper,
South Bethlehem, Pa.

Rev. E. C. Cronk,
Waynesboro, Va.

Mr. H. J. Croushore,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Mr. W. P. Cooper,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Z. M. Corbe,
1311 Sheffield Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

Mr. L. Christianson,
10 Broadway,
Fargo, N. D.

Rev. A. D. Crile,
81 Le Moyne St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Rev. C. D. Clauss,
Leacock,
Lancaster Co., Pa.

Rev. F. P. Cook,
Jewett, Ohio.

Rev. G. W. Critchlow,
1852 Center Ave.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rev. S. N. Carpenter,
111 Brushton Ave.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

D

Rev. Ivan Dietrich,
Allegheny,
St. Thomas' Church. Pa.

Rev. R. R. Durst,
McKees Rocks, Pa.

Rev. F. Doerr,
216 W. 9th St.,
Wilmington, Del.

Rev. C. E. Dozer,
5515 Lansdowne Ave.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Geo. R. Deischer,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Rev. J. E. A. Doerrman,
927 Westminster St.,
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Geo. J. Duff,
5 Brushton Ave.,
Pittsburgh, E. E., Pa.

Rev. C. F. Dry,
Mifflinville,
Columbia Co., Pa.

Rev. C. L. V. Dozer,
313 W. John St.,
Alexandria, Ind.

Rev. W. G. Dressler,
308 W. Front St.,
Findlay, Pa.

Rev. E. F. Dickey,
New Kensington, Pa.

J. Boyd Duff, Esq.,
427 Fourth Ave.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

E

Mr. Cornelius Eckhardt,
Washington, D. C.
P. O. Box 133.

Miss Lizzie Esherick,
323 S. 12th St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

F

Rev. Charles L. Fry,
1920 N. 7th St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. A. S. Fichthorn,
Norristown, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Mr. J. Louis Frederick,
123 Shenango St.,
Greenville, Pa.

Rev. J. F. Fahs,
601 High St.,
Springfield, Ohio.

Mr. G. L. Fon Dersmith,
46 E. King St.,
Lancaster, Pa.

Prof. C. W. Foss,
Rock Island,
Augustana College. Ill.

Prof. E. L. Fulmer,
1520 Mineral Spring Road,
Reading, Pa.

Rev. F. F. Fry,
Bethlehem, Pa.

Mr. W. H. Fehr,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Miss M. E. Freytag,
504 Hart St.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. J. A. Frischkorn,
Wall Rose, Pa.

Mr. Chas. W. Fuhr,
Diamond Nat'l Bank,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rev. Geo. J. Fritschel,
Loganville, Wis.

Rev. J. L. Fischer,
Shannondale, Pa.

Rev. Prof. N. Forsander, D. D.,
Rock Island, Ill.
Augustana College.

Rev. W. K. Frick,
2305 Cedar St.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

Prof. H. N. Fegley,
Mechanicsburg, Pa.

Rev. W. J. Finck,
1320 Chase St.,
Anderson, Ind.

Rev. W. E. Frey,
723 Brown's Ave.,
Erie, Pa.

Mr. C. K. Fegley,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

G

Rev. Prof. G. H. Gerberding, D. D.
1315 Waveland Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

Rev. E. O. Graham,
Bridgeport, Ohio.

Mr. Wm. Gaskell, Jr.,
329 E. 65th St.,
New York, N. Y.

Rev. E. M. M. Grahn,
Easton, Pa.

Rev. Geo. J. Gongaware,
Uniontown, Pa.

Rev. D. H. Geissinger, D. D.,
628 Summerlea St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. John G. Goehring,
West Newton, Pa.

Rev. Geo. F. Gehr,
708 Park Ave.,
Racine, Wis.

Digitized by Google

Rev. George Gebert,
Tamaqua, Pa.

Rev. H. S. Gilbert,
281 North Ave.,
Allegheny, Pa.

Rev. S. E. Greenawalt,
111 E. Lincoln St.,
Findlay, Ohio.

Rev. F. G. Gotwalt,
205 N. Fountain Ave.,
Springfield, Ohio.

Mr. L. F. Gruber,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

H

Mr. Wm. Hengerer,
800 W. Ferry St.,
Buffalo, N. Y.

Rev. Edward T. Horn, D. D.,
527 Washington St.,
Reading, Pa.

Mr. Isaac Harter,
Canton, Ohio.

Rev. W. G. de A. Hudson,
Catasauqua, Pa.

Rev. C. G. Heckert, D. D.,
29 E. Wood St.,
Springfield, Ohio.

Rev. John W. Horine,
31 Pitt St.,
Charleston, S. C.

Rev. N. N. Harter,
Denny,
Butler Co., Pa.

Rev. J. F. Heckert,
611 Wallace Ave.,
Wilkinsburg, Pa.

Rev. I. C. Hoffman,
616 W. 7th St.,
Chester, Pa.

Mr. Wm. Heist,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Rev. J. A. W. Haas,
59 W. 119 St.,
New York, N. Y.

Rev. G. C. F. Haas,
64 7th St.,
New York, N. Y.

Prof. Albert Hiller,
Hartwick Seminary, N. Y.

Rev. W. Hoppe,
119 North St.,
Bethlehem, Pa.

Rev. W. L. Hunton,
422 S. River St.,
Wilkes Barre, Pa.

Rev. Benj. F. Hoefer,
629 Hobart St.,
Toledo, Ohio.

Frank A. Hartrauft, Esq.,
1705 Cayuga St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. C. K. Hunton,
45 S. Grant Ave.,
Columbus, Ohio.

Rev. Wm. Hall,
Versailles, Ohio

Digitized by Google

Mr. Henry F. Hehl,
4155 Girard Ave.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. J. Wm. H. Heintz,
East Stroudsburg, Pa.

J

Rev. Prof. H. E. Jacobs, D.D., LL.D.,
Philadelphia,
Mt. Airy, Pa.

Mr. Geo. M. Jones,
52 N. 4th St.,
Reading, Pa.

Rev. C. M. Jacobs,
North Wales, Pa.

K

L. M. Kifer, M. D.,
McKeesport, Pa.

Rev. J. C. Kunzman,
Greensburg, Pa.

Mr. H. Julius Klingler,
Butler, Pa.

Rev. G. E. Krauth,
Harrisonburg,
P. O. Box 33. Va.

Rev. J. Fred Kramlich,
Royersford, Pa.

Mrs. Margaret R. Knipe,
50 Chestnut St.,
Norristown, Pa.

Rev. Luther Kuhlman,
Frederick, Md.

Rev. I. B. Kurtz,
239 Chestnut St.,
Pottstown, Pa.

Miss Emma A. King,
1516 Bidwell St.,
Allegheny, Pa.

Rev H. C. Kline,
Hamburg, Pa.

Mr. Geo. S. Kressley,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Rev. W. M. Kopenhaver,
Macungie, Pa.

Rev. G. S. Kleckner,
Pen Argyl, Pa.

Rev. Geo. A. Kercher,
152 Queen Lane,
Philadelphia,
Falls. Pa.

Rev. J. H. A. Kitzmiller,
1046 5th Ave.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rev. D. M. Kemerer,
240 Dinwiddie St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rev. F. W. Kohler,
New Brighton, Pa.

Mr. J. W. Koch,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Mr. H. A. Kunkle,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Mr. E. J. Keuling,
7209 Howard Terrace,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy.

Rev. F. C. Krapf,
Elizabeth, N. J.

Digitized by Google

Rev. Prof. E. F. Krauss,
1309 Waveland Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

Mr. J. B. Kaercher,
439 Wood St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Miss Lizzie C. Kepple,
Leechburg, Pa.

Rev. Wm. E. Kraft,
Hamilton,
Ontario, Canada.

Rev. Paul G. Klingler,
Easton, Pa.
Ferry St.

Rev. E. F. Keever,
21 Burgess St.,
Boston, Mass.
Roxbury.

Rev. Ira Klick,
Meyerstown, Pa.

Rev. G. F. Krotel, D. D., LL. D.,
8 Hamilton Terrace,
New York, N. Y.

Mr. J. A. Klick,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Mr. D. C. Kaufman,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

L

Mr. Howard W. Lewis,
1928 Spruce St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Capt. W. F. Lutje,
Erie, Pa.

Rev. H. S. Lawrence,
76 S. Greenmount Ave.,
Springfield, Ohio.

Mr. Wm. P. Long,
4251 Viola St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Thomas H. Lane,
1825 Bluff St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rev. J. F. Lambert,
Catasauqua, Pa.

Mr. Will S. Loucks,
Scottdale, Pa.

Rev. Luther D. Lazarus,
106 W. Oley St.,
Reading, Pa.

Rev. C. B. Lindtwed,
Bridgewater,
Nova Scotia.

Miss Sidney Lemon,
Versailles, Pa.

M

Mr. Jacob F. Miller,
120 Broadway,
New York, N. Y.

Rev. I. G. Monson,
Kindred,
Cass Co., N. D.

Mr. Henry Martin,
104 Genesee St.,
Utica, N. Y.

Rev. E. L. Miller,
Williamsport, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Mr. John C. Mattes,
7118 Boyer St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. J. Leroy Miller,
127 E. Wood St.,
Youngstown, Ohio.

Mr. Geo. H. Moller,
112 W. 59th St.,
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Harry P. Miller,
N. J. & Blake Aves.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. C. Armand Miller,
49 W. 21st St.,
New York, N. Y.

Mr. C. A. Marks,
Allentown, Pa.

Rev. Hugo E. Meyer,
Millville, N. J.

Rev. F. P. Manhart, D. D.,
907 N. Fulton Ave.,
Baltimore, Md.

Rev. John Henry Miller,
Hoagland, Ind.

Rev. J. Bradley Markward,
441 South Ave.,
Wilkinsburg, Pa.

Rev. A. B. Markley,
Warren, Pa.

Mc

Rev. C. Luther McConnell,
Mifflinburg, Pa.

Rev. R. E. McDaniel, Ph. D.,
Springdale, Pa.

Rev. A. B. McIntosh,
Spring City, Pa.

Rev. E. R. McCauley,
Altoona, Pa.

N

Rev. Prof. E. Nieffer,
1091 Franklin Ave.,
Columbus, Ohio.

Rev. Warren Nickel,
Applebachsville, Pa.

Rev. I. O. Nothstein,
North St. Paul, Minn.

O

Rev. Frank C. Oberly,
Greenville, Pa.

Rev. S. E. Ochsenford, D. D.,
28 S. 7th St.,
Allentown, Pa.

Rev. J. F. Ohl, Mus. D.,
28 N. 50th St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. J. H. Orr,
Ridgway, Pa.

P

Mr. J. Howard Patton,
143 Seminary Ave.,
Greensburg, Pa.

Rev. O. E. Pflueger,
Elizabethville, Pa.

Rev. Alex. Phillippi, D. D.,
Wytheville, Va.

Rev. Adolph C. Peterson,
Ellsworth,
Pierce Co., Wis.

Digitized by Google

Rev. W. A. Passavant, Jr.,
Milwaukee,
Milwaukee Hospital. Wis.

Mr. Theodore Posselt,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Rev. Stephen Paulson,
New Rochelle, N. Y.

Rev. A. P. Pflueger,
Ringtown,
Schuylkill Co., Pa.

R

Mr. John J. Rothermel,
200 A St.,
Washington, D. C.

Rev. A. Richter,
57 8th St.,
Hoboken, N. J.

Rev. J. C. Rausch,
Allentown, Pa.

Rev. W. M. Rehrig, Ph. D.,
Mauch Chunk, Pa.

Rev. E. L. Reed,
West Newton, Pa.

Rev. Emil Roth,
421 7th St.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. Myron O. Rath,
211 N. 6th St.,
Allentown, Pa.

Rev. A. L. Ramer, Ph. D.,
127 S. Lincoln Ave.,
Scranton, Pa.

Rev. J. G. Reinartz,
140 Jackson St.,
East Liverpool, Ohio.

Rev. Luther D. Reed,
1514 Franklin St.,
Allegheny, Pa.

Mr. Bernard Repass,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Rev. J. C. F. Rupp,
Morrisburg,
Ontario, Canada.

Rev. R. G. Rosenbaum,
Delmont, Pa.

Rev. G. G. Ruff,
North East, Pa.

Rev. Gomer C. Rees,
19 Southampton Ave.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. W. F. Rex,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

S

Hon. Chas. A. Schieren,
405 Clinton Ave.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. Prof. A. Spaeth, D. D., LL. D.,
Philadelphia,
Mt. Airy, Pa.

Rev. J. A. Seiss, D. D., LL. D.,
1338 Spring Garden St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. Prof. G. H. Schodde, Ph. D.,
Kimball Place,
Columbus, Ohio.

Digitized by Google

Rev. W. Ashmead Schaeffer, D. D.,
137 W. School House Lane,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Albert W. Smith,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Care of Dithridge & Co.

Mr. Wm. H. Seifrid,
6311 Broad St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rev. W. F. Schoener,
South Bethlehem, Pa.

Rev. J. J. Schindel,
Allentown, Pa.

Rev. J. F. Snyder,
East Bangor, Pa.

Rev. A. C. Schenck,
Topton, Pa.

Rev. N. Scheffer,
204 E. Front St.,
Berwick, Pa.

Mr. Geo. F. Seifrid,
6311 Broad St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Miss Euretta Smiley,
Brown's P. O.,
Beaver Co., Pa.

Mr. J. K. Sullenberger,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Mr. S. A. B. Stopp,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Rev. A. Steimle,
68 Putnam St.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. H. Douglas Spaeth,
Easton, Pa.

Mr. Earnest F. Starke,
193 Lee Ave.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. R. Morris Smith,
Baden, Pa.
P. O. Box 15.

Rev. A. F. Siebert,
Germantown, Ohio.

Rev. D. H. Steffens,
1305 Hanover St.,
Baltimore, Md.

Mrs. Anna K. Shanor,
515 Federal St.,
Allegheny, Pa.

Rev. P. Geo. Sieger,
543 W. Walnut St.,
Lancaster, Pa.

Rev. W. E. Schramm,
539 Avery St.,
Allegheny, Pa.

Rev. H. K. Shanor,
Middle Lancaster, Pa.

Rev. C. F. Steck,
38 W. College St.,
Springfield, Ohio.

Rev. N. F. Schmidt,
Schwenksville, Pa.

Rev. W. L. Stough,
2011 Memphis St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. H. D. E. Siebott,
2826 W. Lehigh Ave.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Rev. Joseph Stump,
Phillipsburg, N. J.

Rev. C. G. Spieker,
613 Mulberry St.,
Scranton, Pa.

Rev. G. W. Spiggle,
Kittanning, Pa.

Rev. Wm. H. Steinbicker,
Rockville Center,
Box 33. L. I. N. Y.

Rev. G. S. Seaman,
Homestead, Pa.

Rev. Jacob H. Sandt,
Lebanon, Pa.

Rev. H. M. Schofer,
Pinegrove, Pa.

Rev. Luther J. Smith,
Roseville, Ohio.

Mr. J. M. Smeltzer,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Mr. H. L. Straub,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Rev. J. C. Seegers,
Cor. Lake & Western Aves.,
Albany, N. Y.

T

Rev. Charles R. Trowbridge,
223 Porter St.,
Easton, Pa.

Rev. E. G. Tressel,
281 S. 18th St.,
Columbus, Ohio.

Rev. E. A. Trabert,
Braddock, Pa.

Rev. A. J. Turkle,
Arch & Stockton Ave.,
Allegheny, Pa.

Rev. S. G. Trexler,
145 Milton St.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. Gust. H. Tappert,
974 E. 156th St.,
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Lewis S. Trump,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

U

Rev. W. F. Ulery,
Greensburg, Pa.

V

Mr. L. Van Gilluwe,
Ocean Grove, N. J.

W

Mr. Fred. Weitzel,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Univ. of Penna. Vet. Dep't.

Rev. F. E. Whitmore,
7945 Germantown Ave.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. F. A. Weicksel,
Numidia,
Columbia Co., Pa.

Rev. S. G. Weiskotten,
605 Bedford Ave.,
Brooklyn, N.

Digitized by Google

Rev. Prof. R. F. Weidner, D.D., LL.D.,
1311 Sheffield Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

Rev. G. U. Wenner, D. D.,
123 E. 24th St.,
New York, N. Y.

Rev. A. J. D. Wedemeyer,
Liberty, N. Y.

Rev. J. H. Waidelich,
Sellersville, Pa.

Rev. J. A. Weyl,
123 W. 71st St.,
New York, N. Y.

Rev. J. H. Weaver,
Center Brunswick, N. Y.

Rev. L. M. C. Weicksel,
Renovo, Pa.

Rev. Ira M. Wallace,
Morgantown, W. Va.
Lock Box 197.

Mr. B. Frank Weyman,
Duquesne Way,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rev. John Weidley,
521 N. Euclid Ave.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. J. Harvey Wattles,
4929 Wallingford St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Shady Side.

Rev. Wm. Weicksel,
Sherrodsville, Ohio.
Box 114.

Rev. F. W. Wackernagle,
Millersville, Pa.

Rev. E. L. Wessinger,
Shiremanstown,
Cumberland Co., Pa.

Mr. Oliver Williams,
Catasauqua, Pa.

Mr. W. E. Wenner,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Mt. Airy, Luth. Theo. Seminary.

Y

Rev. A. L. Yount, D. D.,
Greensburg, Pa.

Rev. E. A. Yehl,
Bangor, Pa.

Rev. Payson Young,
Boulder, Colorado.

Z

Mr. Wm. H. Zinzer,
314 E. Walnut Lane,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Germantown.

Rev. W. H. Zuber,
Greensburg, Pa.

Rev. M. L. Zweizig,
146 South 5th St.,
Reading, Pa.

Digitized by Google